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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—On “*The Most Comely Names*,” *الْأَسْمَاءُ الْحُسْنَى*,
i.e. *The Laudatory Epithets, or The Titles of Praise*,
bestowed on God in the Qur’ān or by Muslim Writers.
By J. W. REDHOUSE, M.R.A.S., Hon. Mem. R.S.L., etc.

ALL students of the facts and doctrines of Islām, that uncompromising and purely monotheistic faith promulgated by Muhammad to the pagan Arabians, his kinsmen or countrymen, as also to the Arabic-speaking Jews and Christians who dwelt in and about Madīna, or the three Arabias, thirteen hundred years ago, will have met with some mention of what European writers generally know as “*The ninety-nine names of God*,” but which are denominated in chap. vii. v. 179, as also in chap. xx. v. 7, of the Qur’ān itself, “*The Most Comely Names*,” *الْأَسْمَاءُ الْحُسْنَى*. In the first of these passages it is said: *وَلِلَّهِ الْأَسْمَاءُ الْحُسْنَى فَادْعُوهُ بِهَا*: and unto God belong the most comely names; call ye, then, upon Him by them; and in the second: *إِلَهُ إِلَّا هُوَ لَهُ الْأَسْمَاءُ الْحُسْنَى* God is He, save whom there is no God; unto Him belong the most comely names.

The European expression, “*the ninety-nine names of God*,” is not, as we see, in accordance with the Qur’ānic designation, “*the most comely names*,” which specifies no definite number whatever. Lane, however, informs us in his *Lexicon*, *roce* *أَحْسَن*, *rad. حَسَن*, that the commentary on the Qur’ān

entitled تَفْسِيرُ الْجَلَالَيْنِ, *Exposition by the two (writers named) Jalāl*, adds to its mention of this expression: "the most comely names," the remark: "which are ninety and nine in number." The specific number "ninety-nine" is not, then, of European invention in this matter.

Meninski, again, *voce* أَسْمَاءُ اللَّهِ, has: "أَسْمَاءُ اللَّهِ the names of God, otherwise أَسْمَاءُ الْوُجُوهَاتِ the names of the qualities, said to be ninety-nine in number, etc., are the divine attributes, repeated by pious Muslims as they tell their beads. Hottinger, in his *Historia Orientalis*, gives the list of them in alphabetical order." This last statement as to an "alphabetical order" does not appear, however, to be correct; for الْأَوَّلُ is said by Meninski to be Hottinger's 82nd attribute, and الْآخِرُ to be the 94th, الْبَاسِطُ being the 23rd. I do not see any alphabetical order in these words and numbers, even in respect of the roots; and so of the rest.

At p. 203 of Vol. VI. New Series, of the Society's Journal, begins a chapter in the article, by Lord Stanley of Alderley, on the "Poetry of Mohamed Rabadan." This chapter is in Spanish verses of four lines each; and every verse is surmounted by an invocation in Arabic, يَا رَبُّ يَا إِلَهَ يَا رَبُّ O God! O Lord! etc., to the number of ninety-nine, as may be counted.

At p. 129 of the part of our Journal which has recently been distributed, being Part I. Vol. XI. New Series, begins an article by E. T. Rogers, Esq., M.R.A.S.: "On Arabic Amulets and Mottoes." On the next page—p. 123—and third paragraph, Mr. Rogers says: "I find in the square compartments the hundred' attributes of God." Here is a slight departure from the stereotyped expression "ninety-nine names."

Through the kindness of the late Colonel Guthrie, I was some years ago enabled to take a copy of a list of "the

¹ The list has only ninety-nine names or titles when correctly counted.—J. W. R.

ninety-nine names of God" from a work by Herklot.¹ I also copied a very considerable number of such "names," not found in Herklot's list, from an old Latin work by Peter Kirsten Vratisslas, printed A.D. 1609, and belonging likewise to Colonel Guthrie.

These, and Hottinger's, *ex Meninski*, I have since compared with the lists given by Mohamed Rabadan and Mr. Rogers. The result was that, instead of ninety-nine, I found upwards of two hundred and fifty such names; some, it is true, being compounds. By subsequent search in the Qur'an itself, the number has been increased to over five hundred, with great capability of almost indefinite extension, even to a thousand.²

Most of these words, which are, in fact, epithets or titles of the Deity, were originally culled from the Qur'an. They are there found *in esse*, or *in posse*. But a few are of later introduction, speculative and philosophical, or mystical. Mohamed Rabadan's words, being all preceded by the interjection يَا, are grammatically incapable of taking the definite article اَللّٰهُ before them, with the exception of اَللّٰهُ, generally treated, in such case, as a simple word, to the exclusion of all consideration for its initial article. On the contrary, Mr. Rogers's list gives all the words with the definite article before them.

Both systems are correct; that of the Spanish Moor absolutely so; that of Mr. Rogers, or rather of the amulet from

¹ The correctness of each "name" is attested by the total of the numerical values of its component letters.

² In a work printed in 1842-7 for the Society for the Publication of Oriental Texts—viz., the Biographical Dictionary by Al-Nawawī, in p. 28, l. 18, I find it mentioned as follows:

قَالَ بَعْضُ الصُّوفِيَّةِ لِلَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ أَلْفُ أَسْمَاءٍ. "Unto God, may He be glorified and magnified, (belong) a thousand names." One line further on there occurs:

فَأَمَّا أَسْمَاءُ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ فَبِهَذَا الْعَدَدِ حَقِيرٌ فِيهَا. But as to the names of God, may He be glorified and magnified, well, this number is insignificant in respect of them. Of course, the Divine Titles are, in reality, co-extensive with language. But it is to be feared that "the ninety-nine names of God" will long remain in the public mind as a relic of past belief.

which he has copied them, admissibly so. Some of them occur in the Qur'ān with the definite article ; some are there used indefinitely ; others are made definite by a definite complement ; some remain indefinite with indefinite complements ; and some are found definite in one passage, indefinite in another. When made definite, as in the amulet, the words assume a special sense, attributing to God, *par excellence*, the quality of which they are themselves, for the most part, the adjectives, epithets, or titles. It is hardly correct for us to call them the "*names*" of God, though a few are, in effect, nouns substantive. But even these, as all the rest, may be considered nouns adjective ; even those which, like *لَمْ يَلِدْ*, consist of several words forming a phrase ; as may be seen by a study of the list.

On referring to the Qur'ān for the words and phrases so given, I have ascertained that some are found in the lists which do not occur in that volume, even inferentially ; and I have also collected many, mentioned there, which are not included in any one of the lists. Ninety-nine out of two hundred and fifty, or more than five hundred, necessarily implies a selection. I have no doubt that my list, as given below, in alphabetical order, has omitted some—nay, many—of the *Divine Titles* (as I prefer to style them), that a more thorough search would find or infer in the Scripture of Islām.

However that may be, one thing becomes abundantly clear through this collation of the various lists with one another, and with the sacred book ; namely : It is quite erroneous to use the phrase "*The ninety-nine names of God.*" Each list of ninety-nine of them is a selection, varying according to the religious fancy or preference of some eminent man, who perhaps took those which occur most frequently, or in passages more generally read, or more usually recited in the celebration of the prescribed duty of divine worship, or in the mystical rites of the numerous orders of Dervishes. Such list should, therefore, be entitled, as the Muslims sometimes,

if not always, do style it: *A Chaplet of (ninety-nine) Divine Titles*, تَسْبِيحٌ مِنَ الْأَسْمَاءِ الْحُسْنَى, or, more fully: تَسْبِيحٌ.

The reason for the selection of the number *ninety-nine*, in relation to these Divine Titles, is that the *chaplet* or *rosary* used by Muslims in their daily devotions, contains ninety-nine beads, divided into three sections of thirty-three each. The greater chaplets of the Dervish orders contain nine hundred and ninety-nine. Possibly, nine hundred and ninety is the true number—ten times that of the ordinary chaplet. They are spoken of as containing a thousand; even, a thousand and one.

Why these numbers, ninety-nine and thirty-three, were originally chosen, I cannot say.¹ But, after the completion of a performance of the prescribed, obligatory divine worship, a kind of voluntary doxology is recited, in three parts. In the first of these, the ejaculation: *I recite the doxology of God*, سُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ, is repeated thirty-three times; then the ejaculation: *Glory belongeth unto God*, الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ; and finally, that of: *God is Most Great*, اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ. These ejaculations should not, strictly, be counted at all; but they may, permissively, be told on the fingers; and the beads are more convenient, as insuring accuracy. Thus it is that the chaplet, the rosary, is made up of ninety-nine beads, in their three equal divisions.

But the three ejaculations, though together recited ninety-nine times, do not form ninety-nine "*names of God*." They do not, by their very nature, enter into any list of ninety-nine, or other number, of such names or Divine Titles.

However, the chaplet of beads, the rosary, having been introduced to use at the celebration of the divine service of Islām, it is not to be wondered at that religious fervour, stimulated in many ways, in endless climes, among various

¹ The *thirty-three* perhaps originated in counting three each on the joints of the ten fingers, and one triplet added, to make sure. The *ninety-nine* is simply a multiple of this basis.

nations, by the stirring events of its pristine days, should have adapted it to new forms of pious use. Especially, since it was a frequent practice with the very earliest Muslims, as among the hermits and monks of the various Christian sects then abounding in Syria, Egypt, and Ethiopia, to indulge in protracted services of voluntary, supererogatory praise, both in private and in public worship. Prayer to God on common occasions, by individuals, was from the first discountenanced or forbidden by Muhammad, under the very rational pleas that God best knows what is good for His creatures, and that man's first duty is to know and confess his "*One Lord God*," **اَللّٰهُ اَكْبَرُ**, bowing in cheerful, loving, grateful submission to the just, merciful, and benevolent decrees of His divine will. It is, therefore, quite erroneous to style the divine worship of Islām the *performance of prayers*. *Prayers* it is not. It is praise, worship, service alone, in the prescribed, incumbent divine ritual of Islām.

It is, furthermore, eminently erroneous and unjust, as well as equally inconsequent and inconsistent, for professing Christians, writers and speakers, to cast upon Muslims, their scriptures, and their prophet, the unfounded accusation of fatalism. That is a pagan idea, with which Islām has no more in common than Christianity has. What Muhammad taught, what the Qur'ān so eloquently and so persistently sets forth, and what real faithful Muslims believe, conformably with what is contained in the Gospels and accepted by devout Christians, is, that God's Providence pre-ordains, as His Omniscience foreknows, all events, and overrules the designs of men, to the sure fulfilment of His all-wise purposes. There is, in fact, no difference whatever in the fundamental ethics of Christianity and Islām, however irreconcilably divergent they may be on a few, very few, but very important, vital points of detail, dogmatic belief, and religious polity. Muhammad did not profess to preach a new religion, but to

restore the one and only possible old faith in God and a future state to its original simplicity and purity, as delivered to the patriarchs and prophets in succession, of whom he himself was to be the last.

The early Muslims, in Muhammad's own time, of their own accord, were used to assemble in the first mosque at Madīna,—it was then a mere *dyopá*, a place of assembly, for public deliberation, as well as for worship,—and there to continue in the assiduous performance, not only of the stated services, but also of voluntary worship. When the sacred month of fasting by day, Ramadhān (Ramazān), came round, these assemblies became more protracted, and the special long night-service, termed *Tarāwīḥ*, was by them invented. Muhammad, hearing of this novelty, went on three successive nights to these meetings, or remained after the prescribed night-service. After that, he refrained from attending them; fearing, as he is reported to have said: “lest the performance thereof be revealed in scripture as incumbent on you.” He could not, however, object to them; for the Qur’ān, xxxii. 41, gives the injunction on which they are based:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا اذْكُرُوا اللَّهَ ذِكْرًا كَثِيرًا وَسَبِّحُوهُ بُكْرَةً وَأَصِيلًا

O ye who have believed, commemorate ye God with an abundant mention, and doxologize ye Him morning and evening.

The custom has continued as the universal practice of the Muslim world, orthodox, heretical, or schismatic, to this day. The *Tarāwīḥ* (*Terāwīḥ*), the long, supererogatory night-services of Ramadhān, are known to all acquainted with the usual life of Islām in all parts of the world.

The word *Tarāwīḥ*, تَرَافِيعُ, is a plural noun, of which the singular is *Tarwīḥa*, تَرْوِيحَةٌ. This means: *an act of taking breath and rest*. The application of the plural word as the name of these special long night-services of Ramadhān,

arose from the circumstance that rest and breathing-time were taken at stated intervals during the celebration.

The whole service of the Tarāwīḥ consists of twenty Rak'a, رَكْعَةٌ, performed in five acts or parts of four Rak'a each, with an interval, for rest and breathing, between each two acts, of as long a duration as the performance of the "act" itself requires.

A Rak'a may be considered as a single *scene*, in the theatrical sense of this last word. Rak'a means, lexically : *a single act of bowing one's self down*,—of bending the head, neck, back, and hip-joints, until the back acquires a horizontal position. Technically, it is a term of ritual, and means : *a single section, sub-act, or scene of worship*, including various postures of standing, bowing, sitting, kneeling, and prostration, with all the recitations uttered, aloud or in a subdued tone, during the performance of those various evolutions and their concomitant gestures.

An "act" of worship, a "service," اَلصَّلَاةُ (in Persian and Turkish نَمَاز), is sometimes made up of two such sections or scenes, sometimes of three, sometimes of four ; all obligatory, all prescribed. Five such acts of worship,—five such "services,"—are incumbent daily on every Muslim, male or female, of legal age and right mind, when not prevented from their performance by certain accidents.

Customary "scenes" of worship are appended to those which are obligatory in some "acts" ; and *customary acts* are performed by the devout between the obligatory "acts," in imitation of what Muhammad was *in the habit* of doing. Those which are *obligatory* are called فَرِيضٌ, and the *customary* ones سُنَّةٌ. Besides these, *voluntary scenes*, and *voluntary acts*, of worship, termed نَافِلَةٌ, are of frequent or habitual practice by the devout, of their own free will, with next to no limit.

The long Tarāwīḥ night-service of Ramadhān is of the "customary" kind, not being "obligatory." The interval

of rest that follows each of its five "sections" may be filled up, at the option of each worshipper, either by actually sitting still and silent,—really resting,—or by performing a voluntary act of worship, or by a recitation from holy writ, or by offering *prayers* from the approved *collects*, *تَسْبِيحَات*, or by reciting *doxologies*, *الْأَدْعِيَةِ الْمَأْتُورَةِ*. In public worship this last is the one more generally practised ; or rather a combination of the last two or three. A collect, or a portion of scripture, a *lesson*, or both, forms a sort of preface, in succession, to each of the three ejaculations of the doxology, which is repeated thirty-three times by each worshipper, in a sort of chorus, the *precentor* (there are no *priests* in Islām), the "Imām," *الْإِمَامُ*, leading and guiding. From practice he has no real occasion to count how many times he repeats each. He chants the holy words in a beautifully modulated measure, into which the thirty-three repetitions accurately fit. The less carefully trained devotee may have recourse to his finger-joints for the tale ; but the chaplet, the rosary, insures against mistakes, and is in general use.

The chaplet of ninety-nine beads, the rosary, would appear to have been next put to a use that, though forming no part of the ritual of divine worship, brought those beads into still greater veneration.

That text of the Qur'ān, before quoted, which commands Muslims to "commemorate God with an abundant mention," was combined, in some one's mind, with that other which enjoins their calling upon Him by His "most comely names." A series of ninety-nine of these was consequently drawn up, perhaps for private devotion at first, committed to memory as a list in a certain established order, and then recited, in that order, as a special meritorious exercise of voluntary praise, the tale being checked by the beads of the chaplet.

Other devotees would observe that many of the "most

comely names" found in the Qur'ān were wanting in this first list; or the original compiler may have prepared various lists for use on different occasions, but always consisting of the same number, nine and ninety. When two complete lists of that number of simple "most comely names" had thus been compiled, and a desire, or a need, was felt to make up a third or a fourth, etc., it would be found that there were not enough. Recourse would then be had to the compounds so frequent throughout the sacred volume. Meanwhile, poets and other writers had been at work, and had invented many a divine title not actually found in the Qur'ān, but legitimately inferable from verbs or nouns contained therein. These would be adopted into the multiplying lists arranged for the special service of this or that body of devotees, and the use of the chaplet gained ground ever more and more. The greater dervish chaplet was also introduced.

It will have been remarked that, in the passage of the Qur'ān above quoted, where the Muslims are commanded to commemorate God abundantly, they are also enjoined to doxologize Him morning and evening. The word here rendered by the coined term "doxologize," سَبَّحُوا, is the imperative verb plural of which the verbal noun is تَسْبِيحٌ. This literally signifies *an act of doxologizing*, i.e. an act of reciting as a hymn of praise, either a single ascription of glory often repeated, or a string of ascriptions once proffered each. From thus indicating the "act of doxologizing," the word تَسْبِيحٌ was next applied to the doxology itself. It is used twice in the Qur'ān, once in the former sense, and once in the latter.

إِنْ مِنْ شَيْءٍ إِلَّا يُسَبِّحُ بِحَمْدِهِ وَلَكِنْ لَا تَفْقَهُونَ تَسْبِيحَهُمْ

*There is not anything, but that it doxologizes with His glory; ye, however, understand not their doxologizing.*¹—Qur. xvii. 46.

¹ Sale says: "their celebration thereof."

كُلٌّ قَدْ عَلِمَ صَلَاتَهُ وَتَسْبِيحَهُ

*Each hath known His service and His doxology.*¹—Qur. xxiv. 41.

But the application went further. The chaplet itself, the rosary, came to be designated by this same word, تَسْبِيحٌ, this verbal noun; at least, so it is called in Persian and in Turkish.

The Persian lexicon named *Farhangī Jihāngīrī* فَرهنگِ جِهَانگیرِی, voce سرگرد, says in explanation: گِرِه‌یِ کِه بَر سَرِ تَسْبِيحِ تَعْبِيَه کُنند; i.e. *Head-knot, a knot which they make up on the head of a rosary*; and this the corresponding Turco-Persian lexicon renders by: تَسْبِيح‌کَرْدَه اِمَامَه گِجَرَه جَكْت: it is the knot and tie at the place where the stems are to be put on to rosaries.

Again, the Persian lexicon entitled *Bahāri-'Ajām*, بَهَارِ عَجَم, gives the terms تَسْبِيحِ گِرِیْلَاوِی and تَسْبِيحِ چِشْمِ بَلْبَل, as being the names of two particular kinds of chaplets, to the first of which a poet, Ta'sir, تَائِیْر, has likened his own tear-drops:

گِرِیَه اَمَ دَرِ آسْتِیْنِ تَسْبِيحِ چِشْمِ بَلْبَلَسْت
تَا گُداوِیْنِ شَاخِ رَا دَسْتِ بَر دَا مَن زَدَمْ

My tears on my sleeve are (as) a rosary of beads, (red) like the eyes of nightingales. Why! what branch (of a rosebush) have I (ever) laid hand on the skirt of (in entreaty)?

This meaning of *chaplet, rosary*, does not appear, however, to be given in Arabic to the word تَسْبِيحٌ; for سُبْحَةٌ is the only name recorded in the best lexicons, and in Lane. In Freytag we find مَسْبَكَةٌ given also, from the Arabian Nights; and Boethor mentions it as well.

¹ Sale has: "His prayer and His praise."

The very large chaplets sometimes used by Dervishes in their various special rites, public or private, are exaggerations of those in general use, though they are doubtless used by zealous devotees in keeping tale of their long-protracted "commemorations." These Dervish rites are no legitimate part of Islām, any more than those of Freemasonry are a part of Christianity. Those rites are viewed with dislike by the strictly orthodox, as savouring more or less of schism, heresy, and blasphemy. They are tolerated, however, nay, even patronized by high and low, as theologically justifiable, and undoubtedly fashionable, manifestations of a sanctimonious zeal and ostentatious devotion, much in the same way with our own Ritualists, Odd-fellows, and the like.

I now proceed to give an alphabetical list of all the "most comely names" or divine titles, simple and compound, that I have met with. I explain their significations, show which are verbally, and which are inferentially Qur'anic, indicating the passages where they occur, and the list or lists from which they are taken.¹ Those among them which point to a divine attribute that pertains to grace and mercy are known as *the names of Grace*, *أَسْمَاءُ الْجَمَالِ*; and those that betoken an attribute leaning to the exhibition of stern justice and severity are designated *the names of Majesty*, *أَسْمَاءُ الْجَلَالِ*.

1. *أَحَدٌ* *One*. Q. cxii. 1; H. 2; V. 1; R. 96; Rs. 91. (See also Nos. 13, 65.)

Occurs more than fifty times in Q., but once only as a title of God: *هُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ* *He is one God*; or rather, with greater emphasis: *He is the God, a sole one*.

2. *أَحْسَنُ الْخَالِقِينَ* *the Most Beautiful of Creators (i.e. the Creator whose works are the most beautiful and the most*

¹ In this list, the following abbreviations are used. H. for Hottinger; Ht., Herklot; M., Meninski; Q., Qur'an; Qs., Qāmūs; R., Rabadan; Ra., Rogers; V., Vratistas. An asterisk before a number denotes a title collected by the author from various sources.

perfectly adapted to their respective purposes). Q. xxiii. 14. (See also No. 14.)

3. أَحْكَمُ الْحَاكِمِينَ *the Most Judicial of Judges*. Q. xi. 47; xcv. 8. (See No. 87.) M. gives this, but not as a title of God.

4. الْآخِرُ *the Last*. Q. lvii. 3; Ht. 73; V. 2; R. 93; Rs. 38. (See No. 46.)

Occurs thirty-eight times in Q., but as a divine title in this passage only; "*the last day*," الْيَوْمَ الْآخِرُ, being the subject of all the others.

5. أَرْحَمُ الرَّاحِمِينَ *the Most Compassionate of those who feel compassion*. Q. viii. 150; xii. 64, 92; xxi. 83; V. 3. (See No. 161.)

Mentioned in the list given by V. only; as are most of the complex titles, if given at all. M. notices the expression. The singular الرَّاحِمُ is not in Q., nor in any list.

6. الْأَسْرَعُ مَكْرًا *the Swiftest in devising stratagems*. Q. x. 22. (See Nos. 238 and 402.)

7. الْأَعْلَمُ *the One who knows best*. Q. vi. 124; xi. 33. (See Nos. 8, 299, 308.)

Every one conversant with Muslim sayings and writings is well aware of the frequent expression: وَاللَّهِ أَعْلَمُ *but God knows best*, used as an admission of uncertainty in the speaker or writer as to the truth or correctness of something narrated. In colloquial Ottoman Turkish, اللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ is a frequently used expletive, in the sense of our: *I think, I opine*. M. gives it.

8. الْأَعْلَمُ بِالشَّاكِرِينَ *the Most knowing as to the thankful*. Q. vi. 53. (See No. 7.)

9. الْأَعْلَى *the Most High*. Q. xx. 71; lxxix. 24; lxxxvii. 1; xcii. 20. (See Nos. 169, 303.)

Occurs five times, also applied to other things than God.

*10. أَكْبَرُ *the Most Great*. (See Nos. 387, 415.)

The word is found in twenty-three passages of Q., but not once as a divine title. This is remarkable. The ejaculation أَكْبَرُ *God is Most Great*, used in battle, and in *the call to worship*, the 'Adhān ('Azān), أَلَاذَنْ, is so prominent in the history of Islām, and is one of the three clauses of the doxology recited with the chaplet, more especially in the Tarāwīḥ night-service of Ramadhān. It is in none of the lists.

11. إِلَآءُ *the Worshipped One*. Lane. (Usually written إِلَٰهَ, *q.v.*, and إِلَهُ.) The form is used by the poet Nābigha Dhibyānī (Idyl 16, v. 6; Derenbourg), prior to Muḥammad.

12. إِلَٰهَ *the God (the Worshipped, the Worshipful One)*. Q. *passim*; H. 1; Ht. 1; Rs. 1. (See Nos. 11, 13—40.)

Occurs several hundreds of times in Q., and is said in Qs. to be *the word of majesty*, لَفْظُ الْجَلَالَةِ; further reported, also, by Jurjānī الْجُرْجَانِيُّ, to be *the Great Name*, الْإِسْمُ الْأَعْظَمُ, and *the name of the divine substance* (essence, or person), اِسْمُ الدَّاتِ; whereas all others are titles only, اَسْمَاءُ الصِّفَاتِ, based on qualities, صِفَاتٍ, or attributes. This word is also used, frequently, by Nābigha Dhibyānī. It is said to have been modified from إِلَآءُ, *q.v.*

13. إِلَٰهٌ أَحَدٌ *the God, one*. Q. cxii. 1. (See also Nos. 1 and 12.)

This is the Islāmic, Qur'ānic enunciation of God's unity, in contradistinction to all syntheism, the duality of the Magians, the trinity of the Christians, and the polytheism of the pagans.

14. إِلَٰهٌ أَحْسَنُ الْخَالِقِينَ *God, the Most Beautiful of Creators*. Q. xxiii. 14. (See also Nos. 2 and 12.)

15. إِلَٰهٌ الْخَالِقُ الْبَارِئُ الْمُصَوِّرُ *God, the Creator, the Maker, the Shaper*. Q. lix. 24. (See also Nos. 12, 48, 115, 441.)

16. *اللَّهُ رَبُّ الْعَالَمِينَ* *God, the Lord of (all) the worlds.* Q. i. 1; vii. 52; xxviii. 30; xl. 66; lxxxi. 29. (See also Nos. 12, 182, 338.)

17. *اللَّهُ رَبُّ الْعَرْشِ* *God, the Lord of the empyrean.* Q. xxi. 22. (See Nos. 12, 29, 183, 184, 185.)

18. *اللَّهُ رَبُّكُمْ* *God, your Lord.* Q. vi. 102; x. 33; xxxv. 14. (See Nos. 12, 194.)

19. *اللَّهُ رَبُّنَا* *God, our Lord.* Q. vii. 87. (See Nos. 12, 204.)

20. *اللَّهُ الرَّحْمَنُ الرَّحِيمُ* *God, the Compassionate, the Most Merciful.* Q. xxvii. 30. (See also Nos. 12, 214, 215, 217.)

21. *اللَّهُ الصَّمَدُ* *God, the Absolute One.* Q. cxii. 2. (See Nos. 12, 270.)

22. *اللَّهُ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ* *God, the Most Mighty, the All-wise.* Q. xxvii. 9; xxxiv. 26; xlii. 1. (See Nos. 12, 97, 282, 283.)

23. *اللَّهُ الْعَظِيمُ* *God, the Most Supreme One.* Q. lxix. 33. (See Nos. 12 and 294.)

24. *اللَّهُ فِي السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ* *God in the heavens and the earth.* Q. vi. 3. The expression "the heavens," in the plural, is intentional, referring to the "seven heavens" of Q. xxiii. 88. (See Nos. 117, 172, 173, 174.)

25. *اللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ* *God, save whom there is no god.* Q. iv. 89. (See Nos. 12, 26, 27, 29, 31, and 538.)

26. *اللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ أَحْيَى الْقَيُّومُ* *God, save whom there is no God, the Living, the Self-existing One.* Q. ii. 256; iii. 1; ix. 130; xx. 7. (See Nos. 12, 25, 31, 110, 383, and 539.)

27. *اللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْحَمْدُ فِي الْأُولَى وَالْآخِرَةِ* *God, save whom there is no God, unto whom belongeth the glory in the first (present) and in the latter (future, states).* Q. xxviii. 70. (See Nos. 12, 31, 539.)

28. *ٱللَّهُ ٱلْمَلِكُ ٱلْحَقُّ* *God, the King, the Right.* Q. xxiii. 117. (See Nos. 12, 291, 94, 463, 464.)

29. *ٱللَّهُ ٱلْمَلِكُ ٱلْحَقُّ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ رَبُّ ٱلْعَرْشِ ٱلْكَرِيمِ* *God, the King, the Right, save whom there is no God, the Lord of the most bountiful empyrean.* Q. xxiii. 117. (See Nos. 12, 23, 94, 145, 146, 173, 175, 183, 184, 185, 463, 464, 539.)

30. *ٱللَّهُ ٱلْوَاحِدُ ٱلْقَهَّارُ* *God, the Single, the All-compelling One.* Q. xii. 39; xxxviii. 65; xxxix. 6. (See also Nos. 12, 382, 511, 513.)

31. *ٱللَّهُ* *the Worshipped One (the God).* Q.; H. 18. (See Nos. 11, 12, 25, 32-40.)

Occurs one hundred and thirteen times in Q., sometimes applied to God, and sometimes to other objects of worship, such as the "golden calf," etc. This word is held to be the original from whence the name of *ٱللَّهُ* was formed.

32. *ٱللَّهُ* *thy God.* Q. ii. 127. (See No. 31.)

Applied also, in xx. 97, to the "golden calf."

33. *ٱللَّهُ* *your God.* Q. ii. 158; xvi. 23; xviii. 110; xx. 98; etc. (See No. 31.)

In Q. xx. 90, the term is applied also to the "golden calf."

34. *ٱللَّهُ* *the God of Moses.* Q. xxviii. 38; xl. 39. (See No. 31.)

In Q. xx. 90, the name is given to the "golden calf" also.

35. *ٱللَّهُ* *our God.* Q. xxix. 45. (See No. 31.)

36. *ٱللَّهُ* *the God of mankind.* Q. cxiv. 3. (See Nos. 31, 152, 205, 470.)

37. *ٱللَّهُ* *a single God.* Q. ii. 158; iv. 169; v. 77; etc. (See Nos. 31, 511.)

38. *ٱللَّهُ* *a single God, save whom there is no God, the Compassionate, the Most Merciful.* Q. ii. 158. (See Nos. 12, 31, 37, 511.)

*39. إِلَهٌ *his God*. (See Nos. 31, 206.) Occurs twice in Q. xxv. 45, and xlv. 22; but in both cases is said of a false god.

*40. إِلَهِي *my God*. (See Nos. 31, 165, 213.)

A very usual ejaculation and exclamation.

41. الْأَمَانُ *the Safety*. V. 4. The word does not appear in Q.

*42. الْأَمِينُ *the Trustworthy One*.

Though the word occurs fourteen times in Q., it is not once used as a divine title there. It is in an old collection of mine, though not in the lists. It is a most worthy title of Him, whose promises are sure; but in the Qur'ān it is applied to Gabriel, "the Trustworthy Spirit," *الرُّوحُ الْأَمِينُ* (xxvi. 193), and was an epithet bestowed on Muhammad by his countrymen, admirers of his early straightforwardness.

43. أَنَا *I*. Q. xv. 49; xvi. 2; xx. 12, 14 bis; xxi. 25; xxvii. 9; xxviii. 30; l. 28; lviii. 21; lx. 1, etc. (See No. 499.)

44. أَنْتَ *Thou*. Q. ii. 30, 121, 122, 123, 286, etc.

45. الْأَوَّلُ *the First*. Q. lvii. 3; H. 82; Ht. 72; R. 92; Rs. 65. (See No. 46.)

Only once applied to God in Q., out of twenty-three occurrences of the word. The passage is *هُوَ الْأَوَّلُ وَالْآخِرُ وَالظَّاهِرُ وَالْبَاطِنُ وَهُوَ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ عَلِيمٌ* *He is the First and the Last, the External and the Internal, and He is aware of all things.*¹

46. الْأَوَّلُ وَالْآخِرُ *the First and the Last*. Q. lvii. 3; V. 5. (See Nos. 4, 45.)

47. الْأَوَّلُ بِالْأَعْدَادِ *the First among numbers*. V. 6.

As unity is the source of plurality, so is God the origin of all things, of all existences.

48. الْبَارِي *the Maker*. Q. lix. 24; H. 94; V. 7; Rs. 13. (See Nos. 15, 49, 50.)

In Q. ii. 51, the expression "your Maker," *بَارِئُكُمْ*, occurs

¹ These four divine titles are sometimes distinguished by the special name *أُمِّيَّاتُ الْأَسْمَاءِ* *the mothers of the names, i.e. the fundamental titles*.—Technical Terms, p. 90, l. 13.

also twice, these three being the only instances. *بَارِي تَعَالَى* *the Maker, whose glory be exalted*, is a phrase in very frequent use in Persian and Turkish as a respectful form of mentioning "our Maker."

49. *الْمُبْدِي الْمَعِيدُ* *the Maker, the Originator, the Restorer.* V. 8. (See Nos. 15, 48, 408, 409, 451.)

50. *الْبَارِي الْمَصَوِّرُ* *The Maker, the Shaper.* V. 9. (See Nos. 15, 48, 116, 441.)

51. *الْبَاسِطُ* *the Outstretcher.* H. 23; Ht. 21; R. 62; Rs. 25. (See Nos. 52, 53, 54.)

بَاسِطٌ occurs three times in Q., not as a divine title.

52. *الْبَاسِطُ الْبَدِيعُ* *the Outstretcher, the Contriver.* V. 10. (See Nos. 51, 64.)

*53. *بَاسِطُ الرِّزْقِ* *the Outspreader of provision.* (See Nos. 51, 220.)

The verb occurs in Q. xiii. 26: *يَسْطُ الرِّزْقَ* *God spreadeth out provision* (for whomsoever He will).

*54. *الْبَاسِطُ الْقَائِسُ* *the Dilator, the Contractor* (of hearts, etc.). (See Nos. 355, 356.)

A frequently-used antithesis, similar to *الْمُخَيِّ الْمَمِيتُ*, etc., *q.v.*

55. *الْبَاطِنُ* *the Interior.* Q. lvii. 3; H. 85; Ht. 75; R. 95; Rs. 43. (See Nos. 56, 275.)

56. *الْبَاطِنُ الظَّاهِرُ* *the Interior, the Exterior.* V. 11. (See Nos. 55, 274.)

57. *الْبَاعِثُ* *the Sender-forth* (of apostles, of the dead from their graves, etc.). H. 63; Ht. 49; R. 32; Rs. 35.

The verb occurs many times in Q. (See Nos. 58, 59, 61.)

58. *بَاعِثُ الْأَمْوَاتِ* *the Sender-forth of the dead* (from their graves). V. 12. (See No. 57.)

59. *الْبَاعِثُ الْوَارِثُ* *the Sender-forth, the Inheritor.* V. 13. (See Nos. 57, 514.)

60. *اَلْبَاقِي* *the Enduring One* (who remaineth for ever). H. 80; Ht. 96; Rs. 72. (See Nos. 61, 62, 63, 304, 540.)

Not in Q.; but the opening phrase of all Muslim inscriptions on tombstones is *هُوَ اَلْبَاقِي* *He (alone) is the Enduring One*. As a name for men, the expression *عَبْدُ اَلْبَاقِي* *servant of Him who remains* (for ever) is not unfrequent.

61. *اَلْبَاقِي اَلْبَاقِي* *the Everlasting One, who recalls the dead to life*. V. 14. (See Nos. 57, 60.)

62. *اَلْبَاقِي اَلدَّائِمُ* *the Everlasting, the Perpetual One*. V. 15. (See Nos. 60, 134.)

63. *اَلْبَاقِي اَلرَّؤُوفُ* *the Everlasting, the Most Indulgent One*. V. 16. (See Nos. 60, 229.)

64. *اَلْبَدِيعُ* *the Contriver*. Q. ii. 111; vi. 101; H. 13; Ht. 95; Rs. 32. (See Nos. 52, 65, 66.)

65. *اَلْبَدِيعُ اَلْاَحَدُ* *the Contriver, the Sole One*. V. 17. (See Nos. 1, 64.)

66. *بَدِيعُ السَّمَوَاتِ وَ اَلْاَرْضِ* *the Contriver of the heavens and the earth*. Q. ii. 111; vi. 101. (See Nos. 24, 64, 117, 175-6, 179.)

67. *اَلْبَرُّ* *the Good One*. Q. lii. 28; H. 78; Ht. 78; Rs. 30. (See No. 68.)

68. *اَلْبَرُّ اَلرَّحِيمُ* *the Good, the Most Merciful*. Q. lii. 28. (See Nos. 67, 217.)

The passage is *هُوَ اَلْبَرُّ اَلرَّحِيمُ* *He is the Good, the Most Merciful*.

69. *اَلْبَرْهَانُ* *the Proof*. V. 18.

Occurs eight times in Q.—once as indicating the book itself; but never in the sense of God, who is, however, the ultimate “proof” of the true.

70. *اَلْبَصِيرُ* *the All-seeing*. Q. xvii. 1; xl. 21, 58; xlii. 9; H. 11; Ht. 27; R. 17; Rs. 70. (See Nos. 71, 120, 248.)

The expression in the passages indicated is *اَلسَّمِيعُ اَلْبَصِيرُ*

(*q.v.* in No. 248.) The word occurs in many other texts, applied to ordinary seers, or to those who perceive mentally.

71. *الْبَصِيرُ الصَّادِقُ* *the All-seeing, the Truthful.* V. 19. (See Nos. 70, 266.)

72. *التَّارِكُ* *the Forsaker.* R. 16.

There is a foot-note to this word in our Journal: "aqui parece que hay un error." The Arabic letters, in this instance only, are not given. Perhaps a guess of the real epithet may be made from the verse which comments on the title, rendered by "Morador."

"Morador que ante tus ojos
Los alarxes estan puestos,
Y tu vista los traspasa
Sin ningun ynpidimiento."

73. *التَّوَّابُ* *the frequent Repenter* (of His wrath). Q. ii. 35, 51, 122, 155; ix. 105, 119; cx. 3; Ht. 79; R. 72; Rs. 89. (See the next three articles.)

74. *التَّوَّابُ الْحَكِيمُ* *the Repenter, the All-wise.* Q. xxiv. 10. (See Nos. 73, 97.)

75. *التَّوَّابُ الرَّحِيمُ* *the Repenter, the Most Merciful.* Q. iv. 20, 67; xlix. 13. (See Nos. 73, 217).

76. *التَّوَّابُ الْمَعِينُ* *the Repenter, the Assister.* V. 20. (See Nos. 73, 452.)

77. *الْجَاوِعُ* *the Uniter* (collector, gatherer). Q. iii. 7; iv. 139; Ht. 86; Rs. 88. Occurs also in xxiv. 62; but not as a divine title.

78. *الْجَبَّارُ* *the All-compeller.* Q. lxix. 23; H. 91; Ht. 10; R. 11; Rs. 10. (See Nos. 79, 80.)

The word occurs also seven other times, as applied to a wayward, tyrannical, despotic man.

79. *الْجَبَّارُ الْقَهَّارُ* *the Compeller, the Subduer.* V. 21. (See 78, 382.)

80. *الْجَبَّارُ الْمُتَكَبِّرُ* the Compeller, the Haughty. Q. lix. 23; V. 22. (See Nos. 78, 415.)

81. *الْجَلِيلُ* the Ave-inspiring One. Ht. 71; Rs. 50.

Not in Q. Its noun, *الْجَلَالُ* dreadness, occurs twice, in lv. 17, 78. The title itself is one of the most usual; and *عَبْدُ الْجَلِيلِ* is a very frequent name of men. (See remarks in No. 82.)

82. *الْجَمِيلُ* the Benignant. V. 23. (See No. 424.)

Occurs seven times in Q., but not as a divine title. *عَبْدُ اللَّهِ الْجَمِيلُ* is a not infrequent name of men; and *يُحِبُّ الْجَمَالَ* God is a benignant One, who loves benignity, is a favourite motto. This title is the antithesis of *الْجَلِيلُ* (q.v. No. 81); and around these two the other titles are grouped into the opposite classes, *صِفَاتُ الْجَمَالِ* qualities of benignity, and *صِفَاتُ الْجَلَالِ* qualities of dreadness; the former founded on the basis of lovingkindness, the latter on that of stern severity.

83. *الْجَوْدُ الْكَرِيمُ* or *الْأَجْوَدُ الْكَرِيمُ*. V. 24. (See No. 389.)

Probably a mistranscription for *الْجَوَادُ الْكَرِيمُ* the Generous, the Munificent. None of the three forms is in Q.

84. *الْحَاضِرُ* the Present (in all times and places). R. 94.

Twice found in Q.; but not as a divine title. It is probably an invention of the philosophers.

85. *الْحَافِظُ* the Preserver. Q. xii. 64. (See also No. 86.)

In none of the lists; but it is a very usual invocation, and may be often seen employed as a written preservative, spell, or charm, on houses, etc., against danger of every kind—*يَا حَافِظُ*.

86. *الْحَافِظُ الرَّافِعُ* the Preserver, the Upraiser. V. 25. (See Nos. 85, 163.)

87. **الْحَاكِمُ** *the Judge*. Lane. (See Nos. 3, 88, 96, 123.)

Not in Q. in the singular.

*88. **الْحَاكِمُ الْمَطْلَقُ** *the Absolute Judge*. (See Nos. 87, 360.)

Not in Q. or any of the lists. It is a divine title invented by the school of the philosophers, and very frequently used.

89. **الْحَامِي** *the Protector*. R. 57.

90. **الْحَبِيبُ** *the Beloved One*. V. 26.

Not in Q. **حَبِيبُ اللَّهِ** *the Beloved of God* is the special poetical designation of Muhammad, as **صَفِيُّ اللَّهِ** *the Pure Friend of God* is that of Adam, **مُجَى اللَّهِ** *the Saved of God* is that of Noah, **خَلِيلُ اللَّهِ** *the Intimate Friend of God* is that of Abraham, **كَلِيمُ اللَّهِ** *the Addressed of God* is that of Moses, and **رُوحُ اللَّهِ** *the Spirit of God* is that of Jesus. With relation to the first and last of these designations, a Turkish poet, Sāmi, **سَامِي**, in that part of the proem to his *Diwān* which recites the praises of the prophet, as is the universal custom, sets forth, in substance, the following ingenious argument: *If any one, in his reflexions, should compare the degrees of the divine favour severally enjoyed by our blessed prophet and the sainted Jesus, let him consider their respective titles—"Spirit of God," and "Beloved of God"; for who would not give his "Spirit" as a sacrifice for his "Beloved"?*

The mystics, on the other hand, consider God to be the object of the burning spiritual love which, according to them, consumes all else in their beings. He is, with them, **مَحْبُوبٌ** and **مَعشُوقٌ**, *the Loved One*. Hence it is not impossible that He may have been styled **الْحَبِيبُ** also by some of them in their ecstatic amplifications. The word may, however, be a misreading for that found in the next following number, **الْحَسِيبُ**. At any rate, **يَا حَبِيبَ اللَّهِ** *O thou Beloved of God!* is a constantly heard chorus to the anthems or ditties

sung by blind beggars at the doors and gates of mosques, etc., in the east, as their appeal for the alms of those who pass by. It there signifies: *O Muhammad!*

91. *أَلْحَسِبُ* the *Reckoner*. Q. iv. 7, 88; xxxiii. 39; H. 35; Ht. 40; R. 83; Rs. 61.

Occurs also in Q. xvii. 15, but is not there applied to God.

92. *أَلْحَفِظُ* the *All-preserving One*. Q. xi. 60; xxxiv. 20; xlii. 4; Ht. 38; R. 91; Rs. 61. (See No. 93.)

Occurs eight times more in Q., not as a divine title.

93. *أَلْحَفِظُ أَلْمَعْنَى* the *All-preserving, Contenting One*. V. 27. (See Nos. 92, 453.)

94. *أَلْحَقُّ* the *Truth (the Right)*. Q. x. 33; xx. 113; xxii. 6, 61; xxiii. 117; xxiv. 25; xxxi. 29; xli. 53; H. 65; Ht. 51; R. 26; Rs. 74. (See also Nos. 28, 29, 95, 464.)

Occurs in very many other passages of Q., with various other meanings. *يَا حَقُّ* *O Thou, the Truth!* is, perhaps, next to *يَا أَللَّهُ* and *يَا رَبَّ* the ejaculation in most frequent use with pious Muslims. *حَقُّ نَعَالَى* is very frequent.

95. *أَلْحَقُّ أَلْمُنِينُ* the *Truth, the Manifest One*; or, the *Manifest Truth*. Q. xxiv. 25. (See also Nos. 94, 410.)

96. *أَلْحَكْمُ* the *Arbitrator*. Q. vi. 114; Ht. 28; Rs. 83; Lane. (See No. 87.)

97. *أَلْحَكِيمُ* the *Allwise*. Q. ii. 30, 123, etc.; H. 9; Ht. 46; R. 18; Rs. 84. (See Nos. 22, 98, 99, 100, 101, 283, 314, 467, 516.)

Occurs many times in Q., as a divine and human title, alone and in compounds.

98. *أَلْحَكِيمُ أَلْحَمِيدُ* the *Allwise, All-praiseworthy One*. Q. xli. 42. (See Nos. 97, 105.)

99. *أَلْحَكِيمُ أَلْخَبِيرُ* the *Allwise, All-cognizant One*. Q. vi. 18, 73; xxxiv. 1. (See Nos. 97, 119.)

100. *اَلْحَكِيمُ اَلْعَلِيمُ* *the Allwise, Omniscient One.* Q. vi. 83, 128, 140; xv. 25; xxvii. 6; xliii. 84; li. 30; V. 28. (See Nos. 97, 308.)

This order is reversed on several other occasions in Q. (See No. 314.)

101. *اَلْحَكِيمُ اَلْكَرِيمُ* *the Allwise, All-bountiful One.* V. 29. (See Nos. 97, 389.)

102. *اَلْحَلِيمُ* *the Ever-Slow-to-anger.* Q. ii. 225, etc.; H. 21; Ht. 32; R. 15; Rs. 94. (See Nos. 103, 104, 262, 315, 327.)

Occurs fifteen times in Q., not always as a divine title.

103. *اَلْحَلِيمُ اَلرَّشِيدُ* *the All-lenient, the Unerring One.* Q. xi. 89. (See Nos. 102, 222, 437.)

104. *اَلْحَلِيمُ اَلْعَفُورُ* *the All-lenient, Most Forgiving One.* Q. xvii. 46; xxxv. 39. (See also Nos. 102, 326.)

105. *اَلْحَمِيدُ* *the All-praiseworthy One.* Q. ii. 270; xi. 76, etc.; H. 30; Ht. 56; R. 27; Rs. 26. (See Nos. 98, 106, 284.)

Occurs seventeen times in Q., definite and indefinite, but always in a compound title.

106. *اَلْحَمِيدُ اَلْمَجِيدُ* *the All-praiseworthy, the All-glorious One.* Q. xi. 76; V. 30. (See Nos. 105, 422.)

107. *اَلْحَنَّانُ* *the Ever-yearning One.* Qs.; H. 58; V. 31.

The noun *حَنَّانٌ* occurs once in Q. (See No. 108.)

108. *اَلْحَنَّانُ اَلْمَنَّانُ* *the Ever-yearning, Ever-bestowing One.* V. 32. (See Nos. 107, 476.)

109. *اَلْحَيُّ* *the Living One.* Q. ii. 256, etc.; H. 24; Ht. 62; R. 37; Rs. 93. (See Nos. 26, 110, 111, 112.)

Occurs nineteen times in Q., not always as a divine title. *يَا حَيُّ* is a favourite ejaculation; with the Ottomans an exclamation of admiring surprise.

110. *اَلْحَيُّ اَلْقَيُّومُ* *the Living, Self-existing One.* Q. ii. 256; iii. 1; xx. 110; V. 33. (See Nos. 26, 109, 383.)

This is one of the two pairs of divine titles given in the greatly admired, but rather inaccurately so-called, "Throne Verse" of the Qur'an, held to be the most sublime passage in that noble volume. It is as follows (ii. 256):

اللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْحَيُّ الْقَيُّومُ لَا تَأْخُذُهُ سِنَّةٌ وَلَا نَوْمٌ لَهُ مَا فِي السَّمَوَاتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ مَنْ ذَا الَّذِي يَشْفَعُ عِنْدَهُ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِهِ يَعْلَمُ مَا بَيْنَ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَمَا خَلْفَهُمْ وَلَا يُحِيطُونَ بِشَيْءٍ مِنْ عِلْمِهِ إِلَّا بِمَا شَاءَ وَسِعَ كُرْسِيُّهُ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ وَلَا يَئُودُهُ حِفْظُهُمَا وَهُوَ الْعَلِيُّ الْعَظِيمُ

I render the passage in the following manner, with some variations from Sale's version:

God, save whom there is no God, is the Living, the Self-existing One. Drowsiness overcometh Him not, nor sleep. Unto Him belongeth whatever is in the heavens, and whatever is in the earth. Who is he that shall make intercession with Him, save by his permission? He knoweth whatever is before them, and whatever is behind them; and they comprehend not a single matter of His knowledge, save only that which He hath willed. His firmament spans the heavens and the earth, the preservation whereof doth not distress Him. And He is the Most High, the Most Supreme.

The *الْعَرْشُ*, of Nos. 17, 29, etc., is explained by scientific commentators to signify the "Heaven of Heavens," i.e. the "*primum mobile*" of the old astronomers, the "empyrean" of poets; and the *الْكُرْسِيُّ* of the present passage to indicate the "starry vault," i.e. the "firmament" or "heaven of the fixed stars." These two "heavens" were supposed to be above the "seven heavens," *السَّمَوَاتُ السَّبْعُ* of the "seven planets," *السَّبْعُ السَّيَّارَةُ*, which were, in order, from below upwards: 1st, the Moon, *الْقَمَرُ*; 2nd, Mercury, *عُطَارِدٌ*; 3rd, Venus, *الزُّهْرَةُ*; 4th, the Sun, *الشَّمْسُ*; 5th, Mars, *الْمَرِيجُ*; 6th, Jupiter, *الْمُشْتَرِي*; and 7th, Saturn, *زُحَلٌ*. They thus

constituted, in all, nine "heavens," *الْكُرْسِيُّ* being the eighth, and *الْعَرْشُ* the ninth or highest, beyond which God holds His state in unapproachable, inconceivable grandeur, majesty, and splendour.

The words *كُرْسِيٌّ* and *عَرْشٌ* are both explained as meaning a "throne;" but, as one throne is not placed on another, and as *الْعَرْشُ* is several times mentioned in Q. as the most intimately approximate dwelling-place of God's glory, we may better look upon this as the representative of His "throne," and then *الْكُرْسِيُّ* would become "His footstool." Or, if the latter be taken for the "throne," then the former may be understood to figure the "pavilion," tent, tabernacle, or roof, over the throne. But, in this case, the divine glory would be considered as residing beneath the "roof" and above the "throne"; whereas it is always spoken of as being beyond *الْعَرْشُ*. I therefore prefer to consider this latter as the "throne," and *الْكُرْسِيُّ* as the "footstool." Every "stool" is, in fact, denominated *كُرْسِيٌّ*, though a "chair," a "bedstead," and a "throne" are so called also.

111. *الْحَيُّ الْمَيِّتُ* the Living, the Manifest One. V. 34.
(See Nos. 109, 410.)

112. *الْحَيُّ الْمَتَعَالَى* the Living, the High-exalted One. V. 35.
(See Nos. 109, 412.)

113. *الْحَافِظُ* the Abaser. Qs.; Ht. 22; R. 64; Rs. 28; M.; Lane. (See No. 114.)

Not in Q. The feminine and the verb occur.

*114. *الْحَافِظُ الرَّائِعُ* the Abaser, the Up-raiser. (See Nos. 113, 163.)

One of the antithetical pairs of titles often met with.

115. *الْخَالِقُ* the Creator. Q. vi. 102; H. 93; Ht. 12; R. 33; Rs. 12. (See Nos. 2, 15, 116, 117, 118, 121, 268, 344, 414.)

Occurs seven other times in composition.

116. *الْخَالِقُ الْبَارِي الْمَصَوِّرُ* the Creator, Maker, Shaper. Q. lix. 24. (See Nos. 15, 48, 50, 115, 441.)

*117. *خَالِقُ السَّمَوَاتِ الْأَرْضِ* the Creator of the heavens and the earth. (See Nos. 24, 66, 110, 115.)

The verb occurs in Q. xiv. 37.

118. *خَالِقُ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ* the Creator of all things. Q. vi. 102; xiii. 17; xxxix. 63; xl. 64. (See Nos. 115, 301, 302.)

119. *الْخَبِيرُ* the All-cognizant One. Q. ii. 234, 273, etc.; H. 44; Ht. 31; R. 84; Rs. 68. (See Nos. 99, 120, 316.)

Occurs more than forty times in Q., singly and in composition, always as a divine title.

120. *الْخَبِيرُ الْبَصِيرُ* the All-cognizant, All-seeing One. Q. xl. 26. (See Nos. 70, 119.)

121. *الْخَالِقُ* the Ever-creating One. Q.; H. 60. (See Nos. 115, 121, 416.)

122. *الْخَالِقُ الْعَلِيمُ* the Ever-creating, Omniscient One. Q. xv. 86; xxxvi. 81. (See Nos. 121, 308.)

123. *خَيْرُ الْحَاكِمِينَ* the Best of Judges. Q. x. 109; xii. 80. (See Nos. 3, 87, 88.)

124. *خَيْرُ الرَّاحِمِينَ* the Best of the Merciful. Q. xxiii. 111, 118. (See No. 161.)

125. *خَيْرُ الرَّازِقِينَ* the Best of Providers. Q. v. 114; xxii. 57; xxiii. 74; xxxiv. 38; lxii. 11. (See No. 162.)

126. *خَيْرُ الْغَافِرِينَ* the Best of Forgivers. Q. vii. 154; V. 36. (See No. 318.)

127. *خَيْرُ الْفَاتِحِينَ* the Best of Openers. Q. vii. 87. (See No. 340.)

128. *خَيْرُ الْفَاعِلِينَ* the Best of Separaters. Q. vi. 57. (See No. 343.)

129. *خَيْرُ الْمَكْرِينَ* the Best of Devisers. Q. iii. 47; viii. 30. (See No. 402.)

130. خَيْرُ الْمُنْزِلِينَ *the Best of Demitters* (from above; in revelation to men on earth, etc.). Q. xxiii. 30. (See No. 480.)

Occurs also in Q. xii. 59, applied to a man, Joseph, *a causer to alight*.

131. خَيْرُ النَّاصِرِينَ *the Best of Aiders*. Q. iii. 143. (See Nos. 496, 507.)

132. خَيْرُ الْوَارِثِينَ *the Best of Inheritors*. Q. xxi. 89; V. 37. (See No. 513.)

133. الدَّافِعُ *the Repeller*. V. 38.

The word is not in Q., as directly applied to God; but it occurs twice, in lii. 8, and lxx. 2, in a sense well fitted for such application, namely, *a repeller* of evil from men. The verb occurs twice also, in ii. 252, and xxii. 41, directly applied to God, as *driving out* men from land by means of other peoples. In V., however, the word may be a misreading for الْكَرَّافِعُ, *q.v.* No. 163.

134. الدَّائِمُ *the Perpetual One*. V. 39. (See No. 62.)

Not in Q. as a divine title, but eminently suitable.

135. الدَّيَّانُ *the Ever-requiting One*. Qs.; Lane; M.; V. 40.

The expression in Q. i. 3: مَالِكِ يَوْمِ الدِّينِ *Possessor of the day of requital*, fully justifies this application.

136. دُوَّ الْإِحْسَانِ الْوَاسِعُ *the Possessor of beneficence, the Ample One*. V. 41. (See No. 515.)

137. دُوَّ أَنْتِقَامٍ *the Possessor of vengeance*. Q. iii. 3; v. 96; xiv. 48; xxxix. 38. (See Nos. 239, 285, 477.)

138. دُوَّ الْجَلَالِ *the Possessor of amfulness*. V. 42. (See Nos. 81, 139, 142.)

139. دُوَّ الْجَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ *the Possessor of amfulness and of conferring honour*. Q. lv. 27, 78; H. 81; Ht. 84; R. 87; Rs. 99. (See No. 138.)

140. دُوَّ الرَّحْمَةِ *the Possessor of Compassion*. Q. xviii. 57. (See Nos. 141, 161, 217, 328.)

141. *ذُو رَحْمَةٍ وَاسِعَةٍ* the Possessor of an ample Compassion. Q. vi. 148. (See No. 140.)

142. *ذُو السُّلْطَانِ وَالْجَلَالِ* the Possessor of authority and amfulness. V. 43. (See Nos. 81, 138, 139.)

143. *ذُو الطَّوْلِ* the Possessor of longanimity. Q. xl. 3; H. 74. (See No. 144.)

144. *ذُو الطَّوْلِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ* the Possessor of longanimity, save whom there is no God. Q. xl. 3. (See Nos. 25, 143, 439.)

145. *ذُو الْعَرْشِ* the Possessor of the empyrean. Q. xvii. 44; xl. 15; lxxxi. 20. (See Nos. 29, 146, 173, 175.)

146. *ذُو الْعَرْشِ الْمَجِيدِ* the Possessor of the empyrean, the All-glorious One. Q. lxxxv. 15. (See Nos. 26, 145, 175, 422.)

147. *ذُو الْعِقَابِ الْأَلِيمِ* the Possessor of the sore castigation. Q. xli. 43. (See Nos. 241, 258.)

148. *ذُو الْعَهْدِ الْوَفِيُّ* the Possessor of an assurance given, the Fulfiller. V. 44. (See Nos. 521, 525.)

149. *ذُو الْفَضْلِ الْعَظِيمِ* the Possessor of the most supreme bounty. Q. ii. 99; iii. 67, 168; viii. 29, 57; xxi. 29; lxii. 4. (See Nos. 150, 151, 152, 153, 156.)

150. *ذُو فَضْلٍ عَلَى الْعَالَمِينَ* the Possessor of a bounty towards all the worlds. Q. ii. 252. (See Nos. 149, 151—3, 156.)

151. *ذُو فَضْلٍ عَلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ* the Possessor of a bounty towards the believers. Q. iii. 146. (See Nos. 149, 150, 153, 156.)

152. *ذُو فَضْلٍ عَلَى النَّاسِ* the Possessor of a bounty towards mankind. Q. ii. 244; x. 61; xxvii. 75; xl. 63. (See Nos. 36, 205, 470.)

153. *ذُو الْفَضْلِ وَالْإِحْسَانِ* the Possessor of bounty and beneficence. V. 45.

154. *ذُو الْقُوَّةِ* the Possessor of strength. H. 76; R. 49. (See Nos. 155, 221, 379.)

155. *ذُو الْقُوَّةِ الْمَتِينُ* the Possessor of strength, the Firm. Q. li. 58. (See Nos. 154, 221, 379, 417.)

156. *ذُو الْكَرَمِ وَالْفَضْلِ* the Possessor of munificence and bounty. V. 46. V. erroneously gives الكرام and الفضال. (See also Nos. 149—153.)

157. *ذُو الْكَمَالِ* the Possessor of perfection. V. 47. (See No. 386A.)

158. *ذُو الْمَعَارِجِ* the Possessor of the ascending-places (to heaven, for prayers and good works, etc.). Q. lxx. 3. (See No. 224.)

159. *ذُو مَغْفِرَةٍ لِّلنَّاسِ* the Possessor of forgiveness for mankind. Q. xiii. 7. (See Nos. 160, 318, 324, 326.)

160. *ذُو مَغْفِرَةٍ وَذُو عِقَابٍ أَلِيمٍ* the Possessor of forgiveness and the Possessor of a sore castigation. Q. xli. 43. (See Nos. 147, 159.)

*161. *الرَّاحِمُ* the Merciful One. (See Nos. 5, 124, 214, 217.)

162. *الرَّازِقُ* the Provider. V. 48. (See Nos. 125, 220.)

163. *الرَّافِعُ* the Upraiser. Q. iii. 48; Ht. 23; R. 63; Rs. 27. (See also Nos. 86, 114, 164.)

The passage is : *إِنِّي مُتَوَقِّعُكَ وَرَافِعُكَ إِلَيَّ* Verily I am He who shall take thee and shall raise thee up to myself. This was addressed by God to Jesus, who was "caught up" alive and bodily to heaven.

164. *الرَّافِعُ الْكَافِي* the Upraiser, the Sufficient One. V. 49. (See Nos. 163, 384.)

165. *رَبِّ* (for رَبِّي) my Lord. Q. ii. 120, 262, etc.; H. 2; R. 2.

Occurs a great many times in Q., and preserved as a venerable peculiarity copied from the original manuscript. (Compare *الْمُتَعَالَى* for *الْمُتَعَالِ*, No. 412; and see No. 213.)

*166. *رَبِّ* the Lord (of so-and-so). Q.

Used hundreds of times with a complement, as a divine title. (See the next following forty-seven articles, etc.)

*167. *الرَّبُّ* the Lord.

Occurs not in Q., nor in any one of the lists, alone, and in this definite form. The ejaculation *يَا رَبَّ*, given by M. and R., is for *يَا رَبَّ*, *q.v.* above, No. 161. (See also the next following numbers.)

168. *رَبُّ الْأَرْيَابِ* the Lord of lords. M.; Lane; *voce رَبَّ*. Not in Q., but much used.

*169. *الرَّبُّ الْأَعْلَى* the Lord, the Supreme One. (See Nos. 9, 167.)

170. *الرَّبُّ الرَّحِيمُ* the Lord, the Most Compassionate One. V. 50. (See Nos. 167, 217.)

171. *رَبُّ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ* the Lord of the sky and of the earth, Q. li. 23, 172. (See Nos. 24, 117, 174, etc.)

172. *رَبُّ السَّمَوَاتِ السَّبْعِ* the Lord of the seven heavens. Q. xxiii. 88. (See also Nos. 24, 171, 173, 174.)

173. *رَبُّ السَّمَوَاتِ السَّبْعِ وَرَبُّ الْعَرْشِ الْعَظِيمِ* the Lord of the seven heavens, and Lord of the most immense empyrean. Q. xxiii. 88. (See Nos. 24, 29, 145, 146, 172, 184.)

174. *رَبُّ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ* the Lord of the heavens and of the earth. Q. xiii. 17; xvii. 104; xviii. 12; xix. 66; xxi. 57; xxvi. 23; xl. 82; V. 51. (See Nos. 24, 117, 171, 172, 173, 175—180, etc.)

175. *رَبُّ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَرَبُّ الْعَرْشِ* the Lord of the heavens and of the earth, the Lord of the empyrean. Q. xliii. 82. (See also Nos. 29, 145, 146, 173, 174.)

176. *رَبُّ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَمَا بَيْنَهُمَا* the Lord of the heavens and of the earth, and of that which is between them both. Q. xxxvii. 5; xxxviii. 66; xliv. 6; lxxviii. 37. (See Nos. 174, 177—180.)

177. *رَبُّ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَمَا بَيْنَهُمَا الرَّحِيمُ* the Lord of the heavens and of the earth, and of what is between them both, the Compassionate One. Q. lxxviii. 37. (See Nos. 176, 214.)

178. رَبُّ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَمَا بَيْنَهُمَا وَرَبُّ الْمَشَارِقِ *the Lord of the heavens and of the earth, and of what is between them both, and the Lord of the places of sunrise.* Q. xxxvii. 5. (See Nos. 176, 197.)

179. رَبُّ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَمَا بَيْنَهُمَا الْعَزِيزُ الْغَفَّارُ *the Lord of the heavens and of the earth, and of what is between them both; the Most Mighty, the Ever-forgiving One.* Q. xxxviii. 66. (See Nos. 176, 288.)

180. رَبُّ السَّمَوَاتِ وَرَبُّ الْأَرْضِ رَبُّ الْعَالَمِينَ *the Lord of the heavens, and Lord of the earth, the Lord of all the worlds.* Q. xlv. 35. (See Nos. 174, 182.)

181. رَبُّ الشَّعْرَى *the Lord of the Dog-Star (Sirius).* Q. liii. 50.

Some pagan Arabs worshipped the star Sirius, and swore by it. Muhammad sought to extol God by saying that He was the Lord of that very star also.

182. رَبُّ الْعَالَمِينَ *the Lord of (all) the worlds.* Q. i. 1, etc. Occurs perhaps fifty times in Q. (See Nos. 16, 338.)

183. رَبُّ الْعَرْشِ *the Lord of the empyrean.* Q. xxi. 22; xliii. 82. (See Nos. 17, 29, 184, 185.)

184. رَبُّ الْعَرْشِ الْعَظِيمِ *the Lord of the most immense empyrean.* Q. ix. 130; xxiii. 88; xxvii. 26; V. 52. (See Nos. 17, 29, 183, 185.)

185. رَبُّ الْعَرْشِ الْكَرِيمِ *the Lord of the most honourable empyrean.* Q. xxiii. 117. (See also Nos. 17, 29, 183, 184.)

According to Baydhāwī some have read الْكَرِيمُ, making this adjective qualify رَبُّ الْعَرْشِ, not الْعَرْشِ itself. The sense then would be: *the Lord of the empyrean, the Bountiful One.* (See No. 389.)

186. رَبُّ الْعِزَّةِ *the Lord of Might.* Q. xxxvii. 180. (See No. 282.)

187. *الرَّبُّ الْعَظِيمُ* the Lord, the Most Supreme One. (See Nos. 192, 294.)
188. *الرَّبُّ الْغَفُورُ* the Lord, the All-forgiving One. Q. xxxiv. 14. (See Nos. 166, 326.)
- Q. has the expression indefinite; *رَبِّ غَفُورٍ*.
189. *رَبُّ الْفَلَقِ* the Lord of the daybreak. Q. cxiii. 1.
190. *رَبِّكَ* thy Lord. Q. ii. 28, etc. (See Nos. 191, 194, 195.)
191. *رَبِّكَ* thy Lord (O female). Q. xix. 21, 24, etc. (See No. 190.)
192. *رَبِّكَ الْعَظِيمُ* thy Lord, the Most Supreme One. Q. lvi. 73, 96, etc. (See Nos. 187, 294.)
193. *رَبُّ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ* the Lord of all things. Q. vi. 164. (See Nos. 301, 302.)
194. *رَبُّكُمْ* your Lord. Q. iii. 120, 121, etc. (See Nos. 18, 166, 190, 196.)
195. *رَبُّكُمَا* the Lord of you two. Q. vii. 19, etc. (See Nos. 190, 194.)
196. *رَبُّكُمْ اللَّهُ* your Lord, the God. Q. x. 3. (See Nos. 12, 194.)
- This is probably a proposition: *Your Lord is the God, who*
197. *رَبُّ الْمَشَارِقِ* the Lord of the places of sunrise. Q. xxxvii. 5. (See Nos. 178, 198, 199—202.)
198. *رَبُّ الْمَشَارِقِ وَالْمَغَارِبِ* the Lord of the places of sunrise and of the places of sunset. Q. lxx. 40. (See Nos. 178, 197, 199—202.)
199. *رَبُّ الْمَشْرِقِ وَالْمَغْرِبِ* the Lord of the place of sunrise and of the place of sunset. Q. xxvi. 27; lxxiii. 9. (See Nos. 198, etc.)
200. *رَبُّ الْمَشْرِقَيْنِ* the Lord of the two places of sunrise (of the summer and winter seasons). Q. lv. 16. (See Nos. 198, 199, 201, 202.)

201. رَبُّ الْمَشْرِقَيْنِ وَرَبُّ الْمَغْرِبَيْنِ *the Lord of the two places of sunrise, and the Lord of the two places of sunset.* Q. lv. 16, 17. (See Nos. 198, 199, 200, 202.)

202. رَبُّ الْمَغْرِبَيْنِ *the Lord of the two places of sunset.* Q. lv. 17. (See Nos. 199, 200, 201.)

203. رَبُّ مُوسَى وَهَارُونَ *the Lord of Moses and Aaron.* Q. vii. 119; xxvi. 47. (See No. 210.)

204. رَبُّنَا *our Lord.* Q. ii. 133, etc. (See Nos. 19, 165, 166, 213.)

205. رَبُّ النَّاسِ *the Lord of mankind.* Q. cxiv. 1. (See Nos. 36, 152, 470.)

206. رَبُّهُ *his Lord.* Q. ii. 118, 125, etc. (See Nos. 207, 211, 212.)

207. رَبُّهَا *her Lord.* Q. iii. 32, etc. (See Nos. 206, 211, 212.)

208. رَبُّ هَذَا الْبَيْتِ *the Lord of this house (tent, tabernacle, chamber, or temple for worship at Makka).* Q. cvi. 3. (See No. 209.)

209. رَبُّ هَذِهِ الْبَلَدَةِ *the Lord of this city (of Makka).* Q. xxvii. 93. (See No. 208.)

210. رَبُّ هَارُونَ وَمُوسَى *the Lord of Aaron and Moses.* Q. xx. 72. (See No. 203.)

211. رَبُّهُمْ *their Lord.* Q. iii. 193, etc. (See Nos. 206, 207, 212.)

212. رَبُّهُمَا *the Lord of them both.* Q. vii. 21. (See Nos. 206, 207, 211.)

213. رَبِّي *my Lord.* Q. iii. 44; v. 76, 117, etc. (See No. 165.)

214. الرَّحْمَنُ *the Compassionate One.* Q. i. 2, etc.; H. 3; Ht. 2; R. 3; Rs. 2. (See Nos. 20, 177.)

Occurs nearly sixty times in Q., besides its place in Bi-'smi-llāh, بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ. The name عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ is very frequent.

215. الرَّحْمَنُ الرَّحِيمُ *the Compassionate, the Most Merciful.* Q. i. 2; ii. 158, etc.; V. 53. (See Nos. 20, 214, 217.)

Besides its places in the body of Q. itself, this compound is a part of the Bi-'smi-'llāh,¹ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ, *in the name of God, the Compassionate, the Most Merciful.* This formula is placed at the head of each chapter of Q., excepting the ninth, سُورَةُ التَّوْبَةِ *the Chapter of Repentance.* Several reasons have been adduced for this omission, the most probable being that a part of it was the very last promulgated, and that Muhammad died before he had assigned a distinct place to it, thus leaving it doubtful whether it was a chapter by itself, or a part of one. However, the formula is repeated whenever a recitation of any section of the Qur'ān is about to be entered upon, and also before commencing any action of importance.

216. الرَّحْمَنُ الْمُسْتَعَانُ *the Compassionate One, He who is invoked for aid.* Q. xxi. 112. (See Nos. 214, 440.)

217. الرَّحِيمُ *the Most Merciful.* Q. i. 2, etc.; H. 4; Ht. 3; V. 58; R. 4; Rs. 3.

Occurs over a hundred times in the body of Q., and also in the formula of the "Bismillāh"—Bi-'smi-'llāh,—there following الرَّحْمَنُ, *q.v.* عَبْدُ الرَّحِيمِ is a usual name of men. (See Nos. 20, 75, 170, 215, 329.)

218. الرَّحِيمُ الْغَفُورُ *the Most Merciful, the Most Forgiving One.* Q. xxxiv. 2. (See Nos. 217, 326.)

219. الرَّحِيمُ الْوَدُودُ *the Most Merciful, the Most Affectionate One.* Q. xi. 92. (See Nos. 217, 524.)

220. الرَّزَّاقُ *the Ever-Providing One.* Q. li. 58; H. 75; Ht. 17; R. 59; Rs. 19. (See Nos. 53, 125, 162.)

Occurs but once in Q., but is a cherished title. عَبْدُ الرَّزَّاقِ is a not unfrequent name of men.

¹ It is as incorrect to write *bismillāh* in one word, as it would be to write *chefd'auvre* or *aide-decamp*.

221. *الرَّزَاقُ ذُو الْقُوَّةِ الْمَتِينُ* *the Ever-Providing One, the Possessor of strength, the Firm.* Q. li. 58. (See Nos. 154, 155, 220, 417.)

222. *الرَّشِيدُ* *the Unerring One.* Q. xi. 89; Ht. 98; R. 67; Rs. 77; M. (See also Nos. 103, 437.)

Occurs but once in Q. as a divine title, twice applied to a man of sound judgment who follows the right course.

223. *الرَّفِيعُ* *the Eminent One.* Q. xl. 15; V. 54. (See Nos. 224, 225.)

Does not occur in Q. as a simple title, and would not be correct if applied directly to God himself.

224. *رَفِيعُ الدَّرَجَاتِ* *the Eminent of degrees.* Q. xl. 15; V. 55. (See Nos. 158, 223, 225.)

225. *رَفِيعُ الدَّرَجَاتِ ذُو الْعَرْشِ* *the Eminent of degrees (by which ascent towards Him is permitted), the Possessor of the empyrean.* Q. xl. 15. (See Nos. 158, 223, 224.)

Apparently an allusion to a parallel of the steps of Jacob's ladder, and to the seven or nine heavens that served as stages in the night-ascent, *الْمَعْرَاجُ*.

226. *الرَّقِيبُ* *the Watcher.* Q. iv. 1; v. 117; xxxiii. 52; H. 54; Ht. 43; R. 81; Rs. 48. (See Nos. 227, 264, 365.)

Occurs twice also in Q. applied to a man. *كَانَ اللَّهُ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ رَقِيبًا* *God is a Watcher over all things* is the passage in Q. xxxiii. 52.

227. *الرَّقِيبُ الدَّائِمُ* *the Watcher, the Perpetual One.* V. 56. (See Nos. 134, 226.)

228. *الرَّوُّفُ* is an incorrect mode of writing *الرَّؤُوفُ*, *q.v.*; but is very generally met with.

229. *الرَّوُّفُ* *the Most Indulgent One.* Q. vi. 138, 203, etc.; H. 16; Ht. 82; V. 57; R. 73; Rs. 71. (See Nos. 63, 228, 230, 231, 330.)

Occurs eleven times in Q., always applied to God. The word is very generally, but incorrectly, written *الرَّوُّفُ*.

230. الرَّؤُوفُ بِالْعِبَادِ *the Most Indulgent One with the servants* (*i.e.* with those who serve Him, the righteous; and also, mankind, angels, and demons in general; mankind more particularly). Q. ii. 203; iii. 28. (See Nos. 63, 229, 231, 330.)

231. الرَّؤُوفُ الرَّحِيمُ *the Most Indulgent, Most Merciful One.* Q. ii. 138; ix. 118, 129; xvi. 7, 49; xxii. 64; xxiv. 20; lvii. 9; lix. 10. (See Nos. 217, 229.)

232. الرَّزَّيُّ *the Righteous One.* V. 59.

Applied in Qs. in this sense to a man. In Q. xix. 19 it is said of a boy; applied to whom it also signifies: *growing, thriving.* The word is, possibly, a misreading for الْمُرْتَبِي, *q.v.* No. 438.

233. السَّاتِرُ *the Coverer up* (of sin, shame, etc.). V. 60. (See No. 236.)

234. سُبْحَانَ (I recite) *the doxology* (of God). V. 61.

This word, used only in the accusative definite, and always followed by a noun in the genitive, or by a possessive pronoun singular of the second or third person, indicative of God, occurs forty-one times in Q., and is constantly used as a doxology, in the form سُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ (recite thou, or, I recite) *the doxology of the God*, or سُبْحَانَ رَبِّكَ الْعَلِيِّ (recite thou) *the doxology of thy Lord, the Most High*; the first of these two being also frequently heard as an exclamation of wonder or admiration. The word is never used as a divine name or title, and is always a doxology alone. To suppose that it is a "name of God" is a gross error. What has given rise to this false idea would appear to be a custom with writers, out of reverence, to suppress the name of God after the verb قَالَ *He hath said*, when they quote a passage of the Qur'ān, but to indicate the source of the quotation by interposing a doxology between it and the verb; thus: قَالَ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى أَنَا اللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا أَنَا *He, whose praises I recite and whose glory*

be extolled, hath said: "I am God; there is no God save Me." In such cases a divine title *may* be introduced and the doxology also; thus: قَالَ اللَّهُ مُبْحَاثُهُ وَتَعَالَى *God, whose praises I recite and whose glory be extolled, hath said.* In like manner, when reporting a tradition of the prophet, his name or title is also suppressed at times, and mentioned at others, with the usual blessing on him in both cases; thus: قَالَ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ or قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. It would be equally a great mistake to suppose that the salutation صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ is a name or title of Muhammad.

235. اَلْأَسْبَحُ *the Ever-lauded One* (to whom, or of whom, the doxologies are recited). Qs.; M.; Lane; R. 28.

Not in Q. nor in any of the lists but that of the Spanish Moor.

236. اَلْأَسْتَارُ *the Ever-Coverer over* (of sins repented of). V. 62; Lane; M. (See Nos. 233, 237, 271.)

237. سَتَّارُ الْعُيُوبِ *the Ever-Coverer over of faults.* Lane; M. (See Nos. 233, 236.)

238. اَلْأَسْرِعُ *the Swift One.* H. 33. (See Nos. 6, 239, 240, 241.)

239. سَرِيعُ الْإِنْتِقَامِ *the Swift in Vengeance.* (See Nos. 137, 238, 477.)

240. سَرِيعُ الْحِسَابِ *the Swift in reckoning* (with His creatures for their deeds). Q. ii. 198; iii. 17, 199; v. 6; xiii. 41; xiv. 51; xxiv. 39; xl. 17; Lane.

241. سَرِيعُ الْعِقَابِ *the Swift in chastisement.* Q. vi. 165; vii. 166; Lane. (See Nos. 147, 258.)

242. اَلْأَسْلَامُ *the Safety.* Q. v. 18; lix. 23; H. 87; Ht. 6; R. 7; Rs. 6. (See Nos. 243, 466.)

The expression is metaphorical for دُرِّ اَلْأَسْلَامِ in the two passages cited from Q. The word occurs forty times in other senses.

243. *السَّلامُ الْمُؤْمِنُ* the *Safety, the Confiding One*. Q. lix. 23; V. 64. (See Nos. 242, 466.)

244. *السُّلْطَانُ* the *Authority*. V. 64.

Occurs in Q. thirty-six times, always in the sense of ordinary "authority." It is applied to a ruler, prince, king, by a well-known metaphor. Conceivably, it may have been used as a title of God, but it is not mentioned in the usual books of reference.

245. *السَّمِيُّ* the *Namesake*; Q. xix. 8; or, the *Very-exalted One*. Q. xix. 66; V. 76. (See No. 246.)

Probably a misreading.

246. *السَّمِيُّ السَّمِيعُ* the *Very-exalted, the All-hearing One*. V. 76. (See No. 245.)

247. *السَّمِيعُ* the *All-hearing One*. Q.; Ht. 26; V. 63; R. 19; Rs. 14.

Occurs forty-seven times in Q., always as a divine title, with one exception, xi. 26, where it is applied to a man. They are all compounds, given below. (See Nos. 248-251.)

248. *السَّمِيعُ الْبَصِيرُ* the *All-hearing, All-seeing One*. Q. iv. 61, 133; xvii. 1; xxii. 60, 74; xxxi. 27; xl. 21, 58; xlii. 9; lviii. 1; lxxvi. 2; V. 67. (See Nos. 70, 247.)

249. *سَمِيعُ الدُّعَاءِ* the *Ever-hearer of prayer*. Q. iii. 33; xiv. 41.

250. *السَّمِيعُ الْعَلِيمُ* the *All-hearing, Omniscient One*. Q.; V. 68. (See Nos. 247, 308.)

Occurs thirty-two times in Q., as ii. 121, 131, etc.

251. *السَّمِيعُ الْقَرِيبُ* the *All-hearing, Ever-near One*. Q. xxxiv. 49. (See Nos. 247, 377.)

252. *سَيِّدُ أَسَادَاتِ* the *Prince of Princes*. V. 69.

This is most certainly erroneous in its application to God. The title is one of those belonging to Muhammad. ^{سَيِّدُ} is applied to John the Baptist in Q. iii. 34; and to Potiphar in xii. 25.

253. سَيِّدُ الْسَّيِّدِينَ V. 70.

Perhaps for سَيِّدُ السَّيِّدِينَ *Prince of the two Princes*. Hasan and Husayn, the two grandsons of Muhammad, are styled سَيِّدَايَ (obl. السَّيِّدَيْنِ), and both their father, Ali, and their grandfather, would rightly be styled their Prince.

254. الشَّافِي *the Health-giving One*. V. 71.

The verb يَشْفِي occurs in Q. ix. 14, as applied to God's healing the breasts of believers, i.e. removing doubts therefrom. The title is usually given to a satisfactory, doubt-removing answer, جَوَابُ شَأْنٍ in Persian and Turkish جَوَابُ شَأْنِي.

255. الشَّاكِرُ *the Thankful One*. Q. ii. 153; iv. 146; H. 17. (See شَكْرٌ, No. 261.)

256. الشَّاكِرُ الْعَلِيمُ *the Thankful, Omniscient One*. Q. ii. 153; iv. 146. (See Nos. 255, 308.)

257. الشَّدِيدُ *the Very-Strenuous One*. H. 73; R. 23. (See the next two.)

258. الشَّدِيدُ الْعِقَابِ *the Very-Strenuous One in chastising*. Q. ii. 192, 207, etc. (See Nos. 147, 241, 257, 380.)

Occurs fourteen times, all applied to God.

259. الشَّدِيدُ الْمَحَالِ *the Very-Strenuous One in devising stratagems*. Q. xiii. 14. (See Nos. 257, 258.)

The word شَدِيدٌ occurs frequently alone as an adjective of other things, and شَدِيدُ الْقُوَى *strong in powers*, is used as a title of the archangel Gabriel in liii. 5.

260. الشَّرِيفُ *the Very-Noble* (Sacred, Holy, Honourable). R. 47.

The word, even its root, does not occur in Q., nor in any of the other lists. It is the title of the Prince of Makka. When indefinite, it is said of a descendant from Muhammad, through Fâtima, like سَيِّدٌ. At Makka, in contradistinction to سَيِّدٌ, it is used to designate especially a descendant from Muhammad

through Hasan, the elder son of Fátima. As an ordinary adjective, it qualifies anything holy or honourable. Doubtless, God is holy and honourable, and this word may have been applied among His titles.

261. *الشَّكُورُ* the *All-thankful One*. Q. xxxv. 27, 31; xlii. 22; lxiv. 17; Ht. 35; R. 78; Rs. 59. (See also *الشَّاكِرُ*, No. 255, also Nos. 262, 331.)

Occurs in Q. six other times applied to man. It is explained by the commentators as betokening that God gives an exceeding great reward for man's very small services.

262. *الشَّكُورُ الْحَلِيمُ* the *All-thankful, All-lenient One*. Q. liv. 17; V. 72. (See Nos. 102, 261.)

V. appears to have *حكيم* instead of *حليم*.

263. *الشَّهِيدُ* the *Witness*. Q. iii. 93, etc.; H. 36; Ht. 50; R. 80; Rs. 39. (See Nos. 264, 279, 280.)

Is found as a divine title in Q. eighteen times, and about as often applied to men. As the title for a martyr the word is well known, and *شَاهِدٌ* is the current term for a witness who sees, hears, or bears testimony.

264. *الشَّهِيدُ الرَّقِيبُ* the *Witness, the Watcher*. V. 73. (See Nos. 226, 263, 279, 280.)

The combination is not in Q.

265. *الصَّاحِبُ* the *Companion*. V. 45.

Not applied to God in Q.

266. *الصَّادِقُ* the *True One* (Truthful, Faithful). H. 70; R. 25. (See No. 267.)

Does not occur in Q. as a divine title, simple or compound.

267. *صَادِقُ الْوَعْدِ* the *True of promise*. V. 74. (See Nos. 266, 520, 525.)

Applied in Q. xix. 55 to Ishmael.

*268. *الصَّانِعُ* the *Fabricator*. Q. xxvii. 90 (noun); V., in 92. (See Nos. 115, 121, 344, 346, 414.)

269. *صَبُورٌ* the *Longsuffering One*. Qa.; Lane; Ht. 99; Rs. 75.

The word is not found in Q.

270. *صَمَدٌ* the *Absolute One*. Q. cxii. 3; Ht. 67; R. 97; Rs. 64. (See Nos. 21, 271, 351.)

صَدُ is a frequent name of men.

271. *صَمَدٌ سَتَرٌ* the *Absolute, the Coverer up*. V. 75. (See Nos. 236, 270, 272.)

272. *صَرٌّ* the *Hurtful One*. Ht. 91; R. 66; Rs. 51; Lane. (See No. 495.)

Is twice applied in Q. to a demon.

273. *ضَهِرٌ* the *Clean One*. R. 90. (See No. 274.)

Not in Q. as a divine title.

274. *ضَهِرٌ* the *Externally Evident One*. Q. lvii. 3; H. 84; Ht. 74; Rs. 87. (See Nos. 273, 275.)

275. *ضَهِرٌ أَسْبَاطٌ* the *Patent, the Esoteric One*. Q. lvii. 3; V. 76. (See Nos. 55, 274.)

*276. *أَعْدَلُ* the *Just One*. (See No. 281.)

277. *عَالِمُ الْغَيْبِ* *He who knows what is absent*. Q. xxxiv. 3; lxxii. 26. (See Nos. 278, 279, 280, 303.)

278. *عَالِمُ غَيْبِ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ* *He who knows the absent of the heavens and of the earth*. Q. xxxv. 36. (See Nos. 174, 277.)

279. *عَالِمُ الْغَيْبِ وَالشَّهَادَةِ* *He who knows the absent and the perceptible*. Q. vi. 73; ix. 95, 106; xxiii. 94; xxxix. 47; lix. 22; lxii. 8. (See Nos. 277, 280.)

280. *عَالِمُ الْغَيْبِ وَالشَّهَادَةِ الْكَبِيرُ الْمُتَعَالِ* *He who knows the absent and the perceptible, the very Great, the High-exalted One*. Q. xiii. 10. (See Nos. 277, 279, 387, 412.)

281. *أَعْدَلُ* the *Equitable One*. Ht. 29; Rs. 63; Lane. (See No. 276.)

282. *الْعَزِيزُ* *the Most Mighty One.* Q. lix. 23, etc.; H. 90; Ht. 9; R. 10; Rs. 9. (See Nos. 22, 186, 283-293, 381.)

Occurs ninety-eight times in Q., principally in the compounds given below as divine titles; is five times applied to man, and thrice to things. *عَبْدُ الْعَزِيزِ* is well known.

283. *الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ* *the Most Mighty, the All-wise.* Q. ii. 123, etc.; V. 77. (See Nos. 22, 97, 282.)

Repeated in Q. perhaps fifty times, being the most numerous of the compounds.

284. *الْعَزِيزُ الْحَمِيدُ* *the Most Mighty, Most Praiseworthy One.* Q. xiv. 1; xxxiv. 6; lxxxv. 8. (See Nos. 105, 282.)

285. *الْعَزِيزُ ذُو الْأَنْتِقَامِ* *the Most Mighty, the Possessor of a vengeance.* Q. iii. 3; v. 96; xiv. 48; lix. 38. (See Nos. 137, 282.)

286. *الْعَزِيزُ الرَّحِيمُ* *the Most Mighty, Most Merciful One.* Q. xxiv. 8, 68, 104, 122, 140, 159, 175, 191, 217; xxx. 4; xxxii. 5. (See Nos. 217, 282.)

287. *الْعَزِيزُ الْعَلِيمُ* *the Most Mighty, the Omniscient One.* Q. vi. 96; xxvii. 80; xxxvi. 38; xl. 1; xli. 11; xliii. 8. (See Nos. 282, 308.)

288. *الْعَزِيزُ الْعَفَّارُ* *the Most Mighty, Ever-forgiving One.* Q. xxxviii. 66; xxxix. 7; xl. 45. (See Nos. 179, 282, 324.)

289. *الْعَزِيزُ الْغَفُورُ* *the Most Mighty, Most Forgiving One.* Q. xxxv. 25; lxvii. 2. (See Nos. 282, 326.)

290. *الْعَزِيزُ الْكَرِيمُ* *the Most Mighty, Most Bountiful One.* Q. xliv. 49. (See Nos. 282, 389.)

291. *الْعَزِيزُ الْمُقْتَدِرُ* *the Most Mighty, the Able One.* Q. liv. 42. (See Nos. 282, 456.)

292. *الْعَزِيزُ الْوَهَّابُ* *the Most Mighty, the All-bestowing One.* Q. xxxviii. 8. (See Nos. 282, 533.)

293. *الْعَظُوفُ* *the Very Benevolent One.* V. 79.
294. *الْعَظِيمُ* *the Most Supreme One.* Q. ii. 256; lxix. 93; H. 27; Ht. 33; Ra. 47. (See Nos. 23, 187, 295.)
The word is very frequent in Q. as a qualificative of things.
295. *الْكَرِيمُ الْعَظِيمُ* *the Most Supreme, Most Bountiful One.* V. 78. (See Nos. 294, 389.)
296. *الْعَفُوُّ* *the Ever-Pardoning One.* Q. iv. 46, 100, 148; xxii. 59; lviii. 3; H. 37; Ht. 81; R. 56; Ra. 62. (See Nos. 297, 298, 318, 324, 326.)
297. *الْعَفُوُّ الْغَفُورُ* *the Ever-Pardoning, Ever-Forgiving One.* Q. iv. 46, 100; xxii. 59; lviii. 3. (See Nos. 296, 326.)
298. *الْعَفُوُّ الْقَدِيرُ* *the Ever-Pardoning, the Almighty One.* Q. iv. 148. (See Nos. 293, 373.)
299. *الْعَلَمُ* *the Well-knowing One.* V. 80. (See Nos. 277-279, 300.)
300. *عَلَمُ الْغُيُوبِ* *the Well-knowing of absent things.* Q. v. 108, 116; ix. 79; xxxiv. 47; V. 81. (See Nos. 277, 299.)
301. *عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ* *Almighty over all things.* Q. ii. 19. (See Nos. 302, 311, 373.)
302. *عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ وَكِيلٌ* *Administrator over all things.* Q. vi. 102. (See Nos. 301, 311, 526.)
303. *الْعَلِيُّ* *the Most High.* Q. ii. 256; iv. 38; H. 26; Ht. 36. (See Nos. 9, 304-307.)
304. *الْعَلِيُّ الْبَقِيُّ* *the Most High, Most Permanent One.* V. 82. (See Nos. 60, 303.)
305. *الْعَلِيُّ الْحَكِيمُ* *the Most High, the All-wise.* Q. xlii. 51; xliii. 2. (See Nos. 97, 303.)
306. *الْعَلِيُّ الْعَظِيمُ* *the Most High, the Supreme One.* Q. ii. 256; xlii. 2. (See Nos. 294, 303.)
307. *الْعَلِيُّ الْكَبِيرُ* *the Most High, the Very Great One.* Q.

iv. 38; xxii. 61; xxxi. 29; xxxiv. 22; xl. 12; V. 83. (See Nos. 303, 387.)

308. *اَلْعَلِيمُ* the *All-knowing* (Omniscient) *One*. Q. ii. 211, 274, 281, etc.; H. 81; Ht. 19; R. 14; Rs. 22. (See Nos. 7, 100, 122, 250, 309-317, 354.)

Occurs in Q., alone, or in composition, a hundred and fifty-one times as a divine title, and other ten times applied to a man.

309. *اَلْعَلِيمُ بِذَاتِ الصُّدُورِ* the *Omniscient Knower of the occupants of breasts*. Q. iii. 115, 148, etc. (See No. 308.)

Occurs twelve times.

310. *اَلْعَلِيمُ بِالظَّالِمِينَ* the *Omniscient Knower of the unjust*. Q. ii. 89, 247; ix. 47; lxii. 7. (See No. 308.)

311. *اَلْعَلِيمُ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ* the *Omniscient Knower of all things*. Q. ii. 27, 231, 282, etc. (See Nos. 302, 308.)

Generally in the form *اَلْعَلِيمُ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ*; and occurs altogether twenty times.

312. *اَلْعَلِيمُ بِالْمُتَّقِينَ* the *Omniscient Knower of those who fear God*. Q. iii. 111; ix. 44. (See Nos. 308, 531.)

313. *اَلْعَلِيمُ بِالْمُفْسِدِينَ* the *Omniscient Knower of the perverters*. Q. iii. 56. (See No. 308.)

314. *اَلْعَلِيمُ الْحَكِيمُ* the *Omniscient, the All-wise One*. Q. ii. 30; iv. 12, etc. (See Nos. 97, 308.)

Occurs twenty-six times, and seven other times as *اَلْحَكِيمُ اَلْعَلِيمُ*.

315. *اَلْعَلِيمُ اَلْحَلِيمُ* the *Omniscient, All-Lenient One*. Q. iv. 16; xxii. 58; xxxiii. 51. (See Nos. 102, 308.)

316. *اَلْعَلِيمُ اَلْخَبِيرُ* the *Omniscient, the All-Cognizant One*. Q. iv. 29; xxxi. 34; xlix. 13; lxvi. 3. (See Nos. 119, 308.)

317. *اَلْعَلِيمُ الْقَدِيرُ* the *Omniscient, the Almighty*. Q. xvi. 72; xxx. 53; xxxv. 43; xlii. 49. (See Nos. 308, 373.)

318. *اَلْغَافِرُ* the *Pardoner*. H. 71. (See Nos. 126, 324, 326.)

319. غَافِرُ الذَّنْبِ *the Pardoner of trespass.* Q. xl. 2. (See No. 318.)

320. الْغَالِبُ *the Prevalent One.* Q. xii. 21, etc. (See Nos. 321, 322.)

Occurs other twelve times, singular or plural masculine. The inscriptions in one of the chambers of the palace Al-Hamra (Alhambra), all over the walls, in small compartments, are a repetition of the ejaculation لَا غَالِبَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ *there is no Prevalent One save God.*

321. الْغَالِبُ عَلَى أَمْرِهِ *the Prevalent One in His own case.* Q. xii. 21. (See Nos. 320, 539.)

322. الْغَالِبُ الْمُعْطَى *the Prevalent One, the Giver.* V. 99. (See Nos. 320, 450.)

V. has الْقَابِ الْمَقْطَى, which I read as above.

323. الْغَرِيبُ. V. 84. Erroneous for الْقَرِيبُ, *q.v.* No. 377.

324. الْغَفَّارُ *the Ever-Forgiving One.* Q. xx. 84; Ht. 14; R. 38; Rs. 17. (See Nos. 179, 238, 318, 326, 332.)

Occurs three other times as الْغَزِيرُ الْغَفَّارُ, *q.v.* No. 238. The translations for الْغَافِرُ and الْغَفُورُ, as well as the present title and that next following, by our words from "pardon" and "forgiveness," are not sufficiently comprehensive to render the full meaning of the idea that forms the distinction between this class of titles and that derived from the root عَفَا (see Nos. 296, 297, 298). For, while the title الْعَفُو, its verb and nouns, are fully represented by our derivatives from "pardon" and "forgive," the class from غَفَرَ contain the accessory idea of *admitting the pardoned one into the joys of heaven* as well. Like our idea of "absolve," عَفَا simply remits the responsibility of an offence; but غَفَرَ entails the further consequence of admitting to bliss and glory. This is why the words الْمَرْحُومُ and الْمَغْفُورُ لَهُ are used of defunct Muslims in a sense similar to our "blessed" and "sainted," i.e. *whose sins are blotted out, and who is admitted to a participation in the*

rewards of the righteous. Our word "gracious," as applied to God in the sense of *Granter of heavenly bliss*, is far too broad, and also fails to include, explicitly, the idea of pardon. I cannot suggest a satisfactory term. The name عَبْدُ الْغَفَّارِ is frequently met with.

325. اَلْغَفَّارُ بِرَحْمَتِهِ *He by whose mercy forgiveness is.* V. 85.

This expression occurs in a collect. It can hardly be looked upon as a "title" or "name."

326. اَلْغَفُورُ *the Most-Forgiving One.* Q. xvii. 27, etc.; H. 20; Ht. 34; Rs. 52. (See Nos. 104, 188, 218, 289, 324, 327—333.)

Occurs in Q. ninety other times in various compounds, sometimes preceding, sometimes following its fellow or fellows.

327. اَلْغَفُورُ اَلْحَلِيمُ *the Most-Forgiving All-lemient One.* Q. ii. 225, 236; iii. 149; V. 101. (See also Nos. 102, 326.)

328. اَلْغَفُورُ ذُو الرِّحْمَةِ *the Very-Forgiving One, the Possessor of Compassion.* Q. xviii. 5. (See Nos. 140, 326.)

329. اَلْغَفُورُ اَلرَّحِيمُ *the Very-Forgiving, the Most-Merciful One.* Q. ii. 168, etc. (See Nos. 217, 326.)

Occurs seventy-one times in Q., and once also reversed.

330. اَلْغَفُورُ اَلرَّؤُوفُ *the Very-Forgiving, the Most Indulgent One.* V. 86. (See Nos. 229, 326.)

331. اَلْغَفُورُ اَلشَّكُورُ *the Very-Forgiving, the All-Thankful One.* Q. xxxv. 27, 31; xlii. 22; V. 87. (See Nos. 261, 326.)

332. اَلْغَفُورُ اَلْغَفَّارُ *the Most-Forgiving, Ever Forgiving One.* V. 88. (See Nos. 324, 326.)

333. اَلْغَفُورُ اَلْوَدُودُ *the Most Forgiving, Most Affectionate One.* Q. lxxxv. 14; V. 89. (See Nos. 326, 524.)

334. اَلْغَنِىُّ *the Independent One.* Q. x. 69; xxxix. 9; xlvii. 40; H. 28; Ht. 87; R. 43; Rs. 82. (See Nos. 335—340, 453.)

Occurs nineteen times in Q., alone or in compounds; of

which two apply to man, the others to God. "*Independent*" is an unsatisfactory rendering; "*rich*" would be not less so.

335. اَلْغَنِىُّ الْحَلِيمُ *the Independent, the All-lenient One.*
Q. ii. 265. (See Nos. 102, 334.)

336. اَلْغَنِىُّ الْحَمِيدُ *the Independent, the All-praiseworthy One.* Q. ii. 270; iv. 130; xiv. 8; xxii. 63; xxxi. 11, 25; xxxv. 16; lvii. 24; lx. 6; lxiv. 6. (See Nos. 105, 334.)

337. اَلْغَنِىُّ الْذَاتِىُّ *the Self-Independent One; or, the Independent, the Essentially-existent One.* V. 60.

ذَاتِىُّ is not a Qur'anic term but was invented by the school of philosophers or scholastic theologians.

338. اَلْغَنِىُّ عَنِ الْعَالَمِينَ *the One who is Independent of all the worlds.* Q. iii. 92; xxxix. 5. (See Nos. 16, 182.)

339. اَلْغَنِىُّ الْكَرِيمُ *the Independent, the All-Bountiful One.*
Q. xxvii. 40. (See Nos. 334, 389.)

340. اَلْغَنِىُّ الْوَاسِعُ *the Independent, the Ample One.* V. 91.

341. (Omission by mistake. See No. 386A.)

*342. اَلْفَاتِحُ *the Opener (of ways, etc.).* (See Nos. 127, 347.)

*343. اَلْفَاصِلُ *the Separator (of right and wrong, etc.).* (See No. 128.)

344. اَلْفَاطِرُ *the Maker (of what did not before exist).* Lane.
(See Nos. 115, 121, 269, 345, 346.)

345. فَاطِرُ السَّمَوَاتِ وَ الْأَرْضِ *the Maker of the heavens and of the earth.* Q. vi. 14; xii. 102; xiv. 1; xxxv. 11; xxxix. 47; xlii. 9. (See Nos. 117, 346.)

346. اَلْفَاطِرُ الصَّانِعُ *the Maker, the Fabricator.* V. 92. (See Nos. 268, 344.)

347. اَلْفَتَّاحُ *the Ever-Opener (of ways, means, difficulties, etc.).* Q. xxxiv. 25; H. 69; Ht. 18; R. 88; Rs. 21. (See Nos. 342, 348.)

348. *الْفَتَّاحُ الْعَلِيمُ* the Ever-Opener, Omniscient One. Q. xxxiv. 25; V. 93. (See Nos. 308, 347.)

349. *الْفَرْدُ* the Lone One. V. 94. (See No. 350.)

The word occurs three times in Q., applied to a solitary man. Philosophically, it is well applicable to God, as it is the converse of *ذَوْجٌ* a pair.

350. *الْفَرْدُ الْأَمَدُ* the Lone, Absolute One. V. 95. (See Nos. 270, 349.)

351. *الْفَضْلُ وَالْإِحْسَانُ*. V. 96. Apparently for *ذُو الْفَضْلِ وَالْإِحْسَانِ*, q.v. No. 153.

352. *الْفَعَّالُ* the Ever Performer. R. 69. (See next No.)

353. *الْفَعَّالُ لِمَا يُرِيدُ* the Ever Performer of what He purposes. Q. xi. 109; lxxxiv. 16; V. 97. (See No. 352.)

354. *فَوْقَ كُلِّ ذِي عِلْمٍ عَلِيمٌ* Omniscient beyond every possessor of knowledge. Q. xii. 76. (See No. 308.)

355. *الْقَاضِ* the Grasper. H. 22; Ht. 20; R. 61; Rs. 23. (See No. 356.)

The verb occurs in Q., more especially in ii. 246: *اللَّهُ يَنْقِصُ وَيَبْسُطُ* God contracts and dilates (the heart, the means of subsistence, etc.); whence *الْقَاضِ الْبَاسِطُ*, q.v. *قَاضٍ الْأَرْوَاحِ* the Grasper of the Souls is the title of 'Azrā'il, the "Angel of Death."

356. *الْقَاضِ الْبَاسِطُ* the Contractor, the Dilator. V. 98. (See Nos. 51, 54, 355.)

357. *الْقَابِلُ* the Acceptor. H. 72. (See No. 358.)

358. *قَابِلُ التَّوْبِ* the Acceptor of repentance. Q. xl. 2. (See No. 357.)

359. *الْقَادِرُ* the Able One. Q. vi. 37, 65; xvii. 101; xlvi. 32; lxxv. 40; lxxxvi. 8; Ht. 68; Rs. 53. (See Nos. 360, 373, 456.)

*360. الْقَادِرُ الْمَطْلُقُ *the Able, the Absolute One; i.e. the Omnipotent One.* (See Nos. 88, 359, 373.)

A later term of the schools of philosophy.

361. الْقَالِبُ الْمُطْطِى. V. 99. A mistranscription for الْقَالِبُ الْمُعْطِى, *q.v.* No. 322.

362. الْقَاهِرُ *the Compeller.* Q. vi. 18, 61; H. 41; V. 100. (See Nos. 363, 364, 382.)

363. الْقَاهِرُ الْعَدْلُ *the Compeller, the Equitable One.* V. 101. (See Nos. 281, 362.)

364. الْقَاهِرُ عَلَى عِبَادِهِ *the Compeller over His servants.* Q. vi. 18, 61. (See Nos. 362, 382.)

365. الْقَائِمُ *the Existent One.* Q. xiii. 33; H. 32; V. 102. (See Nos. 366—370.)

In the passage of Q. cited, the word is not used in the sense given, but in that of *standing in watch*, equivalent to الْقَرِيبُ (See No. 226), as is explained by Baydhawī. It occurs eight times in the singular masculine, out of which all but iii. 16 and xiii. 33 relate to others. Of these two, the first, iii. 16, بِالْقِسْطِ *persistent in just distribution*,¹ seems the instance required.

*366. الْقَائِمُ بِذَاتِهِ } *the One Existent of Himself* (the Self-

*367. الْقَائِمُ بِنَفْسِهِ } *existent One*). (See No. 365.) Philosophical titles of God.

368. الْقَائِمُ الزَّكِيُّ *the Existent, the Righteous One.* V. 103. (See remark on الزَّكِيُّ, No. 232; also, see No. 365.)

369. الْقَائِمُ بِالْقِسْطِ *the Existent with impartiality.* Q. iii. 16. (See No. 365.)

370. الْقَائِمُ عَلَى كُلِّ نَفْسٍ *the Stander-in-watch over every animated being* (for its preservation, direction, reward, or punishment). Q. xiii. 33. (See No. 365.)

¹ Sale has: "who executeth righteousness."

371. الْقَدْرُ *Providence*. V. 104.

The Islamic word which Europeans so unjustly translate by the terms "*fate*" and "*destiny*." Islām utterly abhors those old pagan ideas, and reposes on God's *providence* alone; which some will say is the same thing. The terms الْقَضَاءُ and الْقِسْمَةُ, quasi-synonyms of الْقَدْرُ and الْقَدَرُ, mean, the former, God's *decree*, the latter, one's *allotted portion*. Both may correctly be rendered by our term *dispensation*. True that astrologers, dervishes, and poets talk about *the sphere*, الْفَلَكَ, as ruling or influencing sublunary events. To Islām, this is either rank paganism and blasphemy, or a special application of the admitted truism that here below God acts through secondary causes. As a name or title of God, V.'s الْقَدْر is probably a mistranscription for الْقَادِرُ, *q.v.* No. 359. In European languages, the term "*Providence*" has become a metaphorical name of God; but in Islām, الْقَدْرُ is not so used.

372. الْقُدُّوسُ *the Most Holy One*. Q. lix. 23; lxii. 1; H. 86; Ht. 5; R. 6; Rs. 5. (See Nos. 465, 466, 467.)

373. الْقَدِيرُ *the All-mighty One* (Almighty, Omnipotent). Q. iv. 132; xxii. 40; xxv. 56; xlii. 23; lx. 7; H. 7; V. 105. (See Nos. 298, 301, 317, 359, 456.)

374. الْقَدِيمُ *the All-previous One* (the "*Ancient of Days*"). R. 13. (See Nos. 375, 376.)

The word قَدِيم occurs three times in Q.; xii. 95; xxxvi. 39; and xlv. 10; but is not applied to God. In the present sense, the term appears to have been an adaptation by the philosophers.

375. الْقَدِيمُ الْإِحْسَانِ *the Ancient of Beneficence* (our early Benefactor). V. 106. (See No. 375.)

Perfectly apposite; but applied equally to human benefactors.

376. الْقَدِيمُ الْمُتَعَالِ *the All-previous, High-exalted One*. V. 107. (See Nos. 375, 412.)

377. *أَتَرَبُّ* *the Very-near One.* Q. ii. 182; xi. 64; xxxiv. 49; H. 50; V. 103; R. 44. (See Nos. 251, 323, 378.)

Occurs also in Q. twenty-two times, applied to things.

378. *أَتَرَبُّ الْمُجِيبُ* *the Very-near, Favorably-answering One.* Q. xi. 64. (See Nos. 377, 420.)

379. *أَتَوَى* *the Very-strong One.* H. 52; Ht. 53; Rs. 80. (See Nos. 154, 155, 380, 381.)

Occurs in Q. in the following compounds only, as applied to God; but in xxvii. 39 it is applied to a demon, and in xxviii. 26 to a man.

380. *أَتَوَى أَشَدِيدُ الْعَذَابِ* *the Very-strong One, Very-strenuous in chastisement.* Q. viii. 54; xl. 23. (See Nos. 253, 379.)

381. *أَتَوَى الْعَزِيزُ* *the Very-strong, Most Mighty One.* Q. xi. 69; xxii. 41, 73; xxxiii. 25; xlii. 18; lvii. 25; lviii. 21. (See Nos. 282, 379.)

382. *أَتَقَارُ* *the All-compelling One.* Q.; Ht. 15; Rs. 16. (See No. 362; and also Nos. 30, 79, for compounds.)

383. *أَلْقِيَوْمُ* *the Ever-Self-existing One.* Q. ii. 256; iii. 1; xx. 110; H. 25; Ht. 63; R. 39; Rs. 55. (See Nos. 26, 110, for *أَلْحَى الْقِيَوْمُ*, and remarks on the "Throne Verse.")

384. *أَلْكَافِي* *the Sufficient One.* Q. xxxix. 37; H. 15; V. 109; R. 74. (See Nos. 164, 385, 386, 528.)

The verb occurs in Q. more than thirty times.

385. *كَافِيَ الْحَسَنَاتِ* *the Sufficient Recompenser of deeds of charity.* V. 110.

Possibly a mistranscription for *مُكَافِي الْحَسَنَاتِ*, q.v. No. 462.

386. *أَلْكَافِي الْمُسْتَعَانِ* *the Sufficient One, who is called upon for aid.* V. 111. (See Nos. 384, 440.)

*(386A. *أَلْكَامِلُ* *the Perfect*, is not in Q., nor in any list. (See Nos. 157, 341.)

387. *الْكَبِيرُ* the *Very-Great One*. Q.; H. 56; Ht. 37; R. 29; Rs. 33. (See Nos. 307, 388.)

Occurs six times in compound divine titles, and thirty-two other times applied to things.

388. *الْكَبِيرُ الْمُعْتَالُ* the *Very-Great, the High-exalted One*. Q. xiii. 10; V. 112. (See Nos. 387, 412.)

389. *الْكَرِيمُ* the *All-Bountiful One*. Q. lxxii. 6; H. 64; Ht. 42; V. 113; Rs. 60. (See Nos. 101, 290, 295, 339, 390.)

Occurs also in Q. in the compounds *الْعَزِيزُ الْكَرِيمُ* and *الْغَنِيُّ الْكَرِيمُ*, *q.v.* The name *عَبْدُ الْكَرِيمِ* is frequent for men; and the expression *اللَّهُ كَرِيمٌ*, in Turkish, is much used, like our "*nil desperandum*," to encourage or console. Applied to men or things, the word *كَرِيمٌ* occurs twenty-four times more in Q.

390. *الْكَرِيمُ الْمُعْطَى* the *All-Bountiful One, the Giver*. V. 114. (See Nos. 389, 450.)

391. *الْكَفِيلُ* the *Sponsor*. Q. xvi. 93; V. 115.

392. *الْكَفِيلُ الْمُتَمَيِّنُ* the *Sponsor, the Confiding One*. V. 116. (See Nos. 391, 485.)

393. *الْلَطِيفُ* the *Most-pleasant One*. Q. xii. 101; H. 43; Ht. 30; R. 85; Rs. 58.

Occurs also in the two following compounds. The name *عَبْدُ اللَّطِيفِ* is very frequent with men.

394. *الْلَطِيفُ بِعِبَادِهِ* the *Most-pleasant to His servants*. Q. xlii. 18.

395. *الْلَطِيفُ الْخَبِيرُ* the *Most-pleasant, All-cognizant One*. Q. vi. 103; xxii. 62; xxxi. 15; xxxiii. 34; lxvii. 14; V. 117. (See Nos. 119, 393.)

396. *الْلَطِيفُ الْمُدَبِّرُ* the *Most-pleasant, the Disposer*. V. 118. (See No. 393. The title *الْمُدَبِّرُ* is not in the lists. Its verb occurs in Q. x. 3, 32; xiii. 2; xxxii. 4.)

397. *لَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ كُفُوًا أَحَدٌ* *there is not one a peer unto Him* (unto Whom there is not one as a peer). Q. cxii. 4.

398. *لَمْ يَلِدْ* *Who hath not begotten.* Q. cxii. 3. (See Nos. 399, 486.)

399. *لَمْ يُولَدْ* *Who hath not been begotten.* Q. cxii. 3. (See Nos. 398, 487.)

400. *أَلْمَاجِدُ* *the Glorious One.* Ht. 65; Rs. 96. (See No. 422.)

401. *مَاحِي السَّيِّئَاتِ* *the Effacer of iniquities.* V. 119. (See No. 418.)

The verb occurs in Q. xiii. 39.

*402. *أَلْمَاكِرُ* *the Deviser of stratagems.* (See No. 129.)

403. *أَلْمَالِكُ* *the Owner.* Q. i. 3; iii. 25; Ht. 4. (See Nos. 404, 405.)

Occurs once more in Q. xliii. 77, not applied to God.

404. *مَالِكُ أَلْمُلْكِ* *the Owner of the kingdom* (of heaven and earth, and hell). Q. iii. 25; Ht. 83; Rs. 98. (See No. 403.)

405. *مَالِكُ يَوْمِ الدِّينِ* *the Owner of the day of retribution.* Q. i. 3. (See No. 403.)

406. *أَلْمَانِعُ* *the Hinderer.* Ht. 90; R. 60; Rs. 46.

407. *أَلْمَاجِدُ* *the Spreader-out* (of a bed, etc.). Q. li. 48. (See No. 500.)

408. *أَلْمَبْدِيُّ* *the Originator.* Ht. 58; R. 67; Rs. 29; Lane. (See Nos. 49, 409.)

409. *أَلْمَبْدِيُّ أَلْمُعِيدُ* *the Originator, the Returner* (to earth at death, to life at the resurrection, etc., etc.). Lane. (See Nos. 408, 451.)

410. *أَلْمَنِينُ* *the Manifest One.* Q. xxiv. 25, etc.; H. 66; R. 89. (See Nos. 95, 111.)

The expression is: *إِنَّ أَللهَ هُوَ أَلْحَقُّ أَلْمَنِينُ* *verily God—he is the truth, the manifest;* where *أَلْمَنِينُ* may be understood

to be a second predicate of هُوَ, or a qualificative of الْحَقُّ, as it agrees in gender, number, and case with both. Lexically, it belongs to the latter rather than to اللَّهُ through هُوَ. The word occurs more than a hundred times in Q., applied to thirty different names of men and demons, acts and things, good and bad; not once to God directly. Still, in sense it is fairly a divine title, and the passage quoted is considered sufficient to give it Qur'anic authority.

411. الْمُبِينُ الْمَعِيدُ *the Manifest One, the Returner.* V. 120. (See Nos. 410, 451.)

Apparently, a misreading for الْمَبْدِيُّ الْمَعِيدُ, q.v.; or it may be for الْمَحْيِي الْمَعِيدُ, q.v.

412. الْمُتَعَالِ *the High-Exalted One* (above all calumny, slander, reproach, or defect). Q. xiii. 10; H. 57; Ht. 77; Rs. 97. (See Nos. 112, 280, 370, 388, 413.)

The full grammatical form of the word, when definite, is الْمُتَعَالَى, as given by Lane from several authorities. Veneration, however, for the smallest peculiarities of the original codex of the Qur'an has perpetuated the present form. So much so that, in Persian and Turkish, where the definite article is dropped, the form مُتَعَالٍ is always used, and مُتَعَالَى is, so to say, unknown. This is in direct opposition to the general rule in those two languages, by which the final ي of such words as الْقَاضِي, الْمُفْتَى, is retained, and they are always written قَاضِي, مُفْتَى, etc., when, in Arabic, indefinitely, they would become قَاضٍ, مُفْتٍ, etc.

413. الْمُتَعَالَى *the High-exalted One.* Lane. (See remarks in No. 394.)

*414. مُتَقِنٌ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ *the Establisher of all things.* Q. xxvii. 90.

The verb occurs in the passage cited صَنَعَ اللَّهُ الَّذِي أَنْتَقَنَ كُلَّ شَيْءٍ *by the work of God, who hath established all things.*

415. **الْمُتَكَبِّرُ** *the Proud One*. Q. lix. 23; H. 92; Ht. 11; R. 12; Rs. 11. (See Nos. 80, 387, 416.)

The word occurs twice also in Q. xl. 28, 37, applied to proud men and proud hearts, without the definite article.

416. **الْمُتَكَبِّرُ الْخَلَّاقُ** *the Proud, the Ever-creating One*. V. 121. (See Nos. 121, 415.)

417. **الْمَتِينُ** *the Very-firm One*. Q. li. 58; H. 77; Ht. 54; Rs. 42. (See Nos. 155, 221.)

*418. **الْمُثَبِّتُ** *the Confirmer*. (See No. 401.)

The verb occurs in Q. xiii. 39, etc., **يَنْحَوِرُ وَيُثَبِّتُ** *He cancels and confirms*.

*419. **الْمُثَبِّتُ** *the Fixer*.

The verb occurs in Q. xiv. 32.

420. **الْمُجِيبُ** *the Favourably-answering One*. Q. xi. 64; H. 51; Ht. 44; R. 82; Rs. 36. (See Nos. 378, 421, 501.)

421. **مُجِيبُ الدَّعَوَاتِ** *the Favourable-Answerer of prayers*. V. 122. (See No. 420.)

422. **الْمَجِيدُ** *the Most-Glorious One*. Q. ii. 76; lxxxv. 15; H. 53; Ht. 48; R. 22; Rs. 75. (See Nos. 106, 146, 400.)

Is also applied to the "Qur'an," **الْقُرْآنُ الْمَجِيدُ**, in Q. i. 1, and lxxxv. 21. The name of **عَبْدُ الْمَجِيدِ**, as is well remembered, was borne by the father of the present Sultan of Turkey, himself named **عَبْدُ الْحَمِيدِ**.

*423. **الْمُحْسِنُ** *the Beneficent One*. (See next No.)

The word occurs many times in Q., singular and plural, as applied to beneficent men.

424. **الْمُحْسِنُ الْجَمِيلُ** *the Beneficent, the Benignant One*. V. 123. (See Nos. 82, 423.)

425. **الْمُحْصِي** *the Teller*. Ht. 57; R. 70; Rs. 54.

The verb is four times used in Q. of God, who counts men's works, etc. On six other occasions it relates to men.

*426. *مُجِّتُ الْحَقِّ بِكَلِمَتِهِ* the Justifier of the right by His word.

The verb occurs in Q. x. 82.

427. *أَلْحَمُّدُ* the Praised One. V. 124.

The word occurs once only in Q., where it qualifies a "station," *مَقَامٌ مَحْمُودٌ*. This is very variously explained by commentators. But, since "praise belongeth unto God," *أَلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ*, He is certainly *أَلْحَمُّدُ*. As a name for men the word is well known.

428. *الْمَحْيَى*. R. 50; Rs. 31; erroneous for *أَلْمَحْيَى*, q.v. No. 431.

429. *أَلْمَحِيطُ* the Comprehending One. Q. ii. 18; iii. 116; iv. 108, 125; viii. 49; xi. 94; xli. 54; lxxxv. 20; H. 6.

430. *الْمَحِينُ*. V. 125; erroneous for *أَلْمَحْيَى*, q.v. No. 431.

431. *أَلْمَحْيَى* the Vivifier. Q.; H. 45; Ht. 60; V. 125; R. 50; Rs. 31. (See Nos. 432, 433, 434.)

The word occurs twice only in Q.; but the verb is found more than fifty times.

*432. *أَلْمَحْيَى أَلْمُعِيدُ* the Vivifier, the Returner (to dust, or to new life after death). (See No. 431, and remark in *أَلْمُعِينُ* *أَلْمُعِيدُ*, No. 411.)

*433. *أَلْمَحْيَى أَلْمُمِيتُ* the Vivifier, the Causer to die. (See Nos. 431, 475.)

The verbs occur together in sundry places in Q.

434. *مُحْيِي أَمْوَاتِي* the Vivifier (Resuscitator) of the dead. Q. xxx. 49; xli. 39.

The verb occurs above fifty times in Q.

434A. *أَلْمَدَبِّرُ* the Administrator (of all worldly affairs). Q. (See note in No. 396.)

435. *أَلْمَذْكُورُ بِكُلِّ لِسَانٍ* *the Commemorated One by every tongue.* V. 126. (See Nos. 444, 447, 488.)

436. *أَلْمُذِلُّ* *the Abaser.* Ht. 25; V. 127; R. 48; Rs. 37. (See No. 449.)

The verb occurs in Q. iii. 25: *تُعِزُّ مَنْ تَشَاءُ وَتُذِلُّ مَنْ تَشَاءُ*: *Thou raisest to honour whomsoever Thou wilt, and Thou abasest whomsoever Thou wilt.* R. 31 gives this same title, apparently for *أَلْمُنْزِلُ*, *q.v.* No. 480, thus twice noting one "name." The Spanish rendering here is: "Deballador de las plubias," *the Sender-down of the rains.* Perhaps for *مُضِلٌّ*, *q.v.* No. 442.

*437. *أَلْمُرْشِدُ* *the Guider to the right road.* (See No. 222.)

The word occurs in Q. xviii. 16, and is there, as usually, applied to a spiritual guide, a teacher; of these God is the best.

438. *أَلْمُرْكِي* *the Purifier* (of the soul, by wisdom, and knowledge).

The verb occurs twice in Q. iv. 52, and xxiv. 21, directly applied to God. This is suggested as the correct reading for *أَلْزَكِي*, of V. 59. (See No. 232.)

439. *مُسَبِّبُ الْأَسْبَابِ* *the Supplier of the means* (i.e. *the Cause of all Causes*, the Great Cause, the Ultimate Cause). M.; Lane.

A philosophical title of God.

440. *أَلْمُسْتَعَانُ* *He who is invoked for aid.* Q. xii. 18; xxi. 112; H. 62; V. 128. (See Nos. 216, 386, 452.)

441. *أَلْمُصَوِّرُ* *the Shaper* (Giver of outward form). Q. lix. 24; H. 95; Ht. 13; R. 35; Rs. 15. (See Nos. 15, 50, 116.)

*442. *أَلْمُضِلُّ* *the Leader astray.*

The verb is applied to God in Q. ii. 24 bis; iv. 24 bis; and other places. The word itself, however, is used of false teachers alone, in Q. xviii. 49; of Satan in xxviii. 14: *هَذَا مِنْ عَمَلِ الشَّيْطَانِ إِنَّهُ عَدُوٌّ مُضِلٌّ مُبِينٌ*; and again of a false guide in

xxxix. 38: مَنْ يَهْدِ اللَّهُ فَمَا لَهُ مِنْ مُضِلٍّ. (See also No. 534; and last remark in No. 436, اَلْمُذِلُّ.)

443. اَلْمُعَافِي the Giver of immunity (from disease, bodily or spiritual). V. 129.

444. اَلْمُعْبُودُ بِكُلِّ زَمَانٍ the One Worshipped in all time. V. 130. (See Nos. 435, 447, 488.)

445. اَلْمُعَذِّبُ the Tormentor. Q. vii. 164; viii. 33; xvii. 16, 60.

446. اَلْمَعْرُوفُ the Generally Known and Accepted One. V. 131.

Occurs thirty-eight times in Q. as a title of acts and deeds, in the sense of "that which is seemly." It may be a divine title with dervishes, who style themselves اَلْعَارِفُونَ they who are conversant, i.e. gnostics, the initiated into the mysteries.

447. اَلْمَعْرُوفُ بِكُلِّ إِحْسَانٍ the Universally-Known One for every benefaction. V. 132. (See Nos. 435, 444, 488.)

448. اَلْمُعِزُّ the Raiser to honour. Ht. 24; R. 47; Rs. 56.

The verb occurs in Q. iii. 25, with that of اَلْمُذِلُّ, q.v. (No. 436). (Compare Luke i. 52: "He hath put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree.")

*449. اَلْمُعِزُّ اَلْمُذِلُّ the Raiser to honour, the Abaser. (See Nos. 436, 448.)

450. اَلْمُعْطِي the Giver. Ht. 89. (See No. 390.)

The verb occurs in Q. applied to God four times; especially in xx. 52: رَبَّنَا الَّذِي أَعْطَى كُلَّ شَيْءٍ خَلْقَهُ: our Lord is He who hath given all things to His creation.

451. اَلْمُعِيدُ the Returner (of the living to the earth in death, and of the dead to life unto judgment). H. 97; Ht. 59; R. 68; Rs. 40. (See Nos. 49, 409, 411, 432, 475.)

The verb occurs fifteen times in Q.

452. اَلْمُعِينُ the Aider. H. 38. (See Nos. 76, 216, 386, 440.)

The word and its verb are not in Q.; but they are implied in the title *اَلْمُسْتَعَانُ*, *q.v.*

453. *اَلْمُغْنِي* *the Maker independent, Who renders independent.* Ht. 88; R. 58; Rs. 67. (See No. 334.)

The verb occurs in Q. ix. 28, etc.

454. *اَلْمُفْتِحُ* *the frequent Opener of the gates* (of mercy, etc.). V. 133.

The verb occurs in the passive voice in Q. vii. 38: *لَا تُفْتَحُ لَهُمْ اَبْوَابُ السَّمَاءِ* *the gates of heaven shall not be opened unto them.*

*455. *اَلْمُنْقِلُ* *the Bestower of preeminence.*

The verb occurs in Q. sixteen times, and the verbal noun twice in xvii. 22, 72.

456. *اَلْمُقْتَدِرُ* *the Able One* (who can do so-and-so). Q. xviii. 43; liv. 42, 55; Ht. 69; R. 52; Rs. 66. (See Nos. 291, 354, 373, 473.)

457. *اَلْمُقَدِّرُ* *the Meter out.* H. 79; R. 53 (?).

The verb and verbal noun occur very many times in Q., especially in x. 5: *قَدَّرَ مَنَازِلَ* *He meted out unto it* (the moon) *daily stages* (in its monthly orbit, *i.e.* the so-called *lunar mansions*). The word in R. 53 appears to be a mistranscription for *اَلْمُقَدِّمُ*, *q.v.* No. 458.

458. *اَلْمُقَدِّمُ* *the Antepositor.* Ht. 70; R. 53 (?); Rs. 57.

The verb is applied to God in Q., in l. 27 only: *قَدَّمْتُ إِلَيْكُمْ* *I put forward unto you the menace beforehand* (and now it is put in execution on you). In R. 53, "يا مقدر" *ye mucadiru* appears to be put for the present word. The Spanish verse is this:

"Anticipante a tu amor
Antes que criadas fuesemos,
Y sobrevino tu arahma (الرَّحْمَةُ)
Tu perdon y tu remedio."

That verb is very frequently applied to other agents.

*459. *الْمُوَخَّرُ الْمَقْدِمُ* the *Antepositor, Retropositor*. (See Nos. 458, 489.)

460. *الْمُسَيِّطُ* the *Distributor equitably*. Ht. 85; V. 134; R. 40; Rs. 45.

The plural is applied to men in Q. three times; the verb, three times also is likewise applied to men. But the expression: *فَأَيْنَمَا بِالْقِسْطِ* *persistent in just distribution*, applied to God, is in full accord with all conceptions of the Deity. In V. 134, *مَقِيْطُ* is a typographical error for this word.

461. *الْمُعِيْطُ* the *Giver of daily bread*. Q. iv. 87; Ht. 39; V. 134.

The passage *كَانَ اللّٰهُ عَلَىٰ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ مُّقِيْطًا* is explained by the commentators as meaning: *God the feeder, or, the preserver, or, the able one, الْمُعْتَدِرُ, over all things*.

*462. *مُكَانِي الْحَسَنَاتِ* the *Recompenser of good works*. (See suggestion in *كَانِي الْحَسَنَاتِ*, No. 385.)

463. *الْمَلِكُ* the *King*. Q. xx. 113; xxiii. 117; lix. 23; lxii. 1; cxiv. 2; R. 5; Rs. 4. (See Nos. 29, 464-471.)

The word is also applied to man, as a king, in six places; and as a *sea-king, rover, corsair, pirate*, once, in xviii. 76.

464. *الْمَلِكُ الْحَقُّ* the *King, the Rightful One*. Q. xx. 113. (See Nos. 28, 29, 94, 463.)

465. *الْمَلِكُ الْقُدُّوسُ* the *King, the Most Holy One*. Q. lix. 23; lxii. 1; V. 136. (See Nos. 372, 463, 466, 467.)

466. *الْمَلِكُ الْقُدُّوسُ السَّلَامُ الْمُؤْمِنُ الْمُهَيَّمُنُ الْعَزِيْزُ الْجَبَّارُ* the *King, the Most Holy One, the Safety, the Trusting, the Confiding, the Most Mighty, the All-compelling One, the Proud*. Q. lix. 23. (See Nos. 78, 242, 282, 372, 415, 463, 465, 492, 495.)

467. *الْمَلِكُ الْقُدُّوسُ الْعَزِيْزُ الْحَكِيْمُ* the *King, the Most Holy One, the Most Mighty, Most Wise*. Q. lxii. 1. (See Nos. 97, 282, 372, 463, 465.)

468. *مَلِكُ الْمُلْكِ* *the King of the kingdom.* R. 86.

A mistranscription for *مَالِكُ الْمُلْكِ*, *q.v.*, sometimes written *مِلِكُ الْمُلْكِ*.

469. *أَلَمِيكَ الْمَنَّانُ* *the King, the Ever-beneficent One.* (See Nos. 463, 476.)

470. *مَلِكُ النَّاسِ* *the King of mankind.* Q. cxiv. 2. (See Nos. 36, 152, 205.)

471. *أَلَمِيكَ الْوَارِثُ* *the King, the Inheritor.* V. 137. (See Nos. 463, 514.)

472. *أَلَمِيكَ* *the Holder in possession.* Q. liv. 55. (See Nos. 403, 463.)

473. *أَلَمِيكَ الْمُقْتَدِرُ* *the Holder in possession, the Able One.* Q. liv. 55. (See Nos. 456, 472.)

*474. *أَلَمْدُوحُ* *the Praised (Praiseworthy) One.*

475. *أَلَمِيثُ* *the Death-causing One.* H. 46; Ht. 61; R. 51; Rs. 86. (See Nos. 431, 451.)

The verb occurs twenty times in Q.

476. *أَلَمَنَّانُ* *the Ever-bestowing One.* H. 59; V. 135. (See Nos. 168, 469.)

477. *أَلَمَنْتَقِمُ* *the Taker of vengeance.* Ht. 80; R. 55; Rs. 79. (See Nos. 137, 239.)

The plural *أَلَمَنْتَقِمُونَ* occurs three times in Q., xxxii. 22, xliii. 40, xliv. 15; but this is a figure of speech, as the One God is there speaking of Himself alone.

*478. *أَلْمَاجِيُ* } *the Saver (from evil or danger; the Saviour).*
*479. *أَلْمَاجِيُ* }

The verbs occur each many times in Q. (See also No. 485.)

*480. *أَلْمَنْزِلُ* } *He who causes to descend.* (See Nos. 130,

*481. *أَلْمَنْزِلُ* } 436.)

The verbs occur very many times in Q., in various shades of signification.

*482. *الْمُنْعِمُ* the Dispenser of favours (blessings). (See No. 483.)

The verb occurs sixteen times in Q., as in i. 6: *صِرَاطَ الَّذِينَ أَنْعَمْتَ عَلَيْهِمْ* the way of those on whom Thou hast dispensed favour.

483. *الْمُنْعِمُ الْمَقْضِلُ* the Dispenser of blessings, Conferrer of preeminence. V. 138. (See also No. 482.)

484. *مُنْقِذُ الْمُرَكَّاتِ* the Transmitter of blessings. V. 139.

485. *الْمُنْقِذُ* the Deliverer (from danger or evil). (See Nos. 478, 479.)

The verb occurs four times in Q., once in iii. 99, applied to God, twice to man, and once in the passive voice.

486. *مَنْ لَمْ يَلِدْ* Who hath not begotten. R. 98; Rs. (See No. 398.)

487. *مَنْ لَمْ يُولَدْ* Who hath not been begotten. R. 99. (See No. 399.)

488. *الْمَوْجُودُ بِكُلِّ مَكَانٍ* the Extant in every place. V. 140. (See Nos. 435, 444, 447.)

489. *الْمَوْخِرُ* the Postponer. Ht. 71; R. 54; Rs. 49. (See No. 459.)

The verb is found in Q. twelve times applied to God.

490. *الْمَوْلَى* the Patron. Q. ii. 286; iii. 143, etc. (See Nos. 491, 502.)

Twelve times applied to God in Q., and six times otherwise. It is the special title of the Sultan of Morocco, generally written "Muley" by Europeans. *مَوْلَانَا* our Patron, is a title frequently given to high legal functionaries; and in Turkish, *حَضْرَتِ مَوْلَانَا* is more particularly the honorific designation of the great mystic poet and founder of the order of Mevlevi dervishes, Jalálu'd-Din of Qonya, surnamed Rûmî, *جَلَالُ الدِّينِ الرَّومِيِّ*.

491. *الْمَوْلَى النَّصِيرُ* the Patron, the Aider. V. 141. (See Nos. 491, 507.)

The two titles occur separately in Q. viii. 41: *نِعَمَ الْمَوْلَى* *Good is the Patron, and good the Aider.*

492. *الْمُؤْمِنُ* *the Believer* (in the sincerity of His saints). Q. lix. 23; H. 88; Ht. 7; R. 8; Rs. 8. (See No. 466.)

As one of the distinguishing titles of believers in God's unity, Muhammad's apostleship, the resurrection, last judgment, and a future eternal state of reward or punishment, the word is well known, and occurs twenty-one times in Q., in the plural masculine. The Caliph's special title is *أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ* *Commander (Imperator) of the Believers.*

493. *الْمُهْلِكُ* *who causes to perish* (the Destroyer). Q. vii. 164. (See No. 494.)

The passage is: *اللَّهُ مُهْلِكُهُمْ أَوْ مُعَذِّبُهُمْ عَذَابًا شَدِيدًا* *God (will be) their destroyer, or their tormentor with a grievous torment.*

*494. *الْمُهْلِكُ* *the Destroyer, the Tormentor* (of the wicked). (See Nos. 445, 493.)

495. *الْمُتَّيِّمُ* *the Confiding One* (in His saints). Q. lix. 23; Ht. 8; R. 9; Rs. 7. (See Nos. 392, 466.)

Occurs once more, applied to the Qur'an, in V. 52, as a book to give confidence to the people as to the prophet's mission.

496. *النَّاصِرُ* *the Helper*. Q. iii. 143. (See Nos. 131, 507.)

497. *النَّافِعُ* *the Advantageous One*. Ht. 92; R. 65; Rs. 44; Lane. (See No. 498.)

The verb is of very frequent occurrence in Q.

498. *النَّافِعُ* *the Advantageous One, the Detrimental One*. Lane. (See Nos. 272, 497.)

499. *نَحْنُ* *We*. Q. vi. 152; ix. 102; xii. 3, etc. (See No. 43.)

500. *نِعَمَ* *good the Outspreader*. Q. li. 48. (See No. 407.)

By a figure of speech, the passage gives the plural.

501. *نِعَمَ* *good the Favourable Answerer* (of prayer). Q. xxxvii. 73. (See No. 420.)

502. نِعَمَ الْمَوْلَى *good the Patron*. Q. viii. 41; H. 47; R. 41.
(See No. 490.)

503. نِعَمَ النَّصِيرِ *good the Aider*. Q. viii. 41; H. 48; R. 42.
(See No. 507.)

The passage gives نِعَمَ الْمَوْلَى وَنِعَمَ النَّصِيرِ.

504. نِعَمَ الْوَكِيلِ *good the One in charge*. Q. iii. 167. (See No. 526.)

505. الْنُّورُ *the Light*. Q.; H. 67; Ht. 98; R. 20; Rs. 73.
(See No. 506.)

Occurs forty-two times in Q., but once only as a title of God.

506. نُورُ أَسْمَوَاتٍ وَ الْأَرْضِ *the Light of the heavens and of the earth*. Q. xxiv. 35. (See No. 505.)

507. النَّصِيرُ *the Aider*. Q. iv. 47; viii. 41; xxii. 78. (See Nos. 131, 406, 491, 503, 532, 538.)

Occurs also twenty-one times otherwise applied.

*508. الْوَاجِبُ *the Indispensable One*. (See No. 509.)

*509. الْوَاجِبُ الْوُجُودِ *the Indispensable of existence (i.e. the indispensably Existent)*. M. (See No. 508.)

A philosophical qualification, much in use.

510. الْوَاجِدُ *the Perceiver*. Ht. 64; R. 77. (See No. 511.)
The total numerical value of the letters in واجد is given by Ht., 14; that of those in واحد, 19; thus showing that the two words were correctly written as separate titles.)

511. الْوَاحِدُ *the Sole One*. Q.; H. 19; Ht. 66; Rs. 85.
(See Nos. 30, 37, 512, 513. See also remark in No. 510 on the numerical value of the component letters.)

512. الْوَاحِدُ الْقَادِرُ *the Sole, the Able One*. V. 142. (See No. 511.)

513. الْوَاحِدُ الْقَهَّارُ *the Sole, the All-compelling One*. Q. xii. 39; xiii. 17; xiv. 49; xxxviii. 65; xxxix. 6; xl. 16; V. 143. (See Nos. 30, 382, 511.)

514. الْوَارِثُ *the Inheritor*. Q. xv. 23; xxi. 89; xxviii. 52; H. 61; Ht. 97; R. 75; Rs. 49. (See Nos. 59, 132, 471.)

Occurs three times also applied to men : ii. 233 ; xxiii. 10 ; xxviii. 4.

515. *أَلْوَاسِعُ* *the Ample One.* Q. ; H. 12 ; Ht. 45 ; R. 36 ; Rs. 72. (See Nos. 136, 340, 516—519.)

516. *أَلْوَاسِعُ الْحَكِيمُ* *the Ample, All-wise One.* Q. iv. 129. (See Nos. 97, 515.)

517. *أَلْوَاسِعُ الْعَلِيمُ* *the Ample, Omniscient One.* Q. ii. 109, 248, 263, 271 ; iii. 66 ; v. 59 ; xxiv. 32. (See Nos. 308, 515.)

518. *أَلْوَاسِعُ اللَّطِيفُ* *the Ample, Most pleasant One.* V. 144. (See Nos. 393, 515.)

519. *أَلْوَاسِعُ الْمَغْفِرَةِ* *the Ample of Forgiveness.* Q. liii. 33.

*520. *أَلْوَافٍ* *the Keeper of His promise.* (See No. 525.)

521. *أَلْوَاقِي* *the Shielder.* Q. xiii. 37.

522. *أَلْوَالِي* *the Adjoining One.* Ht. 76 ; Rs. 90. (See No. 529.)

In Q. xiii. 12, not directly applied to God ; nor the verb, in ix. 124.

523. *أَلْوَدُ* *the Tent-peg.* V. 145.

The plural, *أَوْدَانٌ*, occurs three times in Q., xxxviii. 12 ; lxxviii. 7 ; and lxxxix. 9. In the first and last Pharaoh is called *أَوْدَانُ* *possessed of tent-pegs*. This is explained as signifying : *lord of a kingdom firmly held up by institutions*. In the second passage, the “mountains” are termed “the tent-pegs” of the earth. In astrology, the term *وَدٌّ* is applied to the four cardinal signs of the ecliptic, which are, at any given moment, the ascending, descending, and two culminating signs. In mysticism, again, a *وَدٌّ* is a *saint* of the third order, a *cardinal*, in the hierarchy of which the chief is styled *أَلْقُطْبُ*. In the highest mysticism, God may be looked upon as *the tent-peg*, i.e. the sheet-anchor, upon whom the stability of all else rests.

524. *أَلْوَدُّدُ* *the Most Affectionate One.* Q. xi. 92 ; lxxxv.

14; H. 54; Ht. 47; R. 30; Rs. 51. (See Nos. 219, 333.)

525. *أَلَوْفَى* *the Most Sure to fulfil His promise.* V. 44. (See Nos. 148, 520.)

526. *أَلْوَكِيلُ* *the Alter Ego.* Q.; H. 39; Ht. 52; R. 79; Rs. 95. (See Nos. 302, 504, 527, 528.)

Occurs twenty-four times in Q., of which thirteen apply to God, as a protector, or as an adversary acting for another. All Ministers of State and Ambassadors, down to *Chargés-d'Affaires*, and even Vice-Consuls or Agents, are styled *وَكِيلٌ*. The Grand Vazir is *أَلْوَكِيلُ الْمَطْلَقُ* *the Absolute Alter Ego*. In all marriage contracts the two parties are represented, each by a *وَكِيلٌ*. Agents in commercial transactions also bear this title.

527. *أَلْوَكِيلُ الرَّزَاقُ* *the One in Charge, the Provider.* V. 147. (See Nos. 220, 526.)

528. *أَلْوَكِيلُ الْكَافِ* *the One in Charge, the Sufficient One.* V. 148. (See Nos. 384, 526.)

The expression *كَفَى بِاللَّهِ وَكِيْلُهُ* *with God in charge, it suffices*, occurs fourteen times in Q.

529. *أَلْوَلِيٌّ* *the Very-next Adjoining One* (the next of kin, next friend, patron or client, etc.). Q.; H. 29; Ht. 55; R. 71; Rs. 76. (See Nos. 522, 530—532.)

Occurs eleven times in Q. as a divine title, and other thirty-two times applied to man, Satan, etc. A *saint* is styled *وَلِيٌّ لِلَّهِ*, the plural *أَوْلِيَاءُ لِلَّهِ* or *أَوْلِيَاءُ اللَّهِ* designating *the saints*; *أَوْلِيَاءَةٌ* means *the saintly quality, saintship*.

530. *أَلْوَلِيٌّ أَحْمَدٌ* *the Very-next, Very Praiseworthy One.* Q. xli. 27. (See Nos. 105, 529.)

531. *وَلِيٌّ الْمَتَّقِينَ* *the Very-next Friend of the God-fearing.* Q. xlv. 18. (See Nos. 312, 529.)

532. *أَلْوَلِيٌّ النَّصِيرُ* *the Very-next Friend, the Aider.* Q. ii. 101, 114, etc. (See Nos. 507, 529.)

Implied; not literally applied to God.

533. **اَلْوَهَّابُ** *the All-Bestower*. Q. iii. 6; xxxviii. 8, 34; H. 31; Ht. 16; Rs. 18. (See Nos. 292, 534.)

The name of **عَبْدُ اَلْوَهَّابِ** is not unfrequent. It has become famous as that of the zealous votary or reformer of central Arabia, who originated, about seventy years ago, the Muslim puritan sect everywhere known in Islām as the Wahhabi heretics. They are extremely narrow in their views, literal in their deductions of dogma, and cruel in their dealings with others, like all zealots. Palgrave has well portrayed them in his *Travels through Central Arabia*.

534. **اَلْوَهَّابُ اَلْكَرِيمُ** *the All-Bestower, Very Bountiful One*. V. 149. (See Nos. 389, 533.)

535. **اَلْهَادِي** *the Road-Guide*. Q. xxii. 53; xxv. 33; Ht. 94; R. 21; Rs. 20. (See Nos. 536, 537.)

Occurs other eight times in Q. applied to men, etc.

536. **اَلْهَادِي اَلْقَوِي** *the Guide, the Strong One*. V. 150. (See Nos. 379, 535.)

*537. **اَلْهَادِي اَلْمُضِلُّ** *the Guide, the Misleader*. (See Nos. 442, 535.)

538. **اَلْهَادِي اَلنَّصِيرُ** *the Guide, the Aider*. Q. xxv. 33. (See Nos. 507, 535.)

539. **هُوَ** *He*. Q. (See Nos. 25, 27, 110, 144.)

Occurs hundreds of times in Q., as applied to God. The ejaculation of **اَللّٰهُ هُوَ** is well known in Islām. All epistles and formal writings bear this name in the extreme upper margin, sometimes with the addition **اَللّٰهُ تَعَالٰى شَأْنُهُ** *He is God, be His glory extolled*. **يَا هُوَ** *O Thou who art He!* is a common exclamation, addressed to any one to call his attention, before saying anything more. **قُلْ هُوَ اَللّٰهُ اَحَدٌ** *Say thou: He is the God, a sole one*. Q. cxii. 1.

540. **اَلْبَانِي بِلَا وَاٰجِد**. V. 151.

This appears so hopelessly corrupt, that I hazard no guess at its possible emendation.







POSTSCRIPT.

Since writing the above, the following additional “comely names” have been met with: 541. *الْأَبَدِيُّ* the *Eternal in the future*; 542. *الْأَزَلِيُّ* the *Eternal in the past*; 543. *الْبَاقِي* *الْأَبَدِيُّ* the *Permanent One, Eternal in the future*; 544. *الْجَوَادُ* the *Generous*; 545. *خَالِقُ الْأَصْبَاحِ* *Creator of the mornings*; 546. *الدَّارِي* the *Understander*; 547. *الْقَدِيمُ الْأَزَلِيُّ* the *Ancient, Eternal in the past*; 548. *الْكَرِيمُ عَلَى الْإِطْلَاقِ* the *All-bountiful absolutely*; 549. *الْمَعْبُودُ* the *Worshipped*; 550. *مُفَرِّقُ الْجُمُحُورِ* the *Disperser of the community*; 551. *مُقَدِّرُ الْأُمُورِ* the *Meter out of events*; 552. *نِعَمَ الْمَعِيلِ* good the *Provider for those dependent on Him*. Doubtless, many and many another will be chanced upon; and there is every probability that a thousand can be collected and surpassed.

ART. II.—*Notes on a newly-discovered Clay Cylinder of Cyrus the Great.* By MAJOR-GENERAL SIR H. O. RAWLINSON, K.C.B., President and Director of the Royal Asiatic Society.

THE Society was informed in the Report which was read at the Anniversary Meeting in May, and which has since been printed in the JOURNAL, that many new Inscriptions had recently been discovered in Babylonia by Mr. Hormazd Rassam. When that gentleman lately returned to England from Mesopotamia, he left working parties both at Babylon and Nineveh, and it is from the excavations of the former place that the British Museum has recently received the very interesting relic which I am now about to describe. This relic, which is a broken clay cylinder of Cyrus the Great, 9 inches long, with a diameter of $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the end and $4\frac{1}{8}$ in the middle, was deposited apparently by the king in one of the temples of Merodach at Babylon, shortly after his conquest of the city, a conquest which is well known to form the climax of one of the most brilliant episodes in the history of Herodotus, and which has long been rendered famous throughout the Christian and Jewish worlds by its immediate connexion with the feast of Belshazzar, as described by Daniel the Prophet. The Cylinder is unfortunately too much broken to admit of a complete or connected translation being made of the text, which originally extended to forty-five long lines of very minute writing, and there are besides many words and phrases in the inscription of doubtful import; but still some passages are fortunately preserved which are of the greatest historical value, and altogether the Cylinder is perhaps the most interesting Cuneiform document that has been yet discovered. The opening of the inscription is entirely lost, and for the










first half dozen lines a few words only can be recovered, which would seem, however, to show that a king was then in power, in Babylonia (from after-notice we find him to be *Nabu-nahid*—the Nabonidus of the Greeks), who, although he took measures for the temporal security of the province, and strengthened Ur and the other fortified cities, neglected the temples and tampered with the ceremonial worship. The rites of Merodach, "king of the gods," were apparently superseded by the worship of inferior deities. Through his neglect the defences became dilapidated. "At this desecration the Lord of the Gods (presumably Merodach) was deeply grieved, and all the Gods inhabiting the temples of Babylon deserted their shrines. In the festivals (or processions), which were held at *Cal-anna* (which I shall presently show was the core of Babylon), Merodach and his kindred gods (were no longer seen) (?). They had removed to other congregations which had retained places for them; then the people of Sumir and Akkad¹ (the usual designation for the country population of Babylonia proper as distinguished from the townsmen), who had been left in darkness (?), prayed to Merodach to return (to his old

¹ A great deal has been written on the subject of the *Sumir* and *Akkad*, the presumption universally being that the names indicated an ethnical distinction among the primitive inhabitants of Babylonia. My own view, however, has always been that the names merely applied to the "fixed inhabitants" and the "Nomades," or, which is the same thing, to the Lowlanders and Highlanders without any necessary distinction of nationality. , which joined to *emi* or *lissan* "a race," denotes the *Sumir*, certainly means "a fixed abode," *subtu*; while the double , which is the *Akkad* monogram, is equated with *Auri* (𐎶𐎵), "mountains," the inhabitants of which along the Babylonian frontier are, and always have been, "Nomadic." *Akkad* for *Ankad* is the same word as the Arabic ٱلْجَبَل *Nejd*. I may add that a similar distinction between "hill" and "plain" also occurs in the Inscriptions under the form of  , *Arman va Padin*, sometimes corrupted to  , *Padan va Alman* (see B.M.I. vol. ii. pl. 38, l. 40), the compound title being a mere transcription of the פְּדָן אֶרֶם, *Padan Aram* of the Bible. The original Turanian title of *Kingi-Burbur* must have meant etymologically "Plain" and "Hill," rather than "fixed" and "nomade," but subsequently the titles seem to have been used indifferently. It is quite possible that in *Sumir-emi* we may have the original of the Greek Σευμαίους, used eponymously like Ninus, Medus, Peres, Armenus, etc., and referring to the fixed population both of Assyria and Babylonia.

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




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haunts); he granted their prayer, returned and rejoiced the land, selecting a king, who, according to his wishes, might govern the people, whom he committed to his charge. So he proclaimed the name of Cyrus, king of the city of *Anna*, to be king over the whole country, and to all people he declared his title. The country of *Guti* and all its forces, whom he caused to bow before his feet, as well as the whole nation of the black-heads, whom he brought into his hand, he made to rest in security and order (?). Merodach, the great lord, the feeder of his people, in his double capacity (?), directed his heart and hand and caused him to live (or worship ?) joyfully. To his own city of Babylon he summoned him to march, and he caused him to take the road to Dindir (one of the popular names for Babylon): like a friend and benefactor (?) he conducted his army. His far-extending forces, of which, like the waters of the river, the numbers could not be told, and their precious swords were the pride of his army; (?) without fighting or opposition he brought them near Cal-anna, and his city of Babylon he surrounded and conquered. Nabonidus, the king who did not worship him, he delivered into the hand of Cyrus. Then the people of Dindir, all of them and many of the Sumirs and Akkads, nobles and high priests, revolted and refused to kiss his feet (*i.e.* Nabonidus's); they rejoiced in his (*i.e.* Cyrus's) sovereignty and changed their allegiance. The god in whose service the dead are raised to life, and who helps all in difficulty and want (?), thoroughly befriended him and blazoned forth his proclamation (as follows): I am Cyrus, the supreme (?) king, the great king, the powerful king, king of Dindir, king of Sumir and Akkad, king of the four races; son of Cumbyses, the great king, king of the city of *Ansan*; grandson of Cyrus, the great king, king of the city of *Ansan*; great-grandson of Teispes, the great king, king of the city of *Ansan*. The ancient royal family, of which Bel and Nebo had sustained the rule in the goodness of their hearts, faded away when I entered victoriously into Dindir. With joy and gladness in the royal palace I established the seat of sovereignty. Merodach, the great lord,

the heart of his follower which the sons of Dindir and. . . .
 (this passage is mutilated and the sense cannot be recovered).
 My wide-spreading army was peacefully established throughout Dindir and the many districts of Sumir and Akkad, their good order was not disturbed (?). The high places of Babylon and all its fortresses I maintained in good preservation. The sons of Dindir had neglected to repair their dilapidations (?). Their fissures gaped, their walls bulged out. To the work of repairing his shrine, Merodach, the great lord, addressed himself (?). To me Cyrus the king, his worshipper, and to Cambyses my son, the offspring of my heart, and to my faithful army (the god) auspiciously granted his favour (?), so that we succeeded in restoring (the shrine) to its former perfect state (?) (all very doubtful). Many of the kings dwelling in high places, who belonged to the various races inhabiting the country between the Upper Sea (or Mediterranean) and the Lower Sea (or Persian Gulf), together with the kings of Syria and the unknown regions beyond (*Sutaru*, a word otherwise unknown) (?), brought to me their full tribute at Cal-anna, and kissed my feet. (They came) from as far as the cities of Assur and Istar, from *Agaté*, *Isunnak*, the cities of *Zamban*, *Mis-Turnu*, and *Duran*, as far as the skirts of *Guti*, and the fortresses along the banks of the Tigris,¹ where they had been settled from ancient times. The gods who dwelt among them to their places I restored, and I assigned them a permanent habitation. All their people I assembled, and I restored their congregations; and the gods of Sumir and Akkad, whom Nabonidus had inaugurated at the festivals (or processions) of the lord of the gods at Cal-anna, by command of Merodach, the great lord, I assigned them

¹ The Tigris is here represented under its old Turanian form of       *Masgugar* (as the name is phonetically spelt in a fragment recently discovered), which seems to have simply meant "flowing as water," *Supu*, its Assyrian equivalent, answering to the Arabic سيب *Sib*. *Idik* was probably a Turanian root with the same meaning, to which was added the suffix in *na*, as in *Turna*, *Supna*, *Arna*, etc. A feminine ending then formed *Idiknat*, which was corrupted into *Idiklat*, and ultimately *Dijlat*, the present name.

an honourable seat in their was ~~existed~~
 by all the other gods in their own cities. And ~~day~~ I
 prayed to Bel and Nebo that they would lengthen ~~my~~
 days, and would increase my good fortune, and ~~was~~
 repent to Merodach, my lord, that, 'Thy worshipper ~~Cyrus~~
 the king, and his son Cambyses '

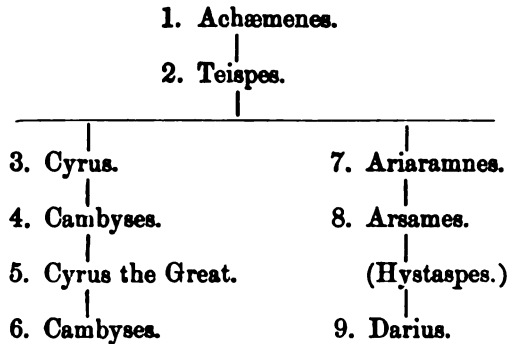
There are ten more lines of inscription, which probably contain prayers, but the writing is too much mutilated to admit of any connected sense being made out; for the last six lines, indeed, a few isolated characters at the end of the lines are all that remain.

In discussing this inscription, the first point to which it seems desirable to draw attention is, that it finally settles the vexed question as to the genealogy of Cyrus the Great. It proves that he was descended in five generations from Achaemenes, the direct line of descent being: 1, Achaemenes; 2, Teispes; 3, Cyrus; 4, Cambyses; and 5, Cyrus, in exact accordance with the testimony of Herodotus,¹ and in correction of Diodorus, who is supposed to have placed another Cambyses between Cyrus I. and Teispes, since he gives that name to the brother of a certain Atossa, who was ancestress in the fourth degree of Anaphes, one of the seven conspirators. The inscription further proves, in opposition to the opinion of Dr. Oppert,² that the crown descended uninterruptedly from Achaemenes to Cyrus the Great, though it still leaves us in doubt how to explain the statement of Darius at Behistun, that "eight of his ancestors had been kings before him in two lines, he himself being the ninth." Perhaps, however, Ariaramnes remained in Persis when his father Teispes pushed on to *Ansan*; and he and his son Arsames may thus have been kings in that province, though the next descendant, Hystaspes, lost all independent power on the rise of Cyrus the Great. At any rate, it is only by

¹ For the position of Cyrus in the family of the Achaemenidae, see Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. iv. p. 260. The only modification in the Professor's genealogical scheme which the recent discovery renders necessary is the elimination of Cambyses, son of Teispes, doubtfully introduced on the authority of Diodorus, see Phot. Bib. p. 1158.

² See Records of the Past, vol. vii. p. 87.

some special explanation of this sort that we can justify the statement of Darius. Pending further research, therefore, I propose to give the royal line in a double series, as follows :





Hystaspes, we know from Herodotus, was only a private individual (and, indeed, we find him in the Behistun Inscription acting in a subordinate capacity to his father as leader of the troops against the revolted Parthians), and although it may seem to militate against the royal position of Ariaramnes and Arsames that the title of king is not attached to their names at Behistun, the very same objection might be taken in regard to Teispes and Achæmenes, both of whom were, undoubtedly, independent monarchs.

The next point to consider is the more interesting and important question of the native country of the Persian race, from whence Cyrus invaded Babylonia. It has often been remarked by Assyrian students that when the name of Persia (*Parsua* or 𐎱 𐎠 𐎼) occurs in the inscriptions of Nineveh, the allusion seems to be to a Northern district of Media and not to the Southern region on the Persian Gulf; and we now further find that the Achæmenians before their Western conquests did not call themselves "kings of Persia," but kings of the city of *Ansan*. The explanation which I now venture to give of this hitherto unknown name, is as follows. The name of a barbarous country to the east of Babylonia often occurs in the earlier Cuneiform documents, which is written 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, and which

and *Markhasi*,¹ which would lead us to look for the site either in the valley of the Kerkha or of the Dezful River; but, on the other hand, a district so far to the west could hardly be called a dependency of Shuster. I should, indeed, have naturally looked for a locality immediately to the East of Shuster, in the direction of Persis, and should thus have selected the plain of *Mal Amir* (the *Aidej* of the Arabs) as the most suitable position for *Assan*, had not the inscriptions in that vicinity, at *Kal-Farâûn* and *Shikast-i-Salmân*, afforded evidence of Turanian rather than Arian nationality.² I am compelled, therefore, for the present, and pending further research, to place *Assan* somewhere in the plain of Ram-Hormuz, which, in deference perhaps to some old tradition, was a very favourite resort of the Sassanian kings, when the native race was again restored to power.

Some explanations are now required regarding the country of *Guti*, which is twice mentioned in the Inscription of Cyrus. *Gutu* is found in one of the syllabaries as the Accadian³ equivalent of *Garradu*, "a warrior," which we

טוב, Arab. طيب, *Thib*, which is usually represented by the monogram  'good' or 'blessed,' and  (as the name of the famous city of Hêa, and primitive capital of Southern Babylonia is commonly written) is thus shown to be the same as the *Thib* of modern geography. This city, half-way between Susa and Wasit, still exhibits some very remarkable ruins, having been until recently the head-quarters of the Sabæans of Irâk, and is known traditionally as the city of Seth. Many circumstances, indeed, combine to show that the legend of a terrestrial Paradise arose from this region, the triad of *Anu*, *Bel*, and *Hêa* answering to the Biblical *Cain* (the elder), *Abel*, and *Seth*, father of *Enos* or 'mankind.' But this difficult subject can hardly be treated in a casual note. A brief account of the ruins of *Thib* will be found in Layard's *Khuzistan* paper, *Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc.* vol. xvi. p. 69.




Markhasi has a very Arian aspect, standing probably for *Marakhas* or the *Mappaclor* of Ptolemy. The name also occurs in B.M.I. vol. ii. pl. 50, l. 66, and it was evidently, therefore, a place of some consequence.

² See the copies of these Elymæan inscriptions in Layard's collection, published by the British Museum, pls. 31/32 and 36/37. Layard, in his paper on Khuzistan, mentions twelve different localities in Elymais where Cuneiform Inscriptions are either known or believed to exist, yet of this grand historical collection we have only two short and badly copied specimens. What a field, then, does Elymais present for an enterprising archaeologist!

³ I have frequently in this paper used the word Accadian in the sense in which it is now generally employed to denote the leading Turanian dialect of ancient Babylonia; but it must not be supposed that I really attach any special ethnical value to the designation. According to my view the Akkad were mere highland Nomades, who used a great variety of dialects, principally, but not exclusively, Turanian.

the Lycus was the boundary of the province to the north at the time of the conquest. The other cities also were probably all frontier positions, quoted in evidence of the limits of Babylonia proper in the time of Cyrus. Thus *Agadé* or *Agadé* (for *Agáni*, as the name used to be read)¹ was the western limit towards the desert; *Isnunnak*² the limit to the north; *Zamban*³ was under the eastern hills, probably about *is-darāya*; *Mie-Turnu*⁴ at the mouth of the Tornadotus or *dheim*; and *Duran*,⁵ probably at *Dur-ar-Rāsib*, modern *oucairij*, on the Susian frontier.

The most difficult portion of the Cyrus Inscription, however, is that which relates to the worship of the Babylonian gods, the difficulty arising, not merely from the fragmentary character of the record and the doubtful reading of several of the most important passages, but also from the very loose and confused sacred nomenclature which prevailed at Babylon, owing to the amalgamation apparently in one Pantheon of several independent mythological systems. There would seem in remote antiquity to have been a double and probably a rival worship at Babylon, of the "King

¹ I proposed the reading of *Agáni* for this city more than twenty years ago (see Rawlinson's *Herod.* vol. i. p. 611), comparing the *Ἀγαδένος* of Abydenus and *Akra-de-Agama* of the Sanhedrim; and the reading was acquiesced in until recently, when Mr. G. Smith announced that he had discovered the true name to be *Agadé*. Mr. Smith may possibly be right, as the letter  more frequently represents *ni* than *ni*; but I have never yet seen any proof of the new reading. The site may have been at the mouth of the *Nahar Malci*, where there is a large mound still called *Akar-el-Ajdem* (for *Agadam*). At any rate, the name does not represent the Chaldee , "a lake or marsh," nor is it, I think, the original of the  of Genesis.

² *Isnunnak*, meaning "the house of the Ocean," was the name of the region bordering on the Persian Gulf. Smith always gives the reading of *Mullias*, apparently from an erroneous view of the passage in B. M. I. vol. ii. pl. 39, l. 59. The name is of very common occurrence, and was probably replaced in Assyrian by *Marat*, B. M. I. vol. ii. pl. 47, lines 16 and 17.

³ *Zamban* may be compared with the *Sambana* of Diodorus, which occurs on Alexander's march from Susa to Media; 1, *Carrha* or *Kerkh*; 2, *Sambana*; 3, *Celona* or *Gihlan*; and 4, *Bagistane* or *Behistun*. The province along the outer skirts of the hills was afterwards called *Mah Sabadán*, or the country of the *Sambata*.




















⁴ The Turanian name of this city is very remarkable from its connexion with Nineveh (the shrine of the fish), and will some day form a curious subject of inquiry. It reads *Hutu-mu-sa-iaaku-knu-idu-gir*.

⁵ *Duran* is a doubtful reading; Smith suggests *Duban*, but on no sufficient authority. The city is well known in Cuneiform Geography.

ART. II.—*Notes on a newly-discovered Clay Cylinder of Cyrus the Great.* By MAJOR-GENERAL SIR H. C. RAWLINSON, K.C.B., President and Director of the Royal Asiatic Society.

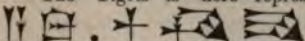
THE Society was informed in the Report which was read at the Anniversary Meeting in May, and which has since been printed in the JOURNAL, that many new Inscriptions had recently been discovered in Babylonia by Mr. Hormazd Rassam. When that gentleman lately returned to England from Mesopotamia, he left working parties both at Babylon and Nineveh, and it is from the excavations of the former place that the British Museum has recently received the very interesting relic which I am now about to describe. This relic, which is a broken clay cylinder of Cyrus the Great, 9 inches long, with a diameter of $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the end and $4\frac{1}{8}$ in the middle, was deposited apparently by the king in one of the temples of Merodach at Babylon, shortly after his conquest of the city, a conquest which is well known to form the climax of one of the most brilliant episodes in the history of Herodotus, and which has long been rendered famous throughout the Christian and Jewish worlds by its immediate connexion with the feast of Belshazzar, as described by Daniel the Prophet. The Cylinder is unfortunately too much broken to admit of a complete or connected translation being made of the text, which originally extended to forty-five long lines of very minute writing, and there are besides many words and phrases in the inscription of doubtful import; but still some passages are fortunately preserved which are of the greatest historical value, and altogether the Cylinder is perhaps the most interesting Cuneiform document that has been yet discovered. The opening of the inscription is entirely lost, and for the

first half dozen lines a few words only can be recovered, which would seem, however, to show that a king was then in power, in Babylonia (from after-notices we find him to be *Nabu-nahid*—the Nabonidus of the Greeks), who, although he took measures for the temporal security of the province, and strengthened Ur and the other fortified cities, neglected the temples and tampered with the ceremonial worship. The rites of Merodach, "king of the gods," were apparently superseded by the worship of inferior deities. Through his neglect the defences became dilapidated. "At this desecration the Lord of the Gods (presumably Merodach) was deeply grieved, and all the Gods inhabiting the temples of Babylon deserted their shrines. In the festivals (or processions), which were held at *Cal-anna* (which I shall presently show was the core of Babylon), Merodach and his kindred gods (were no longer seen) (?). They had removed to other congregations which had retained places for them; then the people of Sumir and Akkad¹ (the usual designation for the country population of Babylonia proper as distinguished from the townsmen), who had been left in darkness (?), prayed to Merodach to return (to his old

¹ A great deal has been written on the subject of the *Sumir* and *Akkad*, the presumption universally being that the names indicated an ethnical distinction among the primitive inhabitants of Babylonia. My own view, however, has always been that the names merely applied to the "fixed inhabitants" and the "Nomades," or, which is the same thing, to the Lowlanders and Highlanders without any necessary distinction of nationality. , which joined to *emi* or *liisan* "a race," denotes the *Sumir*, certainly means "a fixed abode," *subtu*; while the double , which is the *Akkad* monogram, is equated with *huri* (𒄩), "mountains," the inhabitants of which along the Babylonian frontier are, and always have been, "Nomadic." *Akkad* for *Ankad* is the same word as the Arabic نجد *Nejd*. I may add that a similar distinction between "hill" and "plain" also occurs in the Inscriptions under the form of     , *Arman va Padin*, sometimes corrupted to            , *Padan va Alman* (see B.M.I. vol. ii. pl. 38, l. 40), the compound title being a mere transcription of the פְּדָן אֲרָם, *Padan Aram* of the Bible. The original Turanian title of *Kingi-Burbur* must have meant etymologically "Plain" and "Hill," rather than "fixed" and "nomade," but subsequently the titles seem to have been used indifferently. It is quite possible that in *Sumir-emi* we may have the original of the Greek Σεμυραμης, used eponymously like Ninus, Medus, Perses, Armenus, etc., and referring to the fixed population both of Assyria and Babylonia.

haunts); he granted their prayer, returned and rejoiced the land, selecting a king, who, according to his wishes, might govern the people, whom he committed to his charge. So he proclaimed the name of Cyrus, king of the city of *Ansan*, to be king over the whole country, and to all people he declared his title. The country of *Guti* and all its forces, whom he caused to bow before his feet, as well as the whole nation of the black-heads, whom he brought into his hand, he made to rest in security and order (?). Merodach, the great lord, the feeder of his people, in his double capacity (?), directed his heart and hand and caused him to live (or worship ?) joyfully. To his own city of Babylon he summoned him to march, and he caused him to take the road to Dindir (one of the popular names for Babylon); like a friend and benefactor (?) he conducted his army. His far-extending forces, of which, like the waters of the river, the numbers could not be told, and their precious swords were the pride of his army; (?) without fighting or opposition he brought them near Cal-anna, and his city of Babylon he surrounded and conquered. Nabonidus, the king who did not worship him, he delivered into the hand of Cyrus. Then the people of Dindir, all of them and many of the Sumirs and Akkads, nobles and high priests, revolted and refused to kiss his feet (*i.e.* Nabonidus's); they rejoiced in his (*i.e.* Cyrus's) sovereignty and changed their allegiance. The god in whose service the dead are raised to life, and who helps all in difficulty and want (?), thoroughly befriended him and blazoned forth his proclamation (as follows): I am Cyrus, the supreme (?) king, the great king, the powerful king, king of Dindir, king of Sumir and Akkad, king of the four races; son of Cambyzes, the great king, king of the city of *Ansan*; grandson of Cyrus, the great king, king of the city of *Ansan*; great-grandson of Teispes, the great king, king of the city of *Ansan*. The ancient royal family, of which Bel and Nebo had sustained the rule in the goodness of their hearts, faded away when I entered victoriously into Dindir. With joy and gladness in the royal palace I established the seat of sovereignty. Merodach, the great lord,

the heart of his follower which the sons of Dindir and. . . . (this passage is mutilated and the sense cannot be recovered). My wide-spreading army was peacefully established throughout Dindir and the many districts of Sumir and Akkad, their good order was not disturbed (?). The high places of Babylon and all its fortresses I maintained in good preservation. The sons of Dindir had neglected to repair their dilapidations (?). Their fissures gaped, their walls bulged out. To the work of repairing his shrine, Merodach, the great lord, addressed himself (?). To me Cyrus the king, his worshipper, and to Cambyses my son, the offspring of my heart, and to my faithful army (the god) auspiciously granted his favour (?), so that we succeeded in restoring (the shrine) to its former perfect state (?) (all very doubtful). Many of the kings dwelling in high places, who belonged to the various races inhabiting the country between the Upper Sea (or Mediterranean) and the Lower Sea (or Persian Gulf), together with the kings of Syria and the unknown regions beyond (*Sutaru*, a word otherwise unknown) (?), brought to me their full tribute at Cal-anna, and kissed my feet. (They came) from as far as the cities of Assur and Istar, from *Agatê*, *Isnunnak*, the cities of *Zamban*, *Mie-Turnu*, and *Duran*, as far as the skirts of *Guti*, and the fortresses along the banks of the Tigris,¹ where they had been settled from ancient times. The gods who dwelt among them to their places I restored, and I assigned them a permanent habitation. All their people I assembled, and I restored their congregations; and the gods of Sumir and Akkad, whom Nabonidus had inaugurated at the festivals (or processions) of the lord of the gods at Cal-anna, by command of Merodach, the great lord, I assigned them

¹ The Tigris is here represented under its old Turanian form of  *Masgugar* (as the name is phonetically spelt in a fragment recently discovered), which seems to have simply meant "flowing as water," *Supu*, its Assyrian equivalent, answering to the Arabic سيب *Sib*. *Idik* was probably a Turanian root with the same meaning, to which was added the suffix in *na*, as in *Turna*, *Supna*, *Arna*, etc. A feminine ending then formed *Idiknat*, which was corrupted into *Idiklat*, and ultimately *Dijlat*, the present name.

an honourable seat in their sanctuaries, as was enjoyed by all the other gods in their own cities. And daily I prayed to Bel and Nebo that they would lengthen my days, and would increase my good fortune, and would repeat to Merodach, my lord, that, 'Thy worshipper Cyrus the king, and his son Cambyses ,'

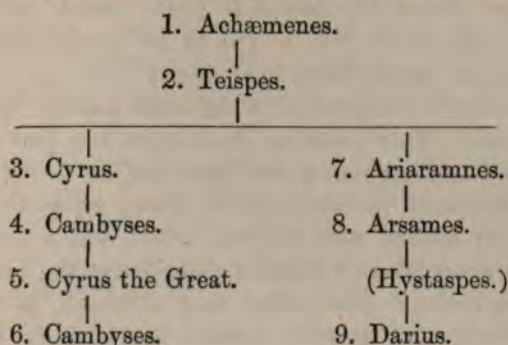
There are ten more lines of inscription, which probably contain prayers, but the writing is too much mutilated to admit of any connected sense being made out; for the last six lines, indeed, a few isolated characters at the end of the lines are all that remain.

In discussing this inscription, the first point to which it seems desirable to draw attention is, that it finally settles the vexed question as to the genealogy of Cyrus the Great. It proves that he was descended in five generations from Achæmenes, the direct line of descent being: 1, Achæmenes; 2, Teispes; 3, Cyrus; 4, Cambyses; and 5, Cyrus, in exact accordance with the testimony of Herodotus,¹ and in correction of Diodorus, who is supposed to have placed another Cambyses between Cyrus I. and Teispes, since he gives that name to the brother of a certain Atossa, who was ancestress in the fourth degree of Anaphes, one of the seven conspirators. The inscription further proves, in opposition to the opinion of Dr. Oppert,² that the crown descended uninterruptedly from Achæmenes to Cyrus the Great, though it still leaves us in doubt how to explain the statement of Darius at Behistun, that "eight of his ancestors had been kings before him in two lines, he himself being the ninth." Perhaps, however, Ariaramnes remained in Persis when his father Teispes pushed on to *Ansan*; and he and his son Arsames may thus have been kings in that province, though the next descendant, Hystaspes, lost all independent power on the rise of Cyrus the Great. At any rate, it is only by

¹ For the position of Cyrus in the family of the Achæmenidæ, see Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. iv. p. 260. The only modification in the Professor's genealogical scheme which the recent discovery renders necessary is the elimination of Cambyses, son of Teispes, doubtfully introduced on the authority of Diodorus, see Phot. Bib. p. 1158.



² See Records of the Past, vol. vii. p. 87.

some special explanation of this sort that we can justify the statement of Darius. Pending further research, therefore, I propose to give the royal line in a double series, as follows :


















Hystaspes, we know from Herodotus, was only a private individual (and, indeed, we find him in the Behistun Inscription acting in a subordinate capacity to his father as leader of the troops against the revolted Parthians), and although it may seem to militate against the royal position of Ariaramnes and Arsames that the title of king is not attached to their names at Behistun, the very same objection might be taken in regard to Teispes and Achæmenes, both of whom were, undoubtedly, independent monarchs.

The next point to consider is the more interesting and important question of the native country of the Persian race, from whence Cyrus invaded Babylonia. It has often been remarked by Assyrian students that when the name of Persia (*Parsua* or 𐎱𐎠𐎼𐎿) occurs in the inscriptions of Nineveh, the allusion seems to be to a Northern district of Media and not to the Southern region on the Persian Gulf; and we now further find that the Achæmenians before their Western conquests did not call themselves "kings of Persia," but kings of the city of *Ansan*. The explanation which I now venture to give of this hitherto unknown name, is as follows. The name of a barbarous country to the east of Babylonia often occurs in the earlier Cuneiform documents, which is written 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, and which

has been hitherto usually read as *Anduan*, but the second letter  has the power of *sa* as well as of *du*, and it is therefore equally permissible to read the name as *Ansan*. This same name of *Ansan* is again stated in a gloss (B.M.I. vol. ii. pl. 47, l. 18) to be pronounced *Assan*, the nasal, as usual, being assimilated with the following sibilant, and it is explained in the same passage by *Elamtu* "Elymæan." That *Ansan* or *Assan* must be a part of Elam, or immediately adjoining that province, is further shown by the frequent junction of the name, especially in the astrological tablets, with *Subartu*,¹ which was a well-known title for the portion of Susiana that adjoins the mountains. It is very curious then to find that, although, as far as I know, Greek and Roman authors are entirely silent as to any country or city of *Ansan*, or *Assan*, in Western Persia, there is a notice of  *Assan* in a very early and learned Arabic writer Ibn-el-Nadím, who had unusually good means of information as to genuine Persian traditions. This writer ascribes the invention of Persian writing to Jamshíd, the son of Vivenghán (who, with the Zoroastrians was the Eponym of the Persian race), and adds that he, Jamshíd, dwelt at Assán, one of the districts of Tuster (modern Shuster) — *Kitab-el-Fihrist*, p. 12, l. 22. From what Pehlevi source this information is derived I have no means of discovering; but I am strongly tempted to believe that the Elymæan *Assan* of the inscriptions, and the Shuster dependency of that name, are one and the same.



Where then are we to look for the site? In Smith's Primitive Geographical list (*Biblical Archæol. Journal*, volume i. page 87) *Assan* (or *Anduan* as there printed) comes between *Erid* (one of the earliest of Chaldæan capitals, and represented by the modern ruins of *Thib*)²

¹ For a notice of the king of *Ansan* and *Subartu* united, see B.M.I. vol. iii. pl. 60, lines 67 and 68.

² The name of the city of *Erid* is written phonetically in B.M.I. vol. iv. pl. 21, col. 2, l. 49, as               

and *Markhasi*,¹ which would lead us to look for the site either in the valley of the Kerkha or of the Dezful River; but, on the other hand, a district so far to the west could hardly be called a dependency of Shuster. I should, indeed, have naturally looked for a locality immediately to the East of Shuster, in the direction of Persis, and should thus have selected the plain of *Mal Amir* (the *Aidej* of the Arabs) as the most suitable position for *Assan*, had not the inscriptions in that vicinity, at *Kal-Farâûn* and *Shikâft-i-Salmân*, afforded evidence of Turanian rather than Arian nationality.² I am compelled, therefore, for the present, and pending further research, to place *Assan* somewhere in the plain of Ram-Hormuz, which, in deference perhaps to some old tradition, was a very favourite resort of the Sassanian kings, when the native race was again restored to power.

Some explanations are now required regarding the country of *Guti*, which is twice mentioned in the Inscription of Cyrus. *Gutu* is found in one of the syllabaries as the Accadian³ equivalent of *Garradu*, "a warrior," which we

טוב, Arab. طيب, *Thib*, which is usually represented by the monogram  'good' or 'blessed,' and  (as the name of the famous city of Hêa, and primitive capital of Southern Babylonia is commonly written) is thus shown to be the same as the *Thib* of modern geography. This city, half-way between Susa and Wasit, still exhibits some very remarkable ruins, having been until recently the head-quarters of the Sabæans of Irâk, and is known traditionally as the city of Seth. Many circumstances, indeed, combine to show that the legend of a terrestrial Paradise arose from this region, the triad of *Anu*, *Bel*, and *Hêa* answering to the Biblical *Cain* (the elder), *Abel*, and *Seth*, father of *Enos* or 'mankind.' But this difficult subject can hardly be treated in a casual note. A brief account of the ruins of *Thib* will be found in Layard's *Khuzistan* paper, *Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc.* vol. xvi. p. 69.

¹ *Markhasi* has a very Arian aspect, standing probably for *Marakhas* or the *Μαρκασιον* of Ptolemy. The name also occurs in B.M.I. vol. ii. pl. 50, l. 66, and it was evidently, therefore, a place of some consequence.

² See the copies of these Elymæan inscriptions in Layard's collection, published by the British Museum, pls. 31/32 and 36/37. Layard, in his paper on *Khuzistan*, mentions twelve different localities in Elymais where Cuneiform Inscriptions are either known or believed to exist, yet of this grand historical collection we have only two short and badly copied specimens. What a field, then, does Elymais present for an enterprising archaeologist!

³ I have frequently in this paper used the word Accadian in the sense in which it is now generally employed to denote the leading Turanian dialect of ancient Babylonia; but it must not be supposed that I really attach any special ethnical value to the designation. According to my view the Akkad were mere highland Nomades, who used a great variety of dialects, principally, but not exclusively, Turanian.

have the authority of Strabo for taking to be the original form of the name of the Carduchi or *Kurds*.¹ The *Guti* then were the warlike tribes who dwelt along the mountains overhanging Assyria and Babylonia, from Armenia to Susiana. They were the immediate neighbours of the Medes, and are thus repeatedly joined with them in the Inscriptions of Sargon. In all probability the subjugation of the *Guti* recorded by Cyrus before his descent upon Babylon included his conquest of the Medes. I may further notice that Mount Nizir, upon which, according to the Chaldaean account of the Deluge, the ark rested on the subsidence of the waters, is called *Guti* in the Inscriptions, and it retains the title of Mount *Judi*, the regular Arabicized form of *Guti*, to the present day; the tradition, moreover, of the ark having rested there still attaching to the spot. A more difficult matter for inquiry is involved in the Accadian name for *Guti*, which seems to be "the Post of the God Anu," referring probably to some myth of the early races connected with their notions of the Cosmogony.²


The other names contained in the geographical list of the Cyrus Cylinder are all sufficiently well known. The city of Assur was the old capital at Keleh Shergat, while the city of Istar might be either Nineveh or Arbela, as the goddess had special shrines in both cities. As Nineveh, however, was in ruins in the time of Cyrus, I suppose the name to refer to Arbela, and infer from its mention

¹ For equivalence of *Gutu* and *Garradu*, see Delitzsch's *Assyr. Les.* p. 58, l. 20. As a title of Nergal, *Gut-gut* and *Garradu* are used indifferently, B.M.I. vol. ii. pl. 54, l. 71; while $\rightarrow\text{Y} \rightarrow\text{S} \rightarrow\text{Y}$ (which was probably sounded *Gut*, the last letter being phonetic complement), when applied as an epithet to Merodach, is also translated by $\rightarrow\text{Y} \rightarrow\text{Y}$ *Gardu*, B.M.I. vol. iv. pl. 20, lines 7 and 8. The same element occurs in the Accadian name of *Gutibir*, applying to Merodach, B.M.I. vol. ii. pl. 48, l. 36.

² This name is written $\rightarrow\text{Y} \rightarrow\text{Y} \rightarrow\text{Y} \rightarrow\text{Y}$ B.M.I. vol. ii. pl. 48, col. 3, l. 14, or with $\rightarrow\text{Y}$ for the second letter in B.M.I. vol. ii. pl. 50, l. 52, the first element being explained, both in a gloss to this latter passage and in Syllabary No. 399, by *Gis-gul* "the big wood," which is translated in Assyrian by *Manzaz* "set up," as a post (?). I do not pretend to explain the mythic origin of the name, but I was certainly wrong in connecting it with the *Su-anna* of Babylon, as I am quoted by Mr. Norris in his Dictionary, p. 205.

that the Lycus was the boundary of the province to the north at the time of the conquest. The other cities also were probably all frontier positions, quoted in evidence of the limits of Babylonia proper in the time of Cyrus. Thus *Agaté* or *Agadé* (for *Agáni*, as the name used to be read)¹ was the western limit towards the desert; *Isnunnak*² the limit to the south; *Zamban*³ was under the eastern hills, probably about *Bá-darāya*; *Mie-Turnu*⁴ at the mouth of the Tornadotus or *Adheim*; and *Duran*,⁵ probably at *Dur-ar-Rásib*, modern *Dowairij*, on the Susian frontier.

The most difficult portion of the Cyrus Inscription, however, is that which relates to the worship of the Babylonian gods, the difficulty arising, not merely from the fragmentary character of the record and the doubtful reading of several of the most important passages, but also from the very loose and confused sacred nomenclature which prevailed at Babylon, owing to the amalgamation apparently in one Pantheon of several independent mythological systems. There would seem in remote antiquity to have been a double and probably a rival worship at Babylon, of the "King

¹ I proposed the reading of *Agáni* for this city more than twenty years ago (see Rawlinson's *Herod.* vol. i. p. 611), comparing the *Ἀγαθὸς* of Abydenus and *Akra-de-Agama* of the Sanhedrim; and the reading was acquiesced in until recently, when Mr. G. Smith announced that he had discovered the true name to be *Agadé*. Mr. Smith may possibly be right, as the letter  more frequently represents *ni* than *ni*; but I have never yet seen any proof of the new reading. The site may have been at the mouth of the *Nahar Malcd*, where there is a large mound still called *Akar-el-Ajdem* (for *Agadam*). At any rate, the name does not represent the Chaldee *אגניא*, "a lake or marsh," nor is it, I think, the original of the *אכד* of Genesis.

² *Isnunnak*, meaning "the house of the Ocean," was the name of the region bordering on the Persian Gulf. Smith always gives the reading of *Mullias*, apparently from an erroneous view of the passage in *B. M. I.* vol. ii. pl. 39, l. 59. The name is of very common occurrence, and was probably replaced in Assyrian by *Marat*, *B. M. I.* vol. ii. pl. 47, lines 16 and 17.

³ *Zamban* may be compared with the *Sambana* of Diodorus, which occurs on Alexander's march from Susa to Media; 1, *Carrha* or *Kerkh*; 2, *Sambana*; 3, *Celonæ* or *Ghildn*; and 4, *Bagistane* or *Behistun*. The province along the outer skirts of the hills was afterwards called *Mah Sabadan*, or the country of the *Sambatæ*.

⁴ The Turanian name of this city is very remarkable from its connexion with Nineveh (the shrine of the fish), and will some day form a curious subject of inquiry. It reads *Hutu-ma-sa-isseku-kua-idu-sir*.

⁵ *Duran* is a doubtful reading; Smith suggests *Duban*, but on no sufficient authority. The city is well known in Cuneiform Geography.

of the Gods of Heaven and Earth," and of the "Lord of the World." The former was afterwards confounded with the Anu of the Semites, and the latter with Bel or *Ilu*. They had each their special shrines, Anu at the *Tul-illu* or "holy mound," represented by the present ruins of *Amrán*; the other at *Bar-siggar*, the great mound to the north, which is now called Babil (Mr. Rich's *Mujellibeh*). These rival places of worship divided the year, *Bar-siggar* presiding over the first half, and *Tul-illu* over the second. Later on, two great temples were raised at these sacred spots, Bel's shrine being named *Bit-Saggal*, "the lofty-headed," and Anu's, *Bit-Zida*, "the living house."¹ At the "holy-mound" also was erected the great pyramid, which is called in the Bible "the Tower of Babel," and which was destroyed under miraculous circumstances, the local legend regarding the destruction being apparently very similar to that preserved in Genesis. Subsequently another tower, or *Ziggurat*, was erected on the same mound, which was called "the platform of heaven and earth," and which was the loftiest building in Babylon. Upon the mound were also found (besides smaller fane or oratories) a *papakh* or "chapel," dedicated to Nebo; a building called "the shrine of the fish" or *Bit-Kua*, and a high place or sanctuary (*Parak*) sacred to Merodach. Adjoining the holy mound was the palace of the kings, represented by the present ruins of the *Kasr*; on

¹ It has been admitted by all Assyriologists that the standard epithet of the kings of Babylon, "supporter of the Temples of *Bit-Saggal* and *Bit-Zida*," must have some deeper significance than a mere record of architectural labours. Hincks explained the title as "Defender of the Military and Civil Institutions of the country." Lenormant, still more daring, suggested that the two Temples typified the two Hemispheres. I myself believe that the distinction was religious, and implied a common Protectorate of the two rival sects of the country; and I may here add that according to my view there was a third sect, the followers of $\rightarrow\Upsilon \equiv \text{||||} \Upsilon\Upsilon$, to which the monotheistic Hebrews of Ur belonged. This God, who is still usually known by the name of *Hea*, which I invented for him twenty years ago, is often called "*God No. 1*" by his especial votaries. He was "the Creator of mankind," "the God of life and knowledge," "the Lord of *Thib* (the blessed city) or Paradise," and exhibits many other traces of identity with the Elohim of the Jews. There seems, indeed, to be an allusion to this deity being accepted by the Monotheists as the one true God, in the last verse of chap. iv. of Genesis, where, as I understand the passage, it is said that "about this time, he (*i.e.* Seth, the Lord of *Thib*) began to be called by the name of Jehovah."

the skirts of the mound were "the hanging gardens," and the whole group of buildings, inclosed by an inner wall, formed a sort of separate town, which was named *Cal-anna* or "the might of Anu."¹ This name 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 has hitherto been read *Su-anna*, or in Assyrian *Emuk-Anu*, "the hand or might of Anu;" and it is with some diffidence that I now venture to propose for it the reading of *Cal-anna* or *Calneh*. My argument, however, is simply as follows: *Calneh*, or *Calno*, is mentioned in *Genesis*, in *Isaiah*, and in *Amos*, and was certainly one of the best-known names in *Babylonia*, yet there is positively no Cuneiform title but 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 in the whole range of *Babylonian* geography which can be brought into possible assimilation with 𐎶𐎵. Of course, if there were any direct authority for giving the phonetic value of *kal* to 𐎶𐎵, the identification would be undoubted, but hitherto I have never met with any such variant power in the Cuneiform glosses or syllabaries. An explanation, however, which occurs to me of the orthographical difficulty is that the root *kal* signifies "power" or "to be able" in *Accadian* (compare 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *kalga*, "having power" or "powerful"), and that this is also the tropical meaning of 𐎶𐎵 "the hand," which is usually rendered in *Assyrian* by *emuk*. *Cal-anna* would thus be an *Accadian* reading for "might of Anu," as *Χαλάσαρ* would be "might of Ashur," and *Kalwádha*, or 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, "might of Mád," and perhaps in the orthography of 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Calno* employed in *Isaiah* x. 9, we might see an attempt to give the Semitic form of *Anú*, instead of the *Accadian* reading of *Anna*. But the authority with which I conclude my argument, and upon which I mainly rely, is found in the *Septuagint* translation of the passage in *Isaiah*, where the *Alexandrian* Jews of the second century *B.C.*, with a knowledge of the localities, render the verse

¹ I have arrived at this appreciation of the various buildings at *Babylon* by a careful comparison of the *Inscriptions* of *Nebuchadnezzar* one with the other. The only novelty in my view is that I maintain the *Bit-Zida* of the bricks, etc., to be *Anú's* temple at the *Tul-illu* or "Holy mound," and to have nothing to do with the provincial temple of *Bit-Zida* at *Borsippa*, which was sacred to *Ne*








which reads in Hebrew, "Is not Calno as Carchemish?" by "Have not I taken the region above Babylon and Calanna (*Χαλάννη*) where the tower was built?" Now the tower was built on the "holy mound," and therefore *𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵*, which inclosed "the holy mound," is *Χαλάννη*, or *כלנ*.¹

It will be observed that throughout the Inscription of Cyrus, Merodach takes the leading place, and this is nothing more than was to be expected under the circumstances, as this god in the later Babylonian period had appropriated to himself the functions, and even the name of the older national divinity, the title of Bel (Accadian "*Mullil*") being used in the Nebuchadnezzar Inscriptions, and also in this document, as a mere royal epithet of Merodach. It is probable, too, that the legend of Cyrus was drawn up by the priests of Merodach, and deposited in the temple of their god. That Cyrus himself had really exchanged the worship of Auramazda for that of Merodach is not for a moment to be believed, but with his large experience of Asiatic creeds he was no doubt tolerant in the extreme, and it was this tolerance we may believe that led him to look with equal favour on the Monotheistic Jews and on the Polytheists of Babylon; while the marked contrast between the refined dualism of the Persians and the gross idolatry of the Babylonians may account for the earnest admiration of the captive Israelites towards

¹ I am quite aware that in the present state of our Assyrian knowledge this proposed identification of *𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵* with Calneh cannot be critically sustained. All the direct evidence that we possess tends to show that *𐎶* must, in the name in question, stand for *emuḫ* "power," or "the hand,"—comp. B.M.I. vol. iv. pl. 18, lines 18 and 19, where the reading is given of *Emuḫi zirati sa Anu* for the name of a temple of Merodach at Babylon, and B.M.I. vol. iv. pl. 2, l. 12, 13, where *𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵* is translated *emuḫa sa saḫa*, "lofty power." But, on the other hand, our information on the subject is as yet limited, and it is quite possible we may some day find *𐎶𐎵𐎵* among the equivalents of *𐎶*. At any rate, the Temple of *Emuḫi zirati sa Anu*, referred to by Smith (*Discoveries*, p. 232) is quite a different place from *𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵*, and has not necessarily the same pronunciation.

their great deliverer. It would seem almost as if the writer on the Cylinder had known the words of Isaiah, and had transferred them to the god of his own religion. There is at any rate a marked similarity between some of the Hebrew phrases, such as "I have called thee by thy name," "I will go before thee and make the crooked places straight," and the expressions used on the Cylinder to describe Merodach's favour for Cyrus.

I have not been able to ascertain the exact spot where this Cylinder was found. It is understood at the British Museum to come from the excavations at Birs Nimrud, but I can hardly believe this to be possible, as there is no allusion to Borsippa or to its temple in the whole extent of the Inscription; I should rather judge from the context that it must have been deposited in the lesser shrine of Merodach on the "holy mound," which, as I have before said, is represented by the ruins about the tomb of Amrán, and I may add that Merodach appears to have been worshipped at this shrine in his special character of "the preserver of life" ("raising the dead to life," according to the language of the Inscriptions),¹ a curious illustration of which is offered by the notice of Arrian, that in Alexander's last illness, as he was dying in the palace ("the *Kasr*"), prayers were offered up throughout the night to Jupiter Serapis in the adjoining temple to prolong the great conqueror's life.

P.S.—Since these notes were in type, I have observed that Professor Sayce (*Journ. Bib. Archæol.* vol. iii. p. 475) has already proposed to identify the     of the Assyrian Inscriptions with a certain    *Anzana*, which he claims to have found in the Inscriptions of Susa and Elymais, as the native name of those countries, the common title of the Susian king being, according to this reading, "Lord of the empire of *Anzan*." Now I have failed to verify Mr. Sayce's quotations, except in one in-

¹ See, amongst other passages, *B.M.I.* vol. iv. pl. 19, lines 10 and 11.

stance (Layard's Inscriptions, pl. 36, l. 12), and what is more, I see that Oppert ignores any such name as *Ansan* among the territorial epithets of the kings of Susa (Records of the Past, vol. vii. p. 79), but I am bound to say that I think Sayce's explanation very probable; and that I am inclined, therefore, now to revert to my original idea of placing the Achæmenian capital of *Ansan* in the plain of *Mal-amir*. It is, of course, quite possible that the Arian Persians may have crossed the mountains from Isfahan as early as the time of Achæmenes, driving out the Turanian Elymæans, and holding the rich country on the Upper Karûn, for a hundred years before they prosecuted their conquests to the westward, but in that case it is almost certain that they would have left some memorial of their sojourn in the shape of sculptures or inscriptions; and it becomes, therefore, of special interest that the rocks in the vicinity of *Mal-amir* should be thoroughly examined, with a view of detecting among the Elymæan antiquities any trace of Persian workmanship. Sir H. Layard and the Baron de Bodé are the only travellers who have as yet published a notice of these antiquities from personal observation, but it is probable that the country will shortly be thrown open to engineers and even to tourists, in connexion with the projected railway from Isfahan to Shuster.¹

TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION ON CYRUS CYLINDER IN ROMAN
CHARACTERS WITH INTERLINEARY TRANSLATION.

- | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------|
| 1. | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | nisu |
| 2. | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | iprat |

¹ The first six names in Ptolemy's Catalogue of the Cities of Persis evidently refer to this region between Shuster and Isfahan. 1. 'Οζοα will be the city of the Uxii, taken by Alexander. 3. Μαῖπαστορ will answer to the *Marhasi* of the Inscriptions. 4. 'Ασπασανη will be *Isfahan*, and 6. Πορτυοσσάνδα, I suspect to be "Assan of the Parthians," the true reading being probably Παρτυασσάνδα, and the name being formed like the Παρθάυνισα (Nissa of the Parthians) of Khorassan. The rich and ancient temples, as it is well known, of this region excited the cupidity of the Syrian and Parthian monarchs, and Antiochus the Great lost his life in an attempt to plunder them.

3.
 rabbaťú issakna ana dannutu matisu
 a fortress (?) he established for the strengthening of his country
4. si
 --- sili úsaskina tsirusun
 (officers?) he caused to be appointed over them;
5. tamsili Bit Saggal ite ----
 like the temple of Saggal he built (?)
 ---- in ana Hur va šittáti makhaza
 to the city of Ur and the rest of the strong places
6. paraz la simátisunu
 their ordinary dilapidations (?)
 . . . yomi samma iddini ibbub va . . . ---- krin
 daily (?) he adjudged, he destroyed (?) and he
7. vadduku usubdili ula ----
 the rites he cancelled
 . . . kan kirib makhazi palakha Marduk sar ili . . .
 in the strong cities a worshipper of Merodach king of the Gods
 --- se asussu (?)

8. limutti irsu ---- du ibbus yomi
 in evil his city . . . made daily
 ---- isu ina absáni la tabšut salkhutí úkhallikhu kullašin
 . . . in affairs not being (?) the defences languished all of them,
 (i.e. while nothing was doing),
9. ana tazimti-sina Bel ili izzis iggug . . .
 at their destruction the Lord of the Gods exceedingly grieved . . .
 . . . kišursun ili asib libbi sunu izibu admansun
 their palaces (?); the Gods dwelling within them left their shrines;
10. ina uggati sa úseribi ana kirib Kal-Anna Marduk
 in the sacred feasts which he celebrated within Cal-Anna Merodach
 --- li šakhra ana napkhar dadmi sa innadu
 (was not seen ?) . . . he had migrated to other congregations who had removed (?)
 subatšun
 their seats

11. va nisi mat Sumiri va Akkadi sa imú salamtas
 and the men of the countries of Sumir and Akkad who were in darkness
 úsa . . . irka . . . (ri)mi irtasi taira kullat
 humbly (?) besought (him to come back ?); the favour he granted, he returned; all
 matata kalisina ikhid ibré va (?)
 the countries, the whole of them he rejoiced and befriended.

12. istehéva malki isaru bibil libbi sa ittamakh
 and he selected a king to conduct after his heart what he committed to
 qatussu Kuras sar ir Ansan ittabi nibitsu ana malikutí
 his hand; Cyrus king of the city of Ansan he proclaimed his name to the sovereignty
 kullata napkhar izzakra sumsu (?)
 of all; very much he proclaimed his name (?);

13. mat Qutí gimir ummannis sa úkannisa ana sepisu
 the people of Gutí in all their force whom he made submit to his feet,
 nisi zalimat gagadu sa usaksidu qatásu
 the men of the blackheads whom he caused to be taken by his hand,

14. ina kittí va misaru istenihé sinatí Marduk bilú
 in security and order he made them rest. Merodach the great
 rabu taru nisisu ibseti saninsu qáta va libbasu
 lord, the feeder (?) of his people in his double being (?) his hand and heart
 isara khadis ippalid (?)
 directed (so that) joyfully he lived (?)

15. ana irsu Babili halaksu igbi úsazbitsuva
 to his city of Babylon his march he summoned; and he caused him to
 kharranu Dindir kima ibri va tappé ittallaka idásu
 take the road to Dindir; like a friend and benefactor (?) he conducted his army (?)

16. unmanisu rapsatí sa kima mie nahar la
 his forces wide spreading which like the waters of the river could not
 útaddú nibasun kakki sunu khanduva (?) isaddikha idásu
 be known their numbers and their precious swords (?) expanded (the hearts of)
 his army (?)

17. balu gabli va takhazi useribas kirib Kal-anna irsu
 without fighting and contest he brought (them) to Calanna; his city of
 Babili idir ina sapsaki Nabu-nahid sar la palikhisu
 Babylon he besieged and conquered; Nabonidus, the king who did not worship
 úmallá qatussu
 him he gave into his hand;

18. nisi Dindir kalisunu napkhar mat Sumiri va Akkadi
 the people of Dindir, all of them, and many of the Sumir and Akkad,
 rubé va sukkannak sa ippalkit va igmisa (?) únassiqu sepussu
 nobles and priests, who broke away and declined (?) to kiss his feet,
 ikhdú ana sarrutisu immiru panussun
 revolted against his sovereignty (and) changed their sides ;

19. bilu sa ina tukulti sa úpallitu mitutan ina pusqu va
 the God who in his service raises the dead to life (and) in difficulty and
 paké igmilu kullatan dabis iktarrabusu istammaru zikirsu
 want helps every one well befriended him and uttered forth his proclamation.

20. anaku Kurus sarru - - - mat sarru rabu sarru dannu
 " I am Cyrus, the supreme (?) king, the great king, the powerful king ;
 sar Dindir sar mat Sumiri va Akhadi sar kiprati irbaiti
 the king of Babylon, king of Sumir and Akkad, king of the four shores ;

21. abal Kambujiya sarri rabbi sar ir Ansan, abal-abli
 son of Cambyzes, the great king, king of the city of Ansan, grandson
 Kurus sarri rabbi sar ir Ansan libbalbal Sispis
 of Cyrus, the great king, king of the city of Ansan, great-grandson of Teispes,
 sarri rabbi sar ir Ansan
 the great king of the city of Ansan ;

22. ziru darú sa sarrútu sa Bel va Nabu iramu palásu
 the ancient royal race, of which Bel and Nebo had sustained the rule
 ana tub libbisunu ikhsikha - - - - utsu enuva ana kirib
 as seemed good to their hearts, faded away its glory (?) when into
 Dindir erubu şalimis
 Babylon I entered victoriously ;

23. ina khidat (?) va risatî ina hekal malki arbá subat
 with joy and gladness in the royal palace I have enlarged the seat of
 bilutî Marduk bilu rabu libbi ridpasu sa abli
 dominion ; Merodach the great lord, the heart of his follower which the sons of
 Dindir va . . . anniva yomi (hua se hapa (?)) . . .
 Babylon and . . . to me daily

24. ummaniya rapsatî ina kirib Dindir isaddikha sulmanis
 my wide-spreading forces in Babylon were spread abroad peacefully ;
 napkhar (mat Sumiri) va Akkadi muqal - - - - ti ul úsirsi
 many of the Sumirians and Akkadians I did not injure (?) ;

25. ----ki Babili va kullat makhazisu ina salimti
 the buildings (?) of Babylon and all its strong cities in good order
 astehé abli Dindir sa kima la libbi .
 I cherished. the sons of Babylon (their temples) which against the wish (of
 va napsáni la šimatisunu
 the Gods became ruined) their ordinary repairs they neglected (?);

26. ankhutsun úpassikha úsapdir sarbasunu ana ipseti
 their damages spread; their masonry bulged out; to the work
 Marduk bilu rabu úkhardeva
 (of repairing his shrine ?) Merodach the great lord hastened (?) and

27. ana yáti Kuras sarri palikhsu va Kambujiya abli
 to me Cyrus the King, his worshipper, and to Cambyzes, my son,
 tsit libbiya napkhar ummaniya
 the offspring of my heart and to many of my forces

28. damkis ikrub va ina salimti makharsa dabis
 graciously he approached; and in its former complete state we rightly
 nitta --- . . . zirti napkhar sarri asib paraki
 re-established its . . . in glory; many of the kings inhabiting the high places

29. sa kalis kiprata istu tehamti élití adi tehamti saplití
 of all the shores from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea,
 asib sarri mat Akharriya va šutari kalisun
 the dwellers in . . . , the kings of Syria and the hiding places (?) all of them,

30. bilatšunu kabittí úbilunúva kirba Kal-anna únassiqu
 their tribute in full they brought to Cal-anna (and) they kissed
 sepúa istu adi ir Assur va Istar
 my feet; from as far as the cities of Assur and Istar,

31. Agadé Isnunnak ir Zamban ir Mi-Turnu Duran adi
 Agadé, Isnunnak, the cities of Zamban and Mi-Turna, Duran, as far as
 pat Qutí makhazi ti nahar Idiklat sa istu panama
 the skirts of Gutí, the strong cities along (?) the river Tigris, in which from of old
 nadu subatšun
 settled were their seats;

32. ili asib libbisunu ana asrisunu útirva úsarbá subat
 the Gods dwelling within them to their places I restored and I assigned
 dairáta kullat nisisunnu úpakhhiravva útir
 (them) permanent seats; all their people I assembled and restored their
 dadmisun
 congregations

33. va ili mat Sumiri va Akkadi sa Nabu-nahid ana
and the Gods of Sumir and Akkad whom Nabonidus at the
uggatî bil ili úseribi ana kirib Kal-anna ina kibiti
sacred feasts of the Lord of the Gods had glorified within Cal-anna, by the command
Marduk bil rabi ina salimti
of Merodach the great Lord happily

34. ina mastakisunu úsesib subat ñub libbi kullata
in their sanctuaries I settled them in seats, according to the wish of all
ili sa úseribi ana kirbi makhazisun
the Gods who had been glorified within their strong places;

35. yomi sam makhar Bel va Nabu sa araku yomiya li-
daily I addressed Bel and Nebo that the length of my days they
tamú litibkaru amata dunkiya va ana Marduk
should fulfil; that they should bless the decree of my fate and to Merodach
bilya ligbú sa Kuras sarru palikhika va Kambuziya abluu
my lord should say that "Cyrus the king, thy worshipper and Cambyses his son

36. . . . sunu lú

.

. kali sina subti nikhti úsesib

. all of them in resting places I settled.

37. . . . tur khui va tumari (?) . . .

.

38. . . . kidunnunû astehéva

. . . . the laws I cherished

A few letters only are preserved in the last seven lines of the inscription.

NOTES ON TEXT.

Line 3. Remark *dannutu* for *dannuti*; the grammar of the inscriptions shows marks of carelessness throughout.

Line 6. *paraz* פָּרַץ 'a breach or fissure,' is a well-known word, but it is curious to see it joined with a plural form *la simâti*. Smith (*Assurbanipal*, p. 330, note to p. 45) says that *simât* means 'anything fabricated,' the root being סָמַן, but I prefer comparing the Arabic سَمَا and لَسَمَا *simâ* and *lá*

simá 'special,' and 'not special' or 'ordinary.' The latter part of this line is very obscure: *iddini* would seem to be from *danah*, answering to Hebrew דָּנָה; *ibbub* may signify 'he destroyed,' or 'he beautified,' *habab* in Assyrian having both meanings; compare *ibbu* 'beautiful,' and *abub* 'a hurricane;'; the last word in the line is illegible, but the phrase must refer to something like a desecration of the temples.

Line 7. For 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 *vadduki*, see Assurbanipal, p. 168, l. 25, and Smith's note on the word, p. 332; *úsabdil* is the Shaphel form of a root answering either to بَدَلَ or بَطَلَ. It generally means in Assyrian 'to stop or cancel.' 'A worshipper' is usually *palikha*, not *palakha*, but both forms are allowable. I cannot translate the end of the line even conjecturally, *asussu* being a very uncertain reading.

Line 8. *ina absani la tabsut* is a very difficult phrase; *absani*, or *apsani*, as it has been usually read, has been translated differently by Smith, by Norris, and by Oppert, but in no case, as I think, successfully. *absán* I would derive, like *ibset*, from *basá* 'to be,' and would render the common phrase *emid absáni* by 'I settled the business;'; *tabsut* I guess to be a Tiph'al participle from the same root, but the word is, I believe, a new one. It seems to be a kindred form to *bisit*, which occurs in the phrase *kittú bisit uzni sa matáti atta*, 'thou art the power who givest ear (lit. 'art ears,') to the people.' B.M.I. vol. iv. pl. 28, l. 28. The grammatical construction, too, is difficult, and what adds to the confusion is that the reading itself is uncertain, the word possibly ending in 𐎶𐎵𐎶 *sa*, rather than in 𐎶𐎵𐎶 *sut*. *Salkhu* for 'an inner wall of defence,' is a well-known word, but there is no such root in the cognate languages as חָלַח, and I am obliged therefore to derive *úkhallikhu* from חָלַח 'to be sick.'

Line 9. *Tazimti* certainly means 'destruction,' and is used in this sense in 'the Tower of Babel' Legend (see Bib. Archæol. vol. v. p. 307), though Mr. Boscawen has there translated the word 'a strong-hold.' In the Astrological Tablets *Tazimtu* and *Tazukhtu* are often spoken of as 'mis-



fortunes' befalling a country from evil omens (B.M.I. vol. iii. pl. 60, l. 21). Sayce translates 'devastation and rapine' (Bib. Archæol. vol. iii. p. 241, l. 21). I compare the roots **הרם** and **וזה**. Whether **→|** **→||** **→|||** . **→|** **→|||** *Bel ili*, refers to the original Belus or to Merodach, it is impossible to determine positively, but I believe the latter application to be the true one. Bel in later Babylonian being indicated by **→|** **→||** alone. *Kišursun* is a doubtful word, but may represent the Arabic **قصر**.




Line 10. With *uggati* I compare **הג** or **حج** 'a festival,' but the word may come from the root **הגה**, referring to 'the mutterings of the Priests.' *úseribi* is of course the Shaphel of **רבה**, and means literally 'he caused to be enlarged.' It is difficult to distinguish in many cases between derivatives from *erab* 'to enter' and *rabah* 'to enlarge,' but the final *i* in *useribi* must, I believe, represent a weak radical letter, and I translate it therefore by 'celebrated' rather than 'introduced.' The completion of the phrase by 'was not seen' is purely conjectural. In continuation, *šakhra* from **סחר** 'to migrate or wander,' is a very doubtful word, and *sa innadû subatsun* at the end of the line may either mean 'who had removed their seats' (from **נרה** 'to remove'), or, according to the more common use of the verb in Assyrian, 'who had established their seats,' i.e. 'were settled.'

Line 11. *imû* may come from **עמה** 'to be obscured,' but *sulamtas* is hardly to be explained grammatically, adverbs in *as* being, I believe, hitherto unknown. Smith translates *salamtasu* (Assurbanipal, p. 95, l. 85) by 'his attendants'; but that rendering has not much to recommend it. I have suggested a completion of the phrase so as to unite it with the next clause, the sense of which is tolerably certain. The last word indeed, *ibréva*, is the only one which is doubtful; the reading may be *ibresu*. A root **ברה**, implying 'friendship,' is common in Assyrian. Compare **ברה** 'beloved,' in Song of Solomon, vi. 9.

Line 12. *Istehé* is probably a Tiphel form of **شبهو**, answering to **اشتها** 'to yearn after.' The word occurs in the great

Nebuchadnezzar Inscription, col. i. l. 53, where it is translated by Oppert 'il a examiné,' but without any sufficient authority. The construction from this point becomes difficult, as the suffix of the 3rd person is applied indifferently to Merodach, Cyrus, and Nabonidus, and it is only by the context that it is possible to distinguish between them. *Ittabi* (for *intabi*) and *nibit* are from the same root נבא, according to the usual Assyrian practice. The last word of the line is doubtfully read as *sumsu* 'his name.'

Line 13. *Ummanis*, used adverbially, is unusual, and the following letter on the Cylinder appears to be  *da* rather than  *sa*, but I can make no sense of *umman nisda*. The *zulmat gaggadu* or 'black heads' I have from the outset, and in spite of general opposition (Mr. Smith being the only Assyriologist who for many years adopted my reading), referred to the original dark-skinned population of Babylonia, as distinguished from the light-skinned mountaineer colonists; and I would here further draw attention to the fact that in one bilingual text (B.M.I. vol. iv. pl. 19, lines 37 and 38)—unless there is a transposition of epithets and a double erasure, which seems unlikely—these black-heads are identified with the *pitu panu* or 'broad-faces,' in apparent allusion to a negro type.

Line 14. *Kittu* (for *kintu*) and *misaru* are joined together in the Inscription already quoted (B.M.I. vol. iv. pl. 28, No. 1, rev.), the Accadian equivalents of   and  showing that the Assyrian roots are כון 'to establish,' and ישר 'to direct.' *Tarú* I derive doubtfully from ארה 'to feed,' *mustarú*, which is common enough, being perhaps a cognate form. *Ibseti saninsu* is also difficult; the roots, however, I suppose to be בשה and שנה, and I explain the 'double' action as relating to Cyrus's 'hand' and 'heart.' The last word of the line may be *ippalikh* 'he worshipped,' rather than *ippalid* 'he survived,' the final letter being injured and difficult to read.

Line 15. With the last clause of this line compare the phrase in the Annals of Assurbanipal, p. 177, l. 78, *kima*

ipri tappéa . . . *ittanallaku ittisu*, which Smith doubtfully translates 'like an earth-wall marched with him.' I suppose *ibri* to be 'a friend' as usual, and derive *tappé* (for *tanpé*) from *נַפַּע* 'benefit.'¹ It is possible that *idásu* may be a later Babylonian corruption of the Assyrian *ittisu* 'with him,' (or *idá* may be used for the Persian *hadd*); but I prefer regarding *idá* as the singular of *idát*, which is often used in the inscriptions for 'forces.'

Line 16. In the first clause of this line the only difficult word is *uttadú*, which may come from *יָדַע* 'to know,' or from *נָדָה*, the sense of the phrase being quite clear; but the second clause I cannot translate with any confidence, as all the words are doubtful. *𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶* may mean 'troops' or 'swords,' the next word may be *zanduva* or *khanduva*, neither form giving a satisfactory meaning, and the verb *isaddikha* is a further difficulty, as the root *שָׁדַח* is wanting in the cognate languages. Provisionally I read *kakkisunu khanduva* 'and their precious swords,' comparing *khandu* with *khandi*, applied to a sword in Assurbanipal, p. 157, l. 52, and *issaddikha* I derive from *שָׁמַח* 'to expand.'² *Idásu* as in the preceding line.

Line 17. *úseribas* should be, I think, a Shaphel of *רָבַצַּ* 'to lie in ambush,' a root which is often used in Assyrian, and the phrase *idir ina sapsaki* would be literally 'he surrounded to opening,' *idir* coming from *עָטַר*, and *sapsaki* being Shaphel of *פָּשַׁק* 'to open.'³

Line 18. *ippalkit* is represented, as is so often the case, by the monogram *𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶*. The reading of the next word

¹ A comparison of several passages in B.M.I. vol. iv. pl. 58, col. 1, lines 27 and 28, lines 50 sqq. and col. 2, lines 33 and 34, proves beyond doubt that *ipri* and *tappé* represent a connexion either of social juxtaposition or of consanguinity, the phrases in apposition being "father and son," "brother and sister," etc. I think "friend and neighbour" would be the most appropriate rendering, but I cannot discover a suitable etymology for *tappé*.

² A root *שָׁדַח* is often met with in the bilingual inscriptions, being used differently with *אָרַךְ* to represent the Accadian monogram *𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶* "to lengthen or extend;" but that can hardly be the signification in the present passage.

³ Sayce translates *sapsaku* by "opening," Grammar, p. 107; but on the other hand I find *sapsaki* used for the usual *paskuti* "difficult," in Layard's Ins. pl. 43, l. 1. The word may here signify either "reducing to straits" or "opening," i.e. "conquering."

igmiša is so uncertain, owing to the fracture in the Cylinder, that it is useless to search for a suitable etymology, but the sense of the phrase may be depended on, though I should have taken *inassiķu* for an aorist rather than an infinitive. *immiru* will come from *מור* or *מר* 'to change,' not a common root in Assyrian, but very suitable to this passage.

Line 19. It is impossible to say positively whether the God Merodach or the Goddess *Gula* is alluded to in this line, as we have the feminine suffix in *sa* after *tukulti*, while all the other nouns and verbs are in the masculine. This confusion of gender is not uncommon in Assyrian, and is very puzzling. Both the God and the Goddess in question have in other passages the epithet of "restoring the dead to life," but as the Greeks seem to have regarded the deity in question as answering to the Zeus Serapis of their mythology, I have decided in favour of Merodach; the phrase *ina pasqu va paké* is unusual and ungrammatical, but *pasquti* applied to "difficult" roads is well known, and *paké* may correspond with the Arabic *فائق* 'want.' *istammaru* I suppose to be an Istaphel form of *אמר* 'to say.'

Lines 20 and 21, which are the most important in the whole Inscription, are, fortunately, quite perfect, and present no difficulties whatever.

Line 22. *ziru darú* is translated by Smith (Assurbanipal, p. 315, l. 98) 'the remote descendant,' but in this passage the allusion certainly seems to be to the hereditary royal line of Nebuchadnezzar. *ikhsikha* must come from the same root *חשח*, which has produced *khusukh* 'famine' or 'distress.' *Salimis* 'victoriously,' is often used, and should come from a root *סלם*, which, however, is not found in Hebrew.

Line 23. *khidat* is written $\langle \text{𐎶} \text{𐎠} \text{𐎠} \text{𐎶} \rangle$, as if $\langle \text{𐎶} \text{𐎠} \text{𐎶} \rangle$ were used as a monogram for 'joy,' which is curious. Further on in the line we have a strange word *ridpasu*, which may mean 'his follower,' from *רדף* (comp. Turkish *redif*), but I have never met with the word elsewhere. Here, unfortunately, occurs a fracture in the Cylinder, which for several lines

destroys the continuity of the text, and renders the sense uncertain. I do not attempt to restore the latter portion of the line.

Line 24. In this line we have the same difficult word *isaddikha*, which was met with in line 16, where I compared the root שטח 'to expand' or 'spread over.' The sense must again remain doubtful. The last word *úsirsi* must be apparently a Shaphel of רשה, but I am unable to complete the sentence.

Line 25. The first word is imperfect, but must refer, I think, to the temples or buildings of Babylon; further on *astehé* must be compared with the *istehé* of line 12. The second clause of the line can only be explained conjecturally, owing to the mutilation of the text. The employment of the two well-known words *ankhut* and *usapdir* (from *padar* or *pathar*, Heb. פטר) in the next line proves, however, that the general allusion must be to the repairs of ruined edifices, and I derive *napsani* accordingly from the Chaldee נפש 'to cure or make whole.'

Line 26. *ankhut* from אנה is a well-known word, and *ipassikha* I refer to פשה 'to spread'; for *šarba* I can find no correspondent at present, but פטר, or some form of it, is always applied to the bulging out of walls: the restoration which follows is doubtful, and the last word also of the line, *ikhhardé*, is difficult, coming apparently from a quadriliteral root. I have translated, however, as if the root had been חרר.

Lines 27 and 28. There is nothing which requires to be noted in these lines except the concluding words *asib paraki*, which are used in the Inscriptions of Sennacherib in an ethnic sense, as if the epithet applied especially to Babylonia, the country of the *paraki* or high places 'par excellence.'

Line 29. *kalis* seems to be used adverbially, but the construction is quite unusual. *šutari*, also, at the end of the line, bracketed with *Akharri*, Syria, is an unusual and difficult word. I have derived the word from סתר 'to hide,' but doubtfully.

Line 30. At the end of the line the city of Istar (prob-

ably Arbela) includes an epithet which I can neither read nor explain.

Line 31. The names of the Babylonian cities are explained elsewhere.

Line 32. There was probably a difference in Assyrian between **רבה** and **רבא**, *úsirbá* coming from the latter, and *úsirbi* from the former. *dadmi*, at the end of the line, is always explained as a reduplicate form of **אדם** 'a man,' but I am not at all satisfied with this etymology, as the Assyrians do not appear to have admitted the Hebrew *adam* into their vocabulary: *dadmi*, indeed, seems to me to have had a special rather than a general application, and I give 'assemblies,' therefore, or 'congregations,' as a better translation than 'mankind.'

Lines 33 and 34. These lines are perfect, and the words are all well known (except perhaps **𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵** **𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵** *mastaki*, which I doubtfully give as an Istaphel form of **נקיה** 'to be pure or holy'), but the construction is a little confused. The allusion, however, would seem to be to the worship of the inferior deities, which was introduced by Nabonidus, as stated in the earlier part of the Inscription (compare line 10), and which Cyrus now confirmed by order of Merodach. I am not sure if the **𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵** **𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵** **𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵** of line 9 is the same as the **𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵** **𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵** of line 33, nor if the deity referred to is Merodach or the elder Belus.

Line 35. It is doubtful whether the opening of the line should be read *yomisam makhar* or *yomisa ammakhar*, but the sense would be pretty well the same with both readings. Observe that Cyrus here addresses Bel and Nebo, the special tutelar divinities of Babylon (compare l. 22), to recommend him to Merodach. The derivation of the verbal precatives *litamú* and *litibkaru* is not quite satisfactory (and the orthography of the latter word **𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵** **𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵** **𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵** is most unusual), but there can be no question as to the general sense. *Palikhika*, at the end of the line, seems an ungrammatical form.

Line 38. A mere fragment of this line is preserved, in

which, however, we have a familiar expression, *subti nikhti*. It occurs with the same verb in the great Tiglath Pileser Cylinder Inscription, col. vii. l. 34.

The remaining fragments of inscription are not worth examining in their present state, but possibly the Cylinder may some day be completed by further excavation of the ruined building in which it was found.

ART. III.—*Note on Hiouen-Thsang's Dhanakacheka.* By
ROBERT SEWELL, M.C.S., M.R.A.S.

IN a Report¹ recently sent to the Government of Madras on antiquities discovered at Bēzwāḍa, and the Rock-cut Temple at Uṇḍavilli (both on the Lower Kṛishṇā in South-Eastern India), I devoted considerable space to the question of the identity of the former place with the capital city of *Dhanakacheka* as described by Hiouen-Thsang. I do not claim to be in any sense considered as the originator of this discovery, Mr. Fergusson² having previously pointed out, first the likelihood, and afterwards the certainty, that the two places were identical. But a residence of some years at Bēzwāḍa enables me to speak with a local knowledge not possessed by many who have busied themselves with the study of Hiouen-Thsang's itinerary, and thus perhaps to be of some little use to those interested in such questions.

I have been induced by several considerations to place the matter before the readers of this Journal in the form of a separate paper; first, because local knowledge is of great service in finally settling these questions; secondly, because disputes have arisen as to the locality of one of the monasteries described by the pilgrim; and thirdly, because the result of my inquiries has been, not only finally to confirm my previous conjectures, but also to give rise to a difficulty which is deserving of attention.

¹ Printed with Madras Government Orders (Public), dated 1st November, 1878. No. 1620. A copy was sent to the Royal Asiatic Society.

² Tree and Serpent Worship, p. 167; Journ. Roy. As. Soc. November, 1872, "On Hiouen-Thsang's Journey from Patna to Ballabhi."

Shortly, the matter stands thus. Bēzwaḍa is certainly the site of the capital city of *Dhanakacheka*. Hiouen-Thsang speaks of two monasteries there, whose position he describes, the "*Pourvaçilā Saṃghārāma*" on the east, and the "*Avaraçilā Saṃghārāma*" on the west. The site of the former of these is established beyond dispute. Differences of opinion, however, exist as to the locality of the latter. Some eminent archæologists have identified it with the *stupa* at Amarāvati, which lies in a plain seventeen miles to the west of Bēzwaḍa; but the kindness of the Rev. S. Beal in giving me a strictly close translation of the original passage¹ enables me decisively to state that this theory is erroneous, and that the monastery in question was situated on one of the Bēzwaḍa hills,—namely, the one on the west of the town, where its remains are still to be seen. The result of this is that we are driven to the conclusion that the *Si-yu-ki* contains no allusion to the Amarāvati Tope, though it was certainly in existence, and was by far the most magnificent monument in all India; and though the life of Hiouen-Thsang by Hoëi-li distinctly states that the pilgrim spent some months in the kingdom and visited its sacred places.²

For the benefit of those who have not visited Bēzwaḍa it is necessary that I should attempt to give some idea of the appearance and characteristics of that place. The town lies on the left bank of the Kṛishṇā River, which forms its southern boundary, and about forty-five miles from the sea. It is shut in to the west by a rocky ridge of granitic formation about 600 feet high, running north and south, and terminating abruptly in a steep scarp at the river. At right angles to this ridge, and about half a mile from the river, is another ridge, similar but much smaller, forming a sort of natural protection to the town on the north. About a quarter of a mile from the western ridge, and close to the eastern end of the hill on the north, is a sharp-pointed detached mass of gneiss, about 350 feet high. On this last,

¹ *Si-yu-ki*, l. x.; Julien, ii. 111.

² *Vie*, etc., book 4; Julien, 189.

as well as on the western ridge, are numerous rock-cuttings, steps, caves, cells, and the like.

The rock cuttings on the hill to the west are often of large extent. The only way in which, without the aid of plates, I can easily describe them, is as follows. Given the side of a prism. It is desired to form a horizontal platform half way up the slope. In order to this, the sloping side above the required base is cut down perpendicularly, and the whole mass between the horizontal base and the perpendicular cut is removed. The base then forms an exposed platform, on which the buildings are constructed. It will give a very fair idea of the scale on which the Bēzwaḍa Buddhists worked, when I say that an accurate measurement of one—and that not by any means the largest—of these great quarried recesses gives a base of seventy-seven feet deep by thirty-three broad, with a perpendicular rock face in the rear measuring forty-eight feet in height. Of these cuttings there are many on the ridge bounding Bēzwaḍa on the west, extending far along the hill-side. The bases are covered with rubbish and *débris*, possibly to a considerable depth, and this has not been cleared away; but remains found on the hill on the east show that, on the platform there, monolithic temples or residences had been left standing, the solid rock being hollowed out, the sides fashioned like walls, and then sculptured. Similar solid rock structures may have adorned the platforms on the western ridge.

The remains found on the hill to the east of the town are the remains of the "*Pourvaçilâ Saṃghârâma*." There is no dispute about this. And my contention is that the remains on the hill to the west are the remains of the "*Avaraçilâ Saṃghârâma*." These last are of vast extent, and prove that the workers were thoroughly in earnest, and had the intention of erecting there temples, or shrines, or monasteries, of exceptional magnificence. Seen by themselves the cuttings confirm Hiouen Thsang's description of the grandeur of the monastery that stood there; for if by the stupendous works of preparation now visible we may judge of the magnificence of the completed design, then

we can understand that there may have been on this hill-side in Hiouen-Thsang's day such a monastery as he described.

Now the Amarâvati Tope lies in a gently undulating plain on the opposite side of the river seventeen miles away to the west, and the question is whether the Chinese Pilgrim's description can possibly be held to apply to it. I have given an account of the mountains on each side of Bêzwaḍa with the remains now to be seen on them. There is no hill within three miles to the east of Amarâvati, nor on the west within twenty miles, nor on the south within nine or ten miles. On the north side lies the river, and the valley of the river there is four or five miles broad. The *stupa* itself was erected on a slightly rising knoll, about half a mile from the river-bank and surrounded by open country.

Now let us turn to the *Si-yu-ki* for the account of the two monasteries. I place side by side Julien's translation in French, and Mr. Beal's in English; and I desire to point out that, in so kindly furnishing me with the latter, Mr. Beal was in possession of the subject of dispute and was therefore enabled to understand fully what I requested of him—namely, a very close and accurate rendering of the original passage, with reference to the matter specially in hand.

M. JULIEN'S TRANSLATION.

Sur une montagne située à l'est de la ville, on voit un couvent appelé *Fo-p'o-chi-lo-seng-kia-lan* (Pôurvaçilâ Saṅghârâma). Sur une montagne située à l'ouest de la ville s'élève un couvent nommé '*O-fa-lo-chi-lo-seng-kia-lan* (Avaraçilâ Saṅghârâma). Le premier roi de ce royaume le construisit en faveur du *Bouddha*. Il creusa la vallée et y pratiqua un chemin, fit ouvrir les flancs de

MR. BEAL'S TRANSLATION.

To the east of the city, resting on the side of a mountain, is the Pûrvaçila Saṅghârâma; to the west of the city, resting on the side of a mountain, is the Avaraçilâ Saṅghârâma. An early king of this country constructed here a *chaitya* in honour of Buddha; he bored out the river-course, constructing a road through it; he made in the sides of the mountain long galleries, wide chambers, con-

al montagne et éleva des pavilions. De longues galeries, de grandes chambres latérales s'appuyaient sur les grottes et touchaient aux cavernes.

necting them one with another along the whole course of the escarp (*or*; at the back of the mountain he constructed a cavern in connection with these chambers).¹

Mr. Beal unfortunately possesses no MS. of the life of Hiouen-Thsang by Hoëi-li, and I can therefore only give M. Julien's rendering of the passage. It runs thus: "À l'est de la capitale, on a construit sur une montagne le couvent *Fo-p'o-chi-lo-kia-lan* (Poûrvaçilâ Sañghârâma); à l'ouest de la ville, on a élevé sur le côté opposé de la montagne² le couvent '*O-fa-lo-chi-lo-kia-lan* (Avaraçilâ Sañghârâma). Un ancien roi de ce royaume l'avait construit en l'honneur du *Bouddha* et y avait déployé toute la magnificence des palais de *Ta-hia* (de la Bactriane)."

Besides these passages, it is to be observed that both the works give the reason why the monasteries were deserted in the days of the pilgrim's visit, and that they both state that this was due to the changed attitude "of the spirit of the mountains." The *Si-yu-ki*, according to Julien, states: "... depuis une centaine d'années on n'y voit plus aucun religieux. L'esprit de la montagne se métamorphose; il prend tantôt la forme d'un loup, tantôt celle d'un singe, et épouvante tous les voyageurs. C'est pourquoi ce couvent est désert et ne renferme plus de religieux." The companion volume of Hoëi-li has the following explanation: "... depuis une centaine d'années les esprits des montagnes ont changé de sentiments et font éclater sans cesse leur violence et leur colère. Les voyageurs justement effrayés, n'osent plus aller dans ce couvent; c'est pour cela qu'aujourd'hui il est complètement désert, et l'on n'y voit plus ni religieux ni novices."

These passages, and especially Mr. Beal's rendering as

¹ I prefer the former of the two renderings as giving a very accurate description of what is to be seen on the hill-side at Bêzwađa, though the second also applies, as there is a cavern of considerable size at the back of the mountain.

² This is an exact description of the position of the hill-face and its remains on the west of the town, as seen from the monastery on the hill to the east. For the expression does not mean "on the opposite side of the mountain," but "on the side of the mountain opposed to, or facing, this."

given above, are conclusive, I consider, to prove that the Avaraṣilā Saṅghārāma was on the side of a mountain to the west of the town, and not in a plain. The remains of it are to be seen in the great cuttings I have described on the steep mountain side to the west of Bēzwaḍa; just as the remains of the Poūrvaṣilā Saṅghārāma are to be seen on the mountain to the east of the town. The remains of both monasteries are in the exact positions described by Hiouen-Thsang; and his description cannot possibly be held to apply to the Amarāvati Tope, situated in the plain country in the valley of the Kṛishṇā.

But there are other points to be noticed still more confirmatory. In speaking of the Avaraṣilā monastery Hiouen-Thsang says that the sovereign who made it "bored out the river-course, constructing a road through it." Now the path from the town of Bēzwaḍa that leads up to the level of the platforms on the escarp of the mountain to the west of the town, passes up a gully caused by centuries of mountain torrents, and when it comes to the steepest part of the ascent, is conducted by steps through an almost perpendicular cliff, which has been cut into for the purpose, to the more level portion of the hill-side above it; so that the visitor at that part stands on steps with walls of rock artificially cut on each side of him. This is the "river-course" that has been bored into to construct a path. There before our eyes is the very piece of work described by Hiouen-Thsang in the seventh century as forming the approach to the galleries of the Avaraṣilā monastery; and it is by means of that path so constructed that the nineteenth century visitor passes from the town of Bēzwaḍa to the platforms in the mountain-side.

Lastly; close to the south of Bēzwaḍa are mountains, on one of which is the Uṇḍavilli rock-cut temple. Hiouen-Thsang describes the Poūrvaṣilā monastery as resting on the side of a mountain to the east of the city; the Avaraṣilā monastery as resting on the side of a mountain to the west of the city; and a mountain or cavern, connected with which the legend of Bhāvavivēka, lying south of the city. East,

west, and south of Bēzwaḍa are these remains still visible exactly as described. At Amarāvati are no mountains or caverns of any kind.

I contend, therefore, that it must be finally accepted that the Avaraḥilā Śaṅghârâma was on the mountain-side which bounds Bēzwaḍa on the west; and that any theory which tries to prove the reverse totally opposes itself to the plain statements of Hiouen-Thsang.

This being so, it is clear, beyond all doubt, that Hiouen-Thsang does not mention the Amarāvati Tope. *Why* he does not do so, I confess myself utterly at a loss to determine; and if any readers of this paper can help to elucidate the question, they will be rendering good service to the cause of South Indian archæology. Hiouen-Thsang is in general so accurate that I can hardly believe the omission to be due to carelessness or accident; and there can be no question that the *stupa* was in existence in his days.

While on the subject of the remains at Bēzwaḍa, I think it worth while to notice a correction made by Mr. Beal of an error in M. Julien's translation of the *Si-yu-ki* with reference to the Rock-cut temple at Uṇḍavilli, which, as before said, lies close to the south of the former place. M Julien makes the passage run thus: "À une petite distance au sud de la capitale, il y a une grande caverne de montagne. Ce fut là que le célèbre maître des Çâstras, P'o-pi-fēi-kia (Bhāvavivēka), demeura dans le palais des 'O-sou-lo (Asouras), en attendant l'arrivée de T'se-chi-p'ou-sa (Mâitrēya Bôdhisattva), et parvint à l'état de Bouddha."

Now the last phrase was puzzling, and it seemed to me that, if the translation were correct, the meaning, probably, was that Bhāvavivēka attained the rank of a *Pratyêka Buddha*. But Mr. Beal has settled this point in a note which he kindly sent me. His translation is as follows: "A little distance to the south of the city there is a large terraced mountain; this is the place where Bhāvavivēka, the master of the Śâstras, remained (or, is located, *i.e.* at the present time) in the palace of the Asuras, awaiting the arrival of the Bodhisatwa Mâitrēya, that he might (or may)

see him when he arrived (or arrives) at perfect intelligence (*i.e.* when he becomes Buddha)."

The passage is thus rendered perfectly intelligible. Bhāvavivêka was undergoing a course of devotion and asceticism, which would enable him to remain, without any further death or subsequent birth, till the future Buddha, Mâitrêya, makes his appearance on this earth. This culminated in the cavern south of the capital city of Dhanakacheka, when the rock miraculously opened of itself, and after the sage had entered, closed upon him. In the interior of this mountain, says Hiouen-Thsang, still rests Bhāvavivêka, waiting for the event he so longed to see.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

Since the above was written I have received another communication from the Rev. S. Beal, in which he authorizes me to publish, as the correct translation of the passage noted in the last paragraph but one of the above paper, the following rendering: "This is the place where Bhāvavivêka, the master of the Śâstras, remains in the palace of the Asuras, awaiting the arrival of the Bodhisatva Mâitrêya, that he may see him when he arrives at perfect intelligence."

R. S.

Mr. Fergusson begs leave to append the following remarks to Mr. Sewell's paper. They are in substance what he said on the occasion of its being read in the rooms of the Society.

I am quite prepared to admit that, taken in a literal sense, the words of the text of Hiouen Thsang may, with perfect fairness, be assumed to bear the interpretation Mr. Sewell extracts from them. At the same time, however, I contend that they are so vague, and so deficient in precision, that they may, with equal fairness, be construed so as to convey a

totally different meaning. If any one will take the trouble to glance at what has been written by M. Vivien de St.-Martin,¹ General Cunningham,² and myself,³ while trying to follow the route of this Pilgrim through India, he will see at what widely divergent conclusions three men—knowing something of the subject—can arrive at, from a study of his text, on a far more simple matter than this; even when all three were actuated only by an earnest desire to discover the truth. Nor is this to be wondered at, when we consider that the life of Hiouen Thsang was dictated to his secretary Hoeï-li long after his return to China, and the Si-yu-ki was compiled from his notes by men who had never been in India, and were utterly unacquainted with the localities. Even, however, supposing it to have been originally correct, we need not go further than the present paper to see, from the discrepancies between M. Julien's and Mr. Beal's translations, how wide a latitude for discussion their discrepancies admit of, if we are forced to rely on the words of the author's text, and them only.

Julien, for instance, does not mention "a river;" but it seems difficult to escape the conviction, that if a traveller is describing a city situated on an important one, as Mr. Beal's translation suggests, it can only be *the* river—the Kistna—and not a gully, down which water may flow during a shower of rain, but which would certainly be dry half an hour afterwards. At the same time, Mr. Sewell's description of the mode in which the hills "terminate in a steep scarp at the river" accounts more satisfactorily than any other known circumstance why the builder of the Avaraçila Saṃghârâma was obliged "*Ouvrir les flancs de la montagne,*"—"et creuser la vallée, pour y pratiquer un chemin"—I believe from Bēzwaḍa to Amrâvatī, and not, as Mr. Sewell supposes, to find foundations for a monastery. It seems to me that what is said merely means that he provided stations and rest-houses

¹ *Memoire Analytique*, appended to Julien's translation.

² *Ancient Geography of India*, vol. i. 8vo., London, 1871.

³ Hiouen Thsang's Journey from Patna to Ballabhi, *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, Vol. VI. n.s.

and accommodation for "les voyageurs" along the route. It was in fact a "*via sacra*" between the two places, similar to that described by Fa Hian as existing between Anuradhapura and Mahintale, and which exists there even at the present day. Throughout the whole paragraph, *the Road* appears to be the nominative to which all the rest is subordinate, and to which all the expressions consequently apply. It may have been washed away by the river since those days; but if Hiouen Thsang is to be depended upon, it certainly existed in his day.

Besides this, there are certain expressions in the text which cannot, it seems to me, be made applicable to the site Mr. Sewell proposes. It never could have been "entouré des bois touffus" or adorned by "une multitude des fontaines jaillissantes," and so on, to make it "un séjour enchanteur;" and the whole context seems to show that it was a spot far from the busy haunts of men, such as the Buddhists delighted in, where "un millier des laïques et des religieux venaient ensemble y passer la temps de la retraite."¹

The very circumstances under which it is said to have been forsaken, and to have become a desert, seem to me wholly inapplicable to a monastery situated in the suburbs, in sight and almost within hearing of a large and busy town. The spirits of the mountains don't generally display their violence and anger within earshot of the police of an important city, so as to frighten "travellers" and prevent their going to a convent, which from the context, I take it, must have been at some distance. The whole narrative, in fact, in so far as I understand it, can only apply to some secluded spot, similar to those where all the principal groups of caves are situated, which in almost every instance were chosen for their seclusion and remote from towns or centres of population, and not in such situations as Mr. Sewell points to.

Though it may be impossible to prove this, from the words of the text, it must, I think, be conceded that all the material facts of the case are opposed to Mr. Sewell's

¹ Hoei li, translated by Julien, p. 188.

theory. We now know pretty well what the Buddhists did and built between the age of Aśoka (B.C. 250) and the time of Hiouen Thsang (640), and as I am now engaged, conjointly with Mr. Burgess, in passing through the press a work on the Cave Temples of India, I am probably in a position to state that there is not a rock-cut Buddhist establishment in the length and breadth of the land that in the least resembles the Bēzwaḍa Monastery as proposed by Mr. Sewell. There are in India upwards of 1,000 separate excavations, all of which are noticed in more or less detail in that work. They extend from Girnar in Gujerat to Mahāvallipur, south of Madras, and, though infinitely various in their arrangements, not one of them is, or ever has been, a structural building on a rock-cut platform. Wherever the Buddhists set to work to carve the rock, they invariably cut a cave into it, and did so at this very place Bēzwaḍa, on the opposite side of the river; and it seems to me most improbable that they should have departed from their invariable practice while erecting what, from Hiouen Thsang's account, must have been one of the most important viharas in India.

The above considerations are probably sufficient to show how much uncertainty must attend any attempt to fix the site of the Avaraṇīla Saṃghārāma from the text of Hiouen Thsang, if that alone is to be relied upon, and the question seems eventually to resolve itself into the consideration of the two following propositions.

At Bēzwaḍa we have a locality which is utterly unlike any other known Buddhist site, and where there is absolutely nothing to prove that these platforms were not excavated by the citizens of Bēzwaḍa as sites for their suburban villas. There is not a single carved stone, in or about the place, not one moulding in the rock, not one letter of an inscription, to show that any Buddhist, in any age, ever approached the spot, or attempted in any way to utilize it.

On the other hand, we have at Amrāvati a Saṃghārāma, which we know was not only figuratively, but actually adorned with "all the art of the Palaces of Bactria," because we have

lately recovered, from the lands to the westward of the Indus, a multitude of sculptures almost identical in execution and style with those that adorn that Stûpa. We know that it was standing when Hiouen Thsang visited the place, and that it is almost impossible he could have avoided seeing it during his sojourn of several months in Bēzwaḍa; we know, too, that it merits all the praise he bestows upon it, and from the marbles that have been recovered from it, and which are in this country, that it was artistically the most beautiful and splendid of all the Buddhist Saṃghârâmas found in that country.

Under these circumstances, I think it may be fairly assumed that there are at least two sides to the question. It is probable that Mr. Sewell will still, in perfect good faith, adhere to his bare hill-side, and to this there is no objection; but, notwithstanding, I hope I may still be allowed to revel in the artistic glories of the Amrâvatî Tope, and to nurse the belief that it is the building described with so much enthusiasm by the Chinese Pilgrim.

I shall not attempt to add anything regarding Mr. Sewell's theory of the Uṇḍavilli Cave. The argument is a long one, and I have entered upon it so fully in the work on the Cave Temples, above alluded to, that it seems unnecessary to repeat here what is said there. I may however state that both Mr. Burgess and I are convinced that, both in its inception and execution, the Uṇḍavilli Cave is wholly Brahmanical, and was not commenced till after Hiouen Thsang's visit to Dhanakacheka, and consequently is not the cave he alluded to.

JAS. FERGUSSON.

ART. IV.—*A Treatise on Weights and Measures, by Eliyá, Archbishop of Nisibin.* By H. SAUVAIRE. (Supplement.)

IN 1877 I had the pleasure of presenting to the Society M. Sauvaire's translation of the curious treatise on weights and measures by Már Eliyá. That translation was founded on the Paris MS., which presented some considerable lacunæ; the whole of Chapters V. to X., and portions of Chapters XI. XII. and XIII., being missing. These M. Sauvaire has now been able to supply from a Gotha MS., which Dr. Pertsch was so good as to copy for him. I prefix to this supplementary translation part of M. Sauvaire's explanatory letter.

Aug. 16th, 1879.

STANLEY LANE POOLE.

En vous adressant, le 13 X^{bre}. 1876, ma traduction des chapitres du Traité de Már Eliyá, archevêque de Nésibe, contenus dans le MS. 114 a. f. de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, j'émettais le vœu qu'un autre exemplaire de cette intéressante dissertation vînt compléter le premier. Non seulement mon vœu s'est réalisé, mais encore le savant Bibliothécaire en chef de la Bibliothèque grand' ducal de Gotha, Monsieur W. Pertsch, a eu l'amabilité de m'offrir, pendant que je me trouvais à Casablanca, de copier lui-même et de me faire parvenir toutes les parties du MS. de Gotha manquant dans celui de Paris. Je ne saurais trop exprimer ma reconnaissance envers un confrère aussi obligeant, grâce auquel il m'est permis aujourd'hui de solliciter de nouveau l'hospitalité de votre Journal Asiatique pour compléter ma

traduction et faire connaître surtout le précieux Chapitre V., le plus intéressant de tout le traité.

Mon appel a été si bien et si aimablement entendu une première fois que je signalerai dans quelques notes, puisées dans l'excellent ouvrage de Monsieur le Dr. Leclerc, les titres de quelques manuscrits qui traitent du même sujet et qui existent dans diverses bibliothèques d'Europe. La traduction de tous ces matériaux relatifs à une branche d'études sur laquelle nous en possédons si peu me paraîtrait digne d'intérêt.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE GRAND' DUCALE DE GOTH, MS. Arabe No. 1331.¹

IV. CHAPITRE (fin).

Par suite, les puissances (*maqâdir*) des poids des ratls ont été différentes, selon le haut prix ou le bon marché de ce qu'ils servent à peser, et c'est à cause de cela que les gens ont été d'accord pour les metqâls, et en divergence pour les ratls et les onces.

V. CHAPITRE CINQUIÈME.

Sur les mesures (makâyîl), leurs capacités (maqâdir) et les différences qui existent entre elles.

Les mesures sont de deux sortes : mesures des choses liquides,² fondantes, telles que l'huile,³ le vin, le miel ; et mesures des arides comme les grains et autres (produits) tels que le froment, l'orge, le sel et ce qui leur ressemble.

¹ Je dois la communication des extraits qui suivent à l'obligeance de M. le Dr. W. Pertsch, premier bibliothécaire de la Bibliothèque grand' ducale de Gotha. Ce savant a bien voulu m'en faire parvenir une copie et m'a ainsi mis à-même de compléter la traduction de l'intéressant traité de Mâr Eliyâ. Qu'il me permette de lui en exprimer publiquement toute ma gratitude. Voy. pour la première partie de la traduction, Roy. As. Soc. of Great Britain and Ireland, June, 1877.—H. S.

² المطفئة. Sur la signification que je donne à ce mot, cf. le *Tâdj el 'arûs*, éd. ar. d'Arif Pacha, *sub verbo*.

³ *Deuhn*. Plus ordinairement on emploie le mot *sayt*. Voy. les extraits de Casiri.

Au nombre des mesures en usage dans le pays de Roûm et ailleurs pour les choses liquides, fondantes, sont :

Le *koûz*,¹—le *dawraq*,²—le *mahâl*?³—la *faldjah*,⁴—la *qollah*,⁵—le *hoûs*,⁶—le *qoub*,⁷—le *moûsatroun*,⁸ etc.

Parmi les mesures des arides il y a : le *makhoul*,⁹—la *kayladjah*,¹⁰—la *marzabât*,¹¹—le *rob*,¹²—le *kayl*,—le *tomn*,¹³—le

¹ كوز. On donne en Egypte le nom de *koûz* à un vase en fer blanc muni d'une anse, avec lequel on puise l'eau qui s'égoutte du *str*. Il contient environ un demi-litre. Le *Qâmoûs* porte seulement : "vase connu." On lit dans le *Tâdj el 'arouûs* : "On dit *kâza*, *yakouzou*, pour signifier boire avec un *koûz*, de même qu'on dit *kâba*, *yakoubou* pour signifier boire avec un *koûb*, qui est le *koûs* sans anse."

² دورق, mesure pour le vin,—et aussi jarre à anse, du persan *دورق*. *Qâmoûs*, *Oglânos*.

³ محال. Ne se trouve pas dans le *Qâmoûs* avec le sens de mesure.

⁴ فليجة. Je n'hésite pas à lire فليجة, de la même racine que فليج, mot ayant le sens de "grande mesure connue servant à partager; on l'appelle aussi *fâledj*. Suivant quelques-uns, c'est le *qast*. La racine de ce mot est, en Syrien, *faighâ*; il a été arabisé . . . C'est de *feldj* que vient *feldjân*, que le vulgaire prononce improprement *findjân*, et qui sert à boire le café, etc." *Tâdj el 'arouûs*.

⁵ قلة. "La grande jarre, soit en toute matière, soit en grès et, au contraire, le petit *koûs*." *Qâmoûs*.—[See Lane, *Mod. Eg.* p. 148.] La *qollah* est encore en usage au Maroc pour l'huile.

⁶ الحوس. Ne se trouve pas dans le *Qâmoûs* avec le sens de mesure. C'est le *xoûs* (conge) des Grecs, mesure pour les liquides contenant trois litres et un quart environ. Casiri l'appelle حوسى (*housy*).

⁷ القوب (*sic*). N'a le sens de vase qu'avec l'orthographe كوب. On peut comparer le mot d'origine étrangère قوب avec l'expression du dialecte dorien κύββα, coupe, vase à boire. كوب a d'ailleurs le même sens et se trouve plusieurs fois dans le Qor'ân.

⁸ الموسطرون, le *μύστρον* des Grecs, mystre, mesure contenant deux cuillérées, et signifiant, dans le langage ordinaire, grande cuiller.

⁹ المكحول. Ne se trouve pas dans les dictionnaires avec le sens de mesure.

¹⁰ Les mesures qui ne sont accompagnées d'aucune remarque se rencontrent fréquemment dans les auteurs. Cf. mes *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numism. et de la métrol. musulmanes*.

¹¹ المرزبات, et plus loin المرزبان. Ces termes ne sont pas donnés par les dictionnaires. Peut-être faut-il lire *mazrabah*, comme dans le *Journal As.*, article de M. Behrnauer.

¹² Proprement quart. A passé dans l'espagnol et est en usage à Mazagan (Maroc) sous le nom d'*arroba*.

¹³ C'est-à-dire huitième.

mechfâ',¹—(fo. 2v.) le *qanqal*,²—le *qafiz*,—la *kârah*,—le *djarib*,—le *keur* et autres mesures (*makâyl*) employées dans les pays éloignés et dans les cités diverses.

Ces mesures varient suivant les contrées, de même que les ratls diffèrent. Ainsi le *gest*,³ chez certains habitants du pays de Roûm (Asie Mineure), contient en vin un ratl et huit onces.⁴ Chez telle population de l'empire islamique, sa contenance est de six ratls, au (ratl) de Baghdâd,⁵ c'est là le grand *qest*; et chez d'autres habitants du même empire, elle est de trois ratls;⁶ c'est le petit *gest*.

Le *koûz* est, chez quelques-uns, de trente ratls, au (ratl) de Baghdâd, et, chez d'autres, plus fort.

Le *dawraq* équivaut, dans telle localité, à quinze ratls, au (ratl) de Baghdâd; il est plus faible dans telle autre.

Pour telle population, la *falidjah*⁷ pèse trois ratls au (ratl) *balady*⁸; et la *qollah*, dix *falidjah*,⁹ ce qui fait trente ratls, au (ratl) *balady*.

¹ مشفأ. Ne se trouve pas dans les dict. avec le sens de mesure. Plus loin ce mot est écrit plusieurs fois مشقاع, ce qui me paraît être la véritable orthographe; en effet le verbe شقع signifie "approcher les lèvres d'un vase pour y boire."

² قنقل. "Certaine grande mesure de substances sèches." Kazim.—Cette mesure était en usage dans les environs de Sedjelmâsah, Voy. El Bekri.

³ قسط. Le *gest* me paraît devoir être identifié avec le Xeste ou setier romain (ξέστης) de deux cotyles, et de la contenance de 54 centilitres.

⁴ Casiri, i. p. 282 dit (d'après MS. 839) que le *gest* de vin pèse 20 onces; ce qui fait bien 1 ratl (= 12 onces) et 8 onces. Le ratl *roumy* est de 102½ derhams ou 72 metqâls (Voy. El Djabarty, *tableau*, et Mâr Eliyâ, ch. iii) Son once est donc de 6 metqâls. En adoptant l'évaluation du derham donnée par Mahmoud Bey (*Le syst. métr. actuel de l'Eg.*) de 3 gr., 0898 on a pour le metqâl (= 1½ derham) 4 gr., 414. Ce qui donne pour le *gest* 20 × 6 × 4 gr., 414 = 529 gr., 68.

⁵ Ce qui fait 130 × 6 = 780 derhams, ou 128½ × 6 = 771½ derhams, suivant qu'on adopte l'estimation d'Er-Râfé'y (+ a. 623) ou celle d'En-Nawawy (+ a. 676) pour le nombre de derhams dont se compose le ratl de Baghdâd.

⁶ Soit 130 × 3 = 390, ou bien 128½ × 3 = 385½.

⁷ العلكة (sic).

⁸ De Balad. *Balady* signifie le plus souvent "de la ville, local"; mais je n'hésite pas à préférer le premier sens, attendu que l'auteur nous parle plus loin du Diâr-Rabî'ah, région dans laquelle était située la ville de Balad. Mâr Eliyâ nous dit (ch. iii.) que le ratl de Balad (*balady*) était de 420 metqâls. 3 × 420 × 4 gr., 414 = 5 kil. 561,64 pour la *falidjah*, et 55 kil. 616,4 pour les dix *falidjah* ou la *qollah*. La *qollah* d'huile pèse actuellement 30 kilogr. à Casablanca et 17 kil. 280 à Mazagan.

⁹ فلايج (sic) = فلايج.

Le *houïs*,¹ qui est une des mesures du pays de *Roûm*, pèse dix ratls, au (ratl) *roûmy*.

Le *goutôûly*² est égal à dix onces,³ et le *moûsatroûn*, à vingt metqâls, qui font trois onces et un tiers du ratl *roûmy*.⁴

Chacune de ces mesures⁵ contient⁶ en vin les quantités susmentionnées; en huile,⁷ elles contiennent une quantité inférieure [d'un dixième] à celle du vin [et, en miel, un surplus] égal au quart et au dixième de celui-ci.⁸ Ainsi toute [mesure] contenant dix ratls de vin contiendra neuf ratls d'huile, et treize⁹ ratls et demi de miel, et toute mesure (*kayl*) contenant une quantité quelconque d'huile contiendra en vin une quantité égale, plus son neuvième et, en miel, une quantité égale, plus sa demie.¹⁰

Quant aux mesures (*makâyil*) des arides, elles varient également. Ainsi le *djarîb* est chez les uns de quarante *makkoûk*; chez d'autres, de trente-deux *makkoûk*; dans tel endroit, de vingt *makkoûk*; dans tel autre, de dix *makkoûk*; dans tel autre encore, il est moindre.

¹ Le MS. de Gotha écrit الحرس.

² القوبلى (sic). Dans Casiri, *l.c.*, ce mot se trouve écrit par un ط, قوطولى. C'est la κοτύλη des Grecs. Un peu plus haut, le *goutôûly* n'est pas mentionné, et le mot qui précède *moûsatroûn* est القوب. On pourrait supposer que le copiste n'ayant pas compris le terme qu'il avait à écrire s'est arrêté à moitié chemin.

³ Voir la note à la fin du chapitre. $10 \times 6 \times 4 \text{ gr.}, 414 = 264 \text{ gr.}, 84$.

⁴ Nous savons que 20 metqâls = $28\frac{1}{2}$ derhams. Les $3\frac{1}{2}$ onces du ratl *roûmy* égalent donc aussi $28\frac{1}{2}$ derhams. D'où 1 once *roûmy* = $8\frac{1}{2}$ derhams. Or $8\frac{1}{2} \times 12 = 102\frac{1}{2}$, ce qui est bien le nombre de derhams attribué au ratl *roûmy* par El Djabarty.

⁵ كيل, pl. de اكيال.

⁶ سعة (sic).

⁷ Deuhn.

⁸ C'est-à-dire aux $\frac{3\frac{1}{2}}{10}$ du contenu de la même mesure en vin. J'ai ajouté les mots placés entre crochets, évidemment omis par le copiste et indispensables au sens, ainsi que l'indique la phrase suivante. Voy. aussi la note à la fin du chapitre.

⁹ وثلاثة عشر (sic) pour ثلاثة عشر.

¹⁰ Par exemple, le *goutôûly* contient 9 onces d'huile, 10 onces de vin et $13\frac{1}{2}$ onces de miel. Voir la note à la fin du chapitre.

Le *qafiz* est chez (fo. 3) le plus grand nombre égal à huit *makkouk*;¹ chez tel peuple, il est moindre.

La *kârah* est égale, chez celui-ci, à seize *makkoûk*,² et, chez celui-là, elle est d'un chiffre différent.

Le *ganqal*³ enfin contient quatre *makkoûk*.

La plus répandue de ces mesures⁴ est le *makkoûk*; il équivaut, en (mesure) de l'Iraq,⁵ à trois *kayladjeh*,⁶—à douze⁷ *rob*,—et à quarante-huit *tomn*.⁸ Dans le Diâr-Rabi'ah, il est égal à quatre *marzabah*,⁹—à seize *kayl*,—et à soixante-quatre *mechfâ* (sic. Lis. *mechqâ*).

Le *tomn*, qui, chez les habitants de l'Iraq, est le quart du *rob*, contient en huile (*deuhn*) quarante-cinq derhams; en miel, cinquante-huit derhams et trois-quarts,¹⁰ et, en vin, cinquante derhams.

Le *rob* contient en huile cent quatre-vingts derhams; en vin, deux cents derhams, et en miel deux cent trente-cinq derhams.¹¹

La *kaylah* prend sept cent vingt derhams d'huile; huit cents derhams de vin, et neuf cents derhams de miel.¹²

Le *mechfâ* (sic), qui, chez les habitants du Diâr-Rabi'ah, est le quart du *kayl*, contient, en huile, trente-trois derhams et trois-quarts, et, en miel, cinquante derhams et cinq huitièmes.

Le *kayl*, égal à quatre *mechqâ*,¹³ ce qui fait le quart du

¹ Conforme au *Ketâb el hâwey*, qui ajoute qu'il est égal aussi à 24 *kayladjeh*.

² El Moqaddasy dit qu'en Mésopotamie le *qafiz* est le quart de la *kârah*, égale à 240 ratls. Voy. mes *Matériaux pour servir à l'hist. de la numism. et de la métrol. mus.*

³ Le MS. de Gotha porte قنفل (*ganfal*) ou قنغل (*qanghal*).

⁴ Le texte porte مكايك; mais il est évident qu'il faut مكاييل.

⁵ C'est-à-dire, le *makkoûk* de l'Iraq équivaut à, etc.

⁶ Le *Qâmoûs*, Casiri, l.c. et El Moqaddasy (pour le *makkoûk* de Jérusalem) donnent ce même chiffre.

⁷ Je lis اثنا au lieu de اما que porte le texte.

⁸ Je lis ثمنية au lieu de ثمنه.

⁹ أربع مرزبات.

¹⁰ Mâr Eliyâ se trompe, car la proportion $9 : 13\frac{1}{2} :: 45 : x = 67\frac{1}{2}$.

¹¹ L'auteur se trompe encore ici; il faut 270 et non 235.

¹² Nouvelle erreur; la *kaylah* de miel contient 1080 derhams et non 900.

¹³ مشاقيع (sic), pl. de مشقاع.

2. POIDS EN VIN DE DIVERSES MESURES DES ARIDES ET LEUR RAPPORT ENTRE ELLES, D'APRÈS MÁR ELIYÁ.

[illegible]

VI. CHAPITRE SIXIÈME.

Sur la rectification des poids, lorsqu'ils sont défectueux, et leur détermination quand ils font défaut.

Lorsque les dénéraux (*sandj*) des metqâls et des derhams sont défectueux, inexacts, sans corrélation les uns avec les autres, et que nous voulons les rectifier [fo. 3r.], ou quand ils font défaut et que nous voulons les déterminer, nous prendrons cent grains de moutarde sauvage dans un état moyen de dessiccation, d'humidité, de siccité et de fraîcheur, et, d'après ce qu'ils pèseront, nous fabriquerons une *sandjah* en cuivre ou en argent, à l'aide d'une balance exacte très-sensible (*hâdd*) ou d'une petite volante (*tayyâr*); ce sera la *sandjah* du grain (*habbah*) de l'or.¹ Ensuite avec celle-ci et les cent grains de moutarde on fera la *sandjah* des deux grains; puis une autre *sandjah* pour les deux grains. Réunissant alors les grains, nous formerons, suivant le mode qui précède, la *sandjah* du demi-sixième du metqâl jusqu'à mille metqâls.

Si nous voulons déterminer les *sandjah* (*sandj*) des derhams, nous prendrons de la moutarde ci-dessus mentionnée soixante-dix grains (*habbah*) et, avec leur poids, nous formerons une *sandjah* qui sera la *sandjah* du grain (*habbah*) de l'argent;² puis nous ferons la *sandjah* des deux grains, suivant ce que nous avons mentionné et indiqué.

Je décrirai ci-après³ la construction d'une balance à l'aide de laquelle on détermine les *sandjah* (*sandj*) des metqâls, quand elles n'existent pas et qu'on a celles des derhams, et les *sandjah* des derhams, lorsque ce sont ces dernières qui manquent et qu'on possède les *sandjah* des metqâls.

VII. CHAPITRE SEPTIÈME.

Sur la rectification des mesures (makâyil), quand elles sont défectueuses, et leur détermination, lorsqu'elles n'existent pas.

Quand les mesures sont défectueuses ou manquent, et que tu veux les rectifier ou les déterminer, tu prendras une

¹ صاجة الحبة من حبوب الذهب.

² صاجة الحبة من حبوب الفضة.

³ Chapitre VIII.

mesure (*kayl*) en cuivre jaune,¹ en fer ou en bois, et tu l'augmenteras ou la diminueras jusqu'à ce qu'elle contienne quarante-cinq derhams d'huile;² c'est là le *tomn*. Avec lui tu mesureras tous les arides, en fait de grains et autres, que tu voudras. Fais ensuite une autre mesure (*kayl*) qui contienne quatre fois autant que celle-là en froment ou autres grains: tu auras le *rob'*. Construis maintenant une autre mesure dont la contenance soit le quadruple du *rob'*: ce sera la *kaylah*. D'après ce même mode tu composeras toutes les mesures que tu voudras.

Si tu préfères commencer par la construction du *mechqâ'* (sic), prends une petite mesure [fo. 4] et augmente-la ou diminue-la jusqu'à ce que sa contenance en huile soit de trente-trois derhams et trois quarts, ce qui est le *mechqâ'*. Fais ensuite une mesure qui contienne quatre fois celle-ci en froment, en coriandre,³ en moutarde ou autres graines: ce sera le *kayl*. Puis construis une mesure pouvant contenir quatre fois cette dernière, tu auras le *marzabân*. Enfin confectionne une autre mesure qui contienne quatre fois le *marzabân*, ce sera le *makkoûk*.

VIII. CHAPITRE HUITIÈME.

Sur la construction d'une balance au moyen de laquelle on déterminera les sandjah des metqâls à l'aide de celles des derhams et celles des derhams à l'aide des sandjah des metqâls, et avec laquelle on pèsera l'or avec les sandjah des derhams, ce qui donnera des metqâls, et l'on pèsera l'argent avec les sandjah des metqâls, ce qui donnera des derhams.

Quand tu veux déterminer les *sandjah* des metqâls à l'aide des *sandjah* des derhams ou (celles) des derhams à l'aide des *sandjah* des metqâls, ou l'argent avec les *sandjah* de l'or et avoir ainsi des derhams, choisis une balance dont le fléau soit droit et exact, et partage-le en dix-sept divisions égales.

¹ Le MS. porte par erreur أصغر au lieu de أصفر.—Dr. Pertsch.

² Deuhn. C'est toujours ce terme qu'emploie Mâr Eliyâ et que je traduis par "huile."

³ كسبرة (sic) pour كسبرة. On rencontre plus généralement encore كزبرة.

Mets sa suspension à sept divisions de l'un de ses deux bras, et à dix de l'autre; adaptes-y les deux plateaux et règle-le (*sahhéhou*). Lors donc que tu voudras, avec les *sandjah* des derhams, obtenir les *sandjah* des metqâls, prends la *sandjah* du derham et pose-la dans le plateau suspendu au plus long bras, qui est celui des dix divisions. Place dans l'autre plateau la *sandjah* inconnue dont tu veux faire la *sandjah* du metqâl, et règle-la sur la *sandjah* du derham jusqu'à ce qu'elle arrive à être égale à celle-ci dans cette balance. Tu obtiendras ainsi la *sandjah* du metqâl. Agis de même pour la *sandjah* des deux metqâls, des cinq et au dessus, aussi bien que pour la *sandjah* de la demie, du sixième et des grains (*hobouûb*).

Si tu veux déduire les *sandjah* des derhams de celles des metqâls, prends la *sandjah* du metqâl et pose-la dans le plateau suspendu au bras le plus court, soit celui des sept divisions. [fo. 4v.] Dans l'autre plateau, mets la *sandjah* inconnue dont tu veux faire la *sandjah* du derham et règle-la sur la *sandjah* du metqâl jusqu'à ce qu'elle soit égale à celle-ci dans cette balance. On aura en effet la *sandjah* des derhams. Agis de la même manière à l'égard de la *sandjah* des deux derhams et au dessus, ainsi que pour la *sandjah* du qîrât, des grains (*hobouûb*) et des poids au dessous.

Désires-tu peser de l'or, n'ayant à ta disposition d'autres *sandjah* que celles des derhams? Place les *sandjah* des derhams dans le plateau de l'argent, qui est celui (suspendu) au plus long bras: ce que donnera l'autre plateau sera des metqâls correspondant aux derhams à raison d'un metqâl pour chaque derham.

(Tu agiras) à l'inverse, quand tu voudras peser de l'argent et que, dépourvu des *sandjah* des derhams, tu possèderas les *sandjah* des metqâls.

IX. CHAPITRE NEUVIÈME.

Sur la construction d'une autre balance, ayant trois plateaux et avec laquelle on pèsera l'or à l'aide des sandjah¹ des

¹ Le MS. porte *فصيح*. Je n'hésite pas à lire *بصيح*, comme on lit à la ligne suivante.

metqâls, quand elles existent, et à l'aide des sandjah des derhams lorsque celles des metqâls manquent et que celles des derhams existent, le poids obtenu devant être le même, ou bien avec laquelle on pèsera l'argent à l'aide des sandjah de l'argent, quand celles-ci se trouvent, et à l'aide des sandjah des metqâls quand, les premières manquant, ces dernières existent, le poids obtenu devant être encore le même. En somme donc, cette balance tiendra lieu de celle mentionnée dans le chapitre précédent et des balances ordinaires.

Exemple. Tu prends une balance égale (*mostawcy*) comme toutes les balances, c'est-à-dire ayant les deux bras du fléau égaux (*motasáwy*). Partage l'un des deux bras en dix divisions, et perce sur la quatrième division à partir du milieu du fléau, laquelle est en même temps la troisième à partir de son extrémité, un trou dans lequel tu placeras un anneau; puis suspends à celui-ci un plateau. Ce plateau et celui qui se trouve suspendu au même bras doivent être égaux en poids¹ au plateau suspendu à l'autre bras.

Lors donc que tu voudras, avec cette balance, déduire les *sandjah* des metqâls [fo. 5] de celles des derhams, place les *sandjah* des derhams dans le plateau qui se trouve isolé et mets dans le plateau suspendu au fléau aux trois divisions de l'autre bras, des *sandjah* qui fassent équilibre aux premières. On aura les *sandjah* de l'or, correspondant aux derhams, à raison d'un metqâl pour chaque derham. Les deux plateaux qui se trouvent aux deux extrémités se faisant entièrement équilibre, quelque *sandjah* que l'on y mette, le poids correspondant qu'on obtiendra sera égal à celle-ci. Sache donc cela.

X. CHAPITRE DIXIÈME.

Sur la construction d'une autre balance munie d'un seul plateau et se comportant comme le ferestouñ² (la romaine):

¹ في الثقل = في السعل.

² Le MS. de Gotha, comme celui de Paris, porte partout قرستون (*garastouñ*), et ce qu'il y a de plus curieux, c'est que ce nom a été lu ainsi par Gérard de Crémone dans sa traduction (*Liber Carastonis editus a Thebit filio Chore; Liber Thebit de ponderibus, qui dicitur Liber Carastonis*). Cependant il faut lire *ferestouñ* فرستون, mot persan, ainsi que M. le Dr. Leclerc en a fait le premier la remarque en ajoutant que dans la liste d'Ebn Abi Osayb'ah on trouve cité

on y pèse l'or avec une seule roummânah (contre-poids) et on obtient des metqâls; on y pèse l'argent avec une autre roummânah et en obtient des derhams : le fléau est le même, ainsi que les traits et les divisions.

Ayant choisi un fléau bien droit et égal (*mostawî*), tu suspendras un plateau à l'un de ses deux bras¹ et partageras l'autre bras, à partir du milieu du trou du *lésân*² et jusqu'à l'extrémité du bras, en autant de divisions que tu voudras avoir de metqâls ou de derhams. Tu placeras du côté où il n'y a pas de plateau un poids (*taql*) qui fasse équilibre au plateau, de telle sorte que, la balance étant suspendue, le fléau se trouve horizontal. Puis tu fabriqueras pour cette balance deux contre-poids,³ c'est-à-dire deux *roummânah*, dont l'une sera pour l'or, d'après la valeur (*meqdâr*) des divisions établies sur le fléau, (à raison d') un metqâl pour chaque division. Le poids de l'autre *roummânah* sera en *sandjah* (*sandj*) de l'argent, d'après la valeur de ces divisions, chaque division correspondant à un derham. En effet, cette opération faite, mettons de l'or dans le plateau et pesons-le avec le contre-poids⁴ de l'or, nous obtiendrons le poids de cet or et nous en connaissons le montant⁵ en metqâls et fractions de metqâl, d'après les divisions établies sur le fléau. Mettons au contraire de l'argent dans le plateau, et pesons-le avec le contre-poids de l'argent, nous en obtiendrons le poids et saurons à combien de derhams et de fractions de derham il monte. Dieu est plus savant.

parmi les écrits de Tâbet ebn Qorrah le livre dit *Farestôân*. Voy. *Hist. de la méd. ar.*, ii. p. 414. Le *liber carastonis* mériterait bien d'être publié, l'auteur arabe étant mort en 901 de J. C. Je signalerai encore sur les poids et mesures, grâce à M. Leclerc, le livre xxix. du *Tasrîf* d'Abou'l Qasîs ez-Zahrâwî dont la B. Bodléienne possède l'ouvrage entier sous les Nos. 414 et 416; le chap. xxii. du *Menhâdj ed deukkûn* de Cöhen el 'Attâr, qui écrivait en l'an 1259 de notre ère; un *traité des poids et mesures* d'Ebn el Beytar, qui existerait à Leyde et à Madrid; et enfin un *Traité sommaire des poids et mesures*, dans le Commentaire de l'*Arđjolûzah* d'Avicenne par Mohammad ebn Isma'îl (B. Nat. s. ar. No. 1022, exemplaire autographe de l'an 788 de l'hég.).

¹ Le mot طرف (*taraf*) signifie "partie, côté d'où bras de la balance, et aussi bout, extrémité."

² La langue, la flèche, la languette. Voy. sur les noms des diff. parties dont se compose la romaine ma trad. inédite d'El Djabarty.

³ مثقلتين. ⁴ مثقله,

⁵ مبلغه. Dans son commentaire du *Bordah*, Khâled el Azhary dit que les mots *mablagh*, *qadr* et *meqdâr* sont synonymes.

[fo. 5v.] XI. CHAPITRE ONZIÈME.

Sur la description et les caractères distinctifs du qarastoun (ferestoun).

Le meilleur qarastoun (ferestoun) est celui dont le cou¹ est long. En effet, plus son cou est long, plus (la romaine) est sensible et rapide;² plus il est court, plus elle est paresseuse.³ C'est pour ce motif⁴ que la pesée est plus exacte⁵ avec le petit bāb de tout qarastoun (ferestoun) qu'avec le grand bāb. Quand la suspension du grand bāb est placée exactement entre la suspension du petit bāb et celle⁶ du plateau, les ratls et les metqāls que déterminera le grand bāb seront le double⁷ de ce que déterminera le petit bāb. Si l'espace compris entre la suspension du grand bāb et celle du petit bāb est égal à deux fois l'intervalle qui sépare la suspension du grand bāb de celle du plateau, ce que déterminera le grand [bāb] aura trois fois le poids⁸ de ce que déterminera le petit bāb. Ce même (principe) se manifestera, lorsque l'intervalle sera plus grand.

Il convient aussi que nous sachions que le rapport du bras le plus court au bras le plus long de tout qarastoun (ferestoun) est comme le rapport du poids de la roummānah au poids que détermine ce qarastoun (ferestoun) avec ce bāb. [Si donc le bras le plus long est égal à trois fois le bras le plus court, ce que déterminera ce qarastoun (ferestoun), avec ce bāb, sera] égal à trois fois le poids de la roummānah.⁹ C'est d'après

¹ عنتى. C'est la partie du corps de la romaine comprise entre les deux lésān (languettes). Ce terme n'a pas d'équivalent en français.

² أخرى. Je lis أخرى comme dans le MS. de Paris.

³ Lit. "plus lourde" أثقل.

⁴ كذلك. Cette leçon est préférable à celle du MS. de Paris, qui donne كذلك.

⁵ أبين.

⁶ Le copiste a supprimé ici le mot علاقة, qu'on lit dans le MS. de Paris.

⁷ Je suis la leçon du MS. de Paris, qui est la bonne. Le MS. de Gotha écrit نصف (la moitié).

⁸ Le MS. de Gotha porte ثلثة ائقال et celui de Paris ثلثة امثال.

⁹ Le copiste a supprimé tout ce que j'ai placé entre crochets.

cette analogie et suivant cette proportion que les choses se passeront dans toutes les romaines (*qarastoundt*, lis. *ferestoundt*).¹

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XII. CHAPITRE DOUZIÈME.

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[fo. 6.] Ensuite nous partagerons le bras le plus long, à l'aide du compas, en divisions dont chacune soit égale à l'espace compris entre la suspension (de la romaine) et l'*'aqrah*,² et nous partagerons chacune de ces divisions en ratls d'une valeur correspondant au poids de la *roummānah*. Quand nous aurons fait cette opération, ce que déterminera ce *qarastoun* (*ferestoun*) sera la valeur (*meqdār*) que nous voulions lui faire déterminer. Dieu est plus savant.³

XIII. CHAPITRE TREIZIÈME.

Sur le qarastoun (ferestoun) qui fournit des poids (maqādr) divers tels que les metqāls et les derhams et les ratls de Baghdād, de Nésibe,⁴ Dâhéry,⁵ etc.

Quand le *qarastoun* (*ferestoun*) est fait pour peser le derham et que nous voulons y peser des metqāls, nous examinerons de combien de derhams est le poids de la *roummānah*, et nous en ferons une autre dont le poids en metqāls soit égal au nombre de derhams que pèse cette *roummānah*. Nous pèserons⁶ avec celle-ci ce dont nous voudrions déterminer le poids en metqāls. Il sera en effet tel que nous le voulons.

¹ La suite est conforme au MS. de Paris.

² عقرب. C'est le crochet auquel est suspendu le plateau.

³ Telle est dans le MS. de Gotha la fin de ce chapitre, qui manque dans le MS. de Paris.

⁴ النصيبينى (sic), en-nésibîny.

⁵ الظاهرى.

⁶ نزن = نزن.

Si le *qarastoun* (*ferestoun*) a été construit pour peser¹ des metqâls et que nous désirions y peser des derhams, nous opérerons à l'inverse de ce que nous avons fait dans le cas précédent. [fo. 6v.] Le *qarastoun* (*ferestoun*) donnant des ratls de Baghdâd, veux-tu avoir des ratls de Nésibe?² nous examinerons combien ces derniers représentent de ratls et fractions de ratls de Baghdâd,³ et nous confectionnerons une autre *roummânah* dont le poids exprimé en ratls de Nésibe⁴ soit égal à ces ratls et à ces fractions : ce qui consistera à en augmenter⁵ le poids d'une fois et un tiers ; car en ajoutant au ratl de Baghdâd une fois et un tiers son poids, nous avons le ratl de Nésibe. Si donc nous pesons avec cette (dernière) *roummânah*, au dit *qarastoun* (*ferestoun*), le poids nous sera donné en ratls de Nésibe.⁶

¹ Quoique le texte porte بوزن, je ne doute pas qu'il ne faille lire, comme plus haut, لوزن.

² بالنصبي.

³ Le MS. porte البغدادى, au lieu de البغدادى.

⁴ النصبي en-nésiby.

⁵ تزيد = نزيد.

⁶ Le MS. de Gotha supprime la fin du chapitre, donnée par le MS. de Paris, et passe immédiatement au chap. xiv.

ART. V.—*On the Age of the Ajantá Caves.*¹ By RÁJENDRA-LÁLA MITRA RAI BAHADUR, C.I.E., LL.D., and Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society.

IN a paper published in volume xlvii.² of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, I attempted to identify the nationality of some foreign figures depicted in the rock-cut caves at Ajantá. The conclusions I arrived at were :—

1st. That the figures with long flowing coats and sugar-loaf hats in one of the pictures were Persians.

2nd. That the principal personages in three “Drinking scenes” were Bactrians.

3rd. That the scenes represented phases of Indian life from 1800 to 2000 years ago.

My reasons for the first two conclusions I gave at length; but with regard to the last, I contented myself by referring incidentally to the opinions of Messrs. Fergusson, Burgess, and Bháú Dájí. The subject of the paper was not a chronological one; and to chronology, therefore, I did not wish to devote any great part of a necessarily short note. My sole object was to invite the attention of antiquaries to the presence of Persians and Bactrians in Indian pictures, and to it, therefore, I confined my remarks.

I am glad to notice that my object has been fully attained ;

¹ I received this paper in July, and laid it before our Council Meeting on the 7th idem, the last meeting of the Session. I have since, in the exercise of a large discretion given to me by the author, revised it to the extent of omitting some passages, and of here and there modifying others. The present title of the paper is adopted by the author's wish, expressed in a later letter—his main contention being that the cave containing the picture lately remarked on by Mr. Fergusson is of an earlier date than that assigned to it in the ‘History of Indian Architecture.’ He supports this view by the palæographic evidence afforded by the inscriptions within the cave. This side of the chronological question has not yet been presented to the readers of our Journal. The author had proposed to illustrate his paper by four woodcuts, of which three are copies of plates in Ker Porter's work; but as these can readily be referred to, I do not see that any useful object would be gained by publishing the cuts which he inclosed with his paper. To follow the author it will of course be necessary to consult the four excellent plates published with his first paper in the Bengal Society's Journal.—A. GRUBE, Oct. 23, 1879.

² See Part i. p. 62.

and that so distinguished an archæologist as Mr. James Fergusson has taken it up in earnest, and brought his extensive knowledge and experience to bear upon it. And it is especially gratifying to me to know that the first of my three conclusions (viz. the nationality of the figures in the "Court scene") has met with his assent. He had, he says, arrived at that conclusion some years ago, though he did not publish it.

My second conclusion, as to the Bactrian nationality of the figures in the "Drinking scene," is not referred to by Mr. Fergusson, who regards these also as Persians, on the following grounds: 1st, because crimped streamers, or "banderoles," such as are worn by the figures, are characteristic of the Sassanian kings; 2nd, because their head-dress is similar to that of the Persians represented in sculpture at Takht i Bostán and elsewhere; 3rd, because the story of the pictures corresponds with incidents in the history of Khùshrú Parviz, with whom he identifies the principal figure.

After the most careful study of the pictures, I must avow my inability to perceive any ethnic relationship between the foreign figures in the "Court scene" and the burly Bacchanalian figures in the "Drinking scenes." Features so decisive as ethnic tests, when generalized after a study of large numbers, become dubious when studied in single individuals; and in smudgy pictures and defaced sculptures are peculiarly unsatisfactory. As far, however, as they go, they afford, to me at least, no reason to suppose that the oval-faced, sharp-featured Ambassador and his suite belonged to the same nationality with the broad-headed, high cheek-boned lover of the "Drinking scene." Quite agreeing with what is said as to the impossibility of "identifying the portrait of the King (the Bacchanalian lover) in those pictures from any of the sculptured representations of him,"¹ I am equally unable to follow the general resemblance discernible by Mr. Fergusson in the figure of the "Hunting scene," engraved by Ker Porter, vol. ii. pl. 64.

In single instances the dress is much more expressive;

¹ Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XI. p. 164.

and that test brought to bear on the picture does not, to my mind, disprove my theory of these figures being Bactrian. The crimped streamers or "banderoles," on which so much stress has been laid, are by no means the peculiar characteristics of the Sassanians. They appear as ornaments over the cap; or as the floating ends sometimes of the fillet round the head, sometimes of the bandeau tying the cap behind the head, or binding crowns of leaves or necklaces; or as wings behind the shoulder-blade; and in one or other of these forms they occur on the coins of the Bactrian kings Eukratides, Kadphises, Hermæus and others, as well as on those of the Indo-Scythian kings Kanerki and Ooerki, and on sculptured figures of Rajput warriors.¹

The head-dress is equally at fault. The hat of the Ambassador is shaped like a sugar-loaf. It is such as is shown on the head of the modern Persian standing by the side of the pillar in Ker Porter's plate 62, and as was worn by the attendants of the Shah of Persia on his late visits to Europe. It has been repeatedly figured by Malcolm in his "History of Persia," and is sufficiently conspicuous in the costume of the messengers in the "Ambassador's scene;" but in the costume of the Bacchanal it is wanting. His hat is short and dumpy, and has a broad band at the base. In one instance it has two streamers on the top, but in the other two those appendages are omitted. They are invariably absent on the conical cap. It is not easy to trace much resemblance between the two hats, while they differ from the hat or crown of Khùshrú, as shown in sculpture at Takht i Bostán.

The coat of the Ambassador is a close-fitting one, hanging below the knee; and over it there is a tight jacket of a different stuff, buttoned in a line in the middle of the front. The officers of his suite have the same style of body-clothes, except the military attaché in helmet, whose coat is somewhat shorter. The Bacchanal wears a loose blouse or caftan, without buttons in front, or any indication of the way in

¹ *Vide passim*, Wilson's "Ariana Antiqua," pl. ii. figs. 3 and 6; pl. iii. fig. 4; pl. v. figs. 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20; pl. vii. fig. 6; pl. viii. fig. 10, and several figures in plates ix. x. xi. xii. xiii. xiv. xvi. xvii. xix. xxi.

which it was fastened to the person. It is decorated with patch-work ornaments, but there is no jacket over it. The lady indulges in patch-work; and the *tout ensemble* of her dress is quite unlike that of the dress of Shírín in the Takht i Bostán sculptures.

As regards the incidents in the history of Khùshrú Parviz, supposed to be referred to in the picture, the substance of the narrative quoted from Tabari amounts to this, that Khùshrú II. received an embassy from an Indian potentate. There is no allusion to a return embassy; on the contrary, it says that the Indian Ambassador brought a letter, marked private, in which the writer of the note congratulated one of the sons of the King on the near prospect of his supplanting his father and becoming "the ruler of the whole empire." The King was naturally offended at this, and so, he says, "We closed the letter with our seal, and gave it into the keeping of our consort Shírín." It would be natural to suppose that the King, under the circumstances, would never think of sending a complimentary embassy to a foreigner who secretly suggested his dethronement. It is, I think, difficult to accept the passage cited from Tabari as explaining the scene of the picture. The intercourse between the Indians on the one hand, and the Persians, the Assyrians, and the Egyptians on the other, was, probably, more frequent in past times than it is now, and embassies may have passed and repassed scores, if not hundreds, of times from long before the commencement of the Christian era, and the fact of there being a picture of an embassy in one place, and the notice of another embassy elsewhere, hardly justifies the assumption that one relates to the other.

The name, too, of the Indian King in the text of Tabari is represented by letters without diacritical marks, and may be variously read Faramsha, Firamsha, Furamsha, Qaramsha, Qiramsha or Quramsha; each of these optional forms being subject to further variations by the insertion of an *i* or *y* after the *m*. By first discarding "the value of the vowel points as of no authority in foreign names," and by next assuming the consonants, which are in some cases variable, to have

necessarily undergone changes, the word is made out to be Pulakesi; and having come to this, the reading is accepted as the major premiss for the next argument. The identification of the name may, or may not, be correct. If it be correct, it would show that Khùshrú's Indian correspondent was Pulakesi, but it would not suffice to connect the "Court scene" in the Ajantá picture with that king.

The chronological question, however, is the really important one, and this is fully recognized in Mr. Fergusson's paper, which will, I think, bear me out in stating the following to be his conclusions as to the age of the Ajantá Caves. He says, "As everything depends upon it, the first point is to ascertain the age of the cave in which these paintings are found;" and from the materials accessible, he thinks that "this can be easily done within very narrow limits of deviation either way." Substituting the word *moderate* for "very narrow," I readily subscribe to this remark; but I cannot help thinking that he has not utilised to the fullest extent the materials that were accessible to him.

His conclusions are that Cave No. XII. is the oldest, and that the others on its two sides correspond in age in the order in which they stand, thus:

XII. Oldest, second century B.C.

X.	Coeval with last or slightly later.		XIII.
X.	More modern, first century B.C.		
XI.	Later.		
VIII.	Later still.	} Correspond No. for No. with	XIV.
VII.	"		XV.
VI.	"		XVI.
V.	"		XVII.
IV.	"		XVIII.
III.	"		XIX.
			XX.
			XXI.
II.	"	} Correspond with	XXII.
I.	Latest, 610 to 640 B.C.		XXIII.
			XXIV.
			XXV.
			XXVI.
			Coeval with I., or slightly more modern.
			Later than No. 1.

These deductions have been made by reference to the character of the ornaments—the simpler, the more ancient; the more elaborate, the later; and also by comparison with caves in other parts of India of more or less known ages. Thus, No. XII. is said to be the oldest, because “it is an extremely plain and simple excavation, without pillars, which, in itself, is an indication of great antiquity, while such ornaments as it has are so similar to those that adorn other caves at Baja, Bedsa, Nassik, and elsewhere, whose age is ascertained to be before the Christian era.” No. I. is said to be the latest, because “from its position it is the cave last excavated at this end of the series.” The argument is, however, somewhat qualified by the remark that, “if not the very last, it is certainly among the most modern excavations at Ajanta.” For this conclusion, however, no reason is assigned. Very little argument has been adduced for the gradation in age of the other caves; and the settlement of the dates is mainly dependent on the opinion of the writer. This opinion, however, proceeding from so high an authority, is worthy of the fullest consideration, and under ordinary circumstances it would be extremely imprudent on the part of a person like me to question it. But the facts to be presently disclosed leave me no alternative.

I must demur to the theory founded on the absence of pillars, a fact which does not always show great antiquity. More than one Udayagiri Cave, bearing Lāt inscriptions, have pillars, and as cave architecture (not cave-cutting) must have followed wooden structures, there is no *à priori* reason why pillars should be wanting in caves of early date, but of a time when men had long since enjoyed the benefit of wooden houses.

But that theory apart, the principle of gradual improvement on which the learned antiquary's opinion is founded is such a trite axiom in history that no one would think of questioning it. It is one thing, however, to have a general principle, another to apply it to particular cases, making due allowances for the influences of the different factors which bear upon them. As regards Indian archæology, after

many years devoted to its study, I feel convinced that as yet adequate materials have not been collected to enable even the most experienced scholar to settle the ages of ancient Indian caves within any moderate limits of variation, by reference to the amount of ornaments occurring on them. The data now available for such a purpose are insufficient, and cannot be relied upon. In commenting upon the age of the Udayagiri Caves, in the second volume of my "Antiquities of Orissa" (long since printed, but not yet published), I have remarked: "Adverting to the Caves of Western India, Mr. Fergusson has developed a system of evolution, according to which the simplest of the caves are assigned to the earliest period, and the most ornate to a comparatively recent date—the whole spreading over many centuries. How far this is correct as regards those caves, it is not for me here to inquire; but I am not at all disposed to apply the principle to the caves which form the subject of my remarks. The principle is founded upon the experience of human habitations in civilized society, and cannot be applied to monasteries. Monastic institutions do not develop slowly and gradually, step by step, with the advancing civilization of their occupants, even as the ancient pile huts of Zurich and Brienne and Neufchatel developed into Swiss villas; but by fits and starts, according to the nature of the patronage extended to them by civil society, and the state of civilization of their patrons—the monks themselves being the passive recipients of the bounty of their lay admirers, and the art displayed in their habitations dependent mainly on the taste of the artists employed, and of their employers. A hermit of great sanctity, perhaps professing some supernatural or miraculous powers, takes shelter in a wood near a flourishing town, whence men of all classes proceed to visit him and offer him the means of his sustenance and more, in lieu of his blessings; a wealthy person, perhaps a king or a minister, takes special interest in him, and defrays the cost of building a comfortable house for his use; his sanctity draws around him shoals of proselytes and followers, for whose accommodation addi-

tional buildings are required; other rich men defray the cost thereof; and a stately monastery is the result. In the place of the hermit an image of a god, or a rude stone, or a grave, or a sacred relic, suddenly rising in repute for working miracles, or for some other cause, produces the same effect. In the first fervour of devotion, wealth flows rapidly towards its endowment and embellishment, edifices rise over and around it, and a sacred place is completed. All this takes but a few short years, and the lifetime of a single generation is generally enough to effect the consummation. A different feeling next comes into play, that of respect for antiquity, which developes a strong spirit of conservatism, and its main objects are to give firmness to, and to perpetuate, existing customs, practices and observances, and to prevent changes and innovations. Devotion then leads to the erection of minor edifices around the principal building, in order to secure for them a share of the reflected sanctity of the original shrine. Hence it is—in India at least—that the richest and most elaborate shrines are the oldest, and the temples and other structures around them are of comparatively recent dates. The merit of dedicating temples, ghats, chaityas, and the like in sacred places, is greatly extolled in the Sástras, both Hindu and Buddhist, and every pilgrim erects one according to his means, and if he has not the wherewithal to build a temple, or a chaitya, however humble, he satisfies his conscience by dedicating a fictile or stone model, ranging from two inches to three or four feet. Benares receives every year an accession of many scores of such temples, some of which are cubes of three or four feet with corresponding pinnacles, and the thousands of model chaityas in stone and baked clay which have been met with at Sanchi, Buddha Gayá, Sárnáth, and other places, owe their origin to the same cause.

“That the caves of Udayagiri have come into existence under some such circumstances I have every reason to believe. Bhuvaneśvara, before the commencement of the Christian era, was a flourishing town, if not the capital,

of Kalinga. Some Buddhist hermits of great repute, or a body of monks, must have come there for missionary purposes, and, prohibited to dwell in towns, taken their stand on the hill, which was near enough to admit of their going frequently to the town on their missionary errand, and for begging alms, and yet sufficiently removed from civil society to keep them aloof from its contamination. The Kalinga Rájás, who were noted for their devotion to Buddhism, helped them to excavate some large caves, and the monastery was complete. The little caves were, I imagine, subsequently dug by individual hermits for their respective accommodation or mortification—for the three or four feet cubic caves were undoubtedly made for the sake of undergoing some form of penance or other. If we assume that some of the *missionaries* first dug the small caves to display their sanctity or devotion to penance, by dwelling therein, it would follow that they attracted the attention of the people—for such a feat as passing night after night, say in meditation, within a cave of three feet, would attract public attention in India in a very short time, and the wealthy among those who admired, or looked with veneration upon, such feats, would at once defray the cost of making large and commodious habitations for such saints and their followers. In either case the interval of time between the small and the large caves would be limited, and cannot be reckoned by centuries; there is nothing in them at any rate to support the theory of gradual development of taste and tact in cave-cutting; for the larger caves are all of one class, and belong to a single cycle. Their pillars are of the same pattern; the pilasters are alike; the carved bands over them have the same outline; the Buddhist rails, either above or below the friezes, differ only in some being made of four and others of five bars; the parapets, where they occur, are alike; and the general design differs so slightly as to be insignificant, and in none of these features—and these are the principal features which mark the difference of style and age—can anything be found which would warrant the assumption that the caves belong to different

ages, and were cut by men in different states of civilization, or possessed of art-education differing in other respects than in individual peculiarity."¹

I have met with nothing since which would induce me to change this opinion. On the contrary, many facts have come to my notice which lead me to believe that what is true as regards the caves at Udayagiri is equally so with reference to those at Ajantá.

It is, however, not on such *a priori* arguments that I wish to rely in the present instance. So long as forty years ago James Prinsep obtained some inscriptions from Ajantá, and published them in the fifth volume of this Journal. Mr. Bird, in 1847, published some others in his "Historical Researches on the Origin and Principles of the Buddha and Jaina Religions;" and, in 1863, the late Dr. Bháü Dájí re-examined and revised all the inscriptions that he could find at Ajantá, and published facsimiles, transcripts, and translations thereof in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,² and the evidence derivable from these inscriptions is opposed to the conclusions of Mr. Fergusson.

One of these inscriptions occurs in Cave No. XII. It is cut into the rock in the Láṭ character, which antiquaries are unanimously of opinion retained its integrity to the close of the third century B.C., but changed in the following century to something different. If the evidence of this character be of any weight, it would follow, that the cave in which it occurs must date from before the second century B.C. to which Mr. Fergusson assigns it.

Cave No. IX., which Mr. Fergusson takes to be either coeval with, or slightly later than, No. XII., has an inscription in the same Láṭ character engraved on the face of the living rock, and another in the Cave character painted in fresco, as the pictures are. The two caves, therefore, may be taken to be of the same age.

Mr. Fergusson assumes No. X. to have been excavated

¹ Antiquities of Orissa, vol. ii. pp. 40ff.

² vol. vii. pp. 53, etc.

some time after No. III. but it has inscriptions, such as the last and the large characters the former engraved and the latter painted, and it may therefore be of any value. All the caves should be of the same date or of such differing dates as to be unrepresentative and immaterial in an inquiry like the present.

No. III. has been described as being later than No. I. but the argument on which this opinion is based being the same which made No. I. to be later than No. IX. must be rejected and all the four caves assigned to be of the same or about the same age.

Mr. Fergusson's second group of caves comprises Nos. VIII. to XIII. with their corresponding set of Nos. XIV. to XX. No attempt has been made to assign to these any specific dates; they are supposed to have been excavated from time to time successively in the order in which they have been graded till the last of the series viz. No. XX. with I presume its counterpart on the other side (i.e. No. III.) came into existence within the last twenty years of the sixth century or the first ten years of the seventh century. It is left to be presumed that the others were cut in the first, the second, the third, the fourth, and the fifth centuries.

Of the first series, No. VIII., called the Chaitya Cave, has a painted inscription above a painted Buddha over the entrance; and No. VI. has likewise one; but Nos. VII., IV., and III. have none. The second series of the group, the counterparts of Nos. VIII. to XIII., include three caves, viz. Nos. XVI., XVII. and XIX., which have inscriptions. No. XVI., called the Zodiac or Shield Cave, has a very large one engraved in the rock over the entrance, and three painted ones inside. No. XVII., the Vihāra Cave, has a large engraved one by the right side of the porch, and fragments of two painted ones inside. No. XIX. has an engraved one on a broken column. The character used in the inscriptions is the same which has been employed in some of the inscriptions in the first group of caves.

The third group of Mr. Fergusson includes Nos. II. and I. on one side, and Nos. XXI. to XXVI. on the other. Of

these he assigns No. I. to 610 to 640 A.D., and takes Nos. XXII. XXIII. and XXIV., the "unfinished" ones, to be later than No. I.; and No. XXVI. to be coeval with or slightly more modern than that cave. Unfortunately for this assignment, No. I. has more than one painted inscription in the same character as in the preceding group, No. XXV. has a rock-cut inscription, and Nos. XXI. and XXV. a painted one, each in the same kind of letters.

The engraved and the painted letters are not exactly of the same kind; nor are the painted letters of the same pattern everywhere. They were obviously written and engraved by different individuals, and consequently differ both in style, and, in some cases, in the form of the letters. But they all belong obviously and most unmistakably to the three classes of character numbered 2, 3, and 4 in James Prinsep's "Illustrations of the Sanskrit Alphabet." Prinsep calls No. 2 the "Western Cave character," and places it between Nos. 1 and 3, adding that its date was uncertain; No. 3 is founded on the model of the Rudradámá inscription of Junagar; and No. 4 on the Guzerat dated plates, which belong to the second century A.D. All the three are local or periodical variations of the same type, which ultimately merged into the Gupta character. The last had been in use for about three centuries, and ceased with the close of the fifth century, after which no authentic record has been found in that character. Most of the Gupta letters are similar to those of the preceding types; but there are certain test letters, such as न, प, म, स, र, श and ष, which enable us easily to mark the difference between the Gupta and its preceding types.

Judged by these test-letters, the inscriptions in the Ajantá Caves, except those in the Lát character, belong to the Rudradámá type, or No. 3, with a leaning sometimes towards No. 2, sometimes towards No. 4, *i.e.* they hold an intermediate position between the third century B.C. and the second century A.D., that is to say, the latter part of the first century B.C. The names of Vindhyaśakti and his successors, and their relation to the Scythians, the Śaka

Yavanas, in the large inscription in the Zodiac Cave, would fit in better in the first century of the Christian era, and that is the most probable time when the latest of the caves were completed, and all were in existence. If we accept even the lowest limit of our palæographic evidence, we can bring the caves to the second century, but not later, and that would be about five centuries before the time which Mr. Fergusson has assigned to the latest of them from a study of their architectural character. I have a strong leaning in favour of palæographic evidence, which I believe to be much more authentic and less misleading than æsthetic tests which yield too much elbow-room for speculation, and are wanting in that certainty which inscriptions rightly interpreted are calculated to afford.

Were I to conceive that the letters of the inscriptions under notice are of the Gupta type, they could be made to come down to the fifth century, but not later; and that would be a hundred and fifty years before the time suggested by Mr. Fergusson. But no Orientalist familiar with Indian palæography will, I feel convinced, for a moment accept the character of the records to be the same as those of the Guptas; and if he did, he would find the reference to Vindhyaśakti in the Zodiac Cave inscription an immovable obstruction in his way. The conclusion, therefore, must follow that the inscriptions date from before the third century of the Christian era.

The three large inscriptions in Caves No. XVI. XVII. and XXV. refer to the excavation of the caves, and the caves must therefore be of the same age with the inscriptions. But the others are mere records of gifts, without any specification of their nature; and inscriptions of this class, I have elsewhere¹ shown, belong to ages subsequent to the dates of the structures in which they occur. Thus the large engraved inscription on the doorway of the Cave No. XVI., being the record of its excavation, the painted records inside the cave announcing gifts (*dāna*) must refer to something

¹ Buddha Gaya, the Hermitage of Sakya Muni, pp. 184, etc.

else given to the cave, or its presiding hermit, some time after the completion of the cave. Most of the small inscriptions are of this character; and their evidence amounts to this, that the caves existed from before, and were places of great sanctity, in which gifts were looked upon as highly meritorious; they do not necessarily fix the date of the cave. The Lāt inscription in Cave No. XII. is a record of this description, and, therefore, the date of the cave must, according to this supposition, be older than the lowest limit of the Lāt character.

NOTES ON BABU RAJENDRALALA MITRA'S PAPER ON THE
AGE OF THE CAVES AT AJANTÁ. By JAMES FERGUSSON,
V.P., D.C.L., F.R.S.

WHEN this paper was first presented to the Council in July last, I objected to its being received, inasmuch as it contained a vast amount of irrelevant matter, and personalities, which I should regret to see introduced into any discussion in this Society. Since then Mr. Grote, in the exercise of a discretion given him by the author, has cut it down to about one-half its original length, and now presents it in a form to which I personally can have no possible objection. I would only, however, like to observe, that the title now given to it is a little misleading. It would hardly be worth while, if an attempt to fix their dates were all the paper contained, to print a disquisition on the age of the Caves at Ajantá by a person who has never visited them, and who, though eminent as a Sanskrit scholar, has hitherto shown no aptitude for, or knowledge of, archæological subjects. It seems too singularly inappropriate at the present moment, as a quarto volume, containing 111 closely printed pages, with numerous illustrations, has just been presented to the Society, by its author, Mr. Burgess. This volume is the result of several weeks spent in examining the Caves at Ajantá last cold weather, and was, I believe, his fourth or fifth visit to them during the

last ten or twelve years. During that interval he has visited almost every series of caves in Western India. Babu Rájendra has not seen this work, and it is consequently not clear how far Mr. Burgess's intimate knowledge of the subject might have modified his views. For the benefit of those who have not seen it, I may mention that we are perfectly in accord as to the dates of the caves belonging to this group, and he has left me an almost equally extensive account of them to be embodied in a work I am now passing through the press, conjointly with him, and which I hope may appear in the spring.

All this, however, is of very little importance at the present moment, as Babu Rájendralála Mitra's paper is not what its title imports, but is, practically, an attempt to prove—

First, that I am wrong in the date I assign (A.D. 600 to 640) to Cave No. I. at Ajantá, which contains certain pictures avowedly admitted to be those of foreigners.

Secondly, that I am equally wrong in believing that these pictures contain portraits of Khùshrú Parviz of Persia, and Pulakêsi, King of Mahârâshtra.

Both these propositions are stated with unobjectionable fairness in the paper as it now stands, and are not only perfectly legitimate subjects for discussion, but are, I believe, of sufficient interest to be well worthy of the attention of this Society.

To these two points, and to them only, I shall confine the remarks I have to make; but before doing so, it will add to the clearness of what follows, if I make a few observations on the long extract the Babu makes from his unpublished second volume of "The Antiquities of Orissa."

In this passage, and elsewhere, he represents me as inventing a system of "gradual improvement," "according to which the simplest caves are assigned to the earliest period, the most ornate to a comparatively recent date;" and he proceeds to illustrate this by various very irrelevant examples. As this proposition is stated here, I cannot object to its form, but I beg leave to state, most emphatically, that I have done nothing of the kind, and that it is founded on

an entire misconception of my meaning. What I have attempted to do during the last forty years has been to apply to Indian architecture the same principles of archæological science, which are universally adopted, not only in England, but in every country in Europe. Since the publication of Rickman's "Attempt to Discriminate Styles, etc.," in 1817, style has been allowed to supersede all other evidence for the age of any building, not only in Mediæval, but in Byzantine, Classical, and, in fact, all other true styles. Any accomplished antiquary, looking at any archway or any moulding, can say at once, this is Norman, or Early English, or Decorated, or Tudor, and if familiar with the style, tell the date within a few years, whether it belongs to a cathedral, or a parish church, a dwelling house, or a grange; whether it is part of the most elaborate shrine, or of a pigsty—is not of the smallest consequence, nor whether it belongs to the marvellously elaborate quasi-Byzantine style of the age of the Conqueror, or to the prosaic tameness of that of the age of Elizabeth.

Owing to its perfect originality and freedom from all foreign admixture or influence, I believe these principles, so universally adopted in this country, are even more applicable to the Indian styles than to the European. During the half century during which I have been occupied in the matter, I have found no exception to their applicability, though frequently in the very inverse sense from that the Babu represents me as adopting. The Rails at Buddha Gaya, and Bharhut, and the Caves at Udayagiri, and Pitalkhora, are among the oldest, the most elaborate, and most ornate specimens of art yet discovered, but these were succeeded by many of almost Doric simplicity.¹ As it

¹ It is hardly worth while saying much about the argument derived from the "Pillars," which the Babu would never have brought forward, had he ever visited the Western Caves, or even studied their plans. In the West of India, the Hall is the most prominent and most essential feature, and into it all the cells open. Consequently, when these became numerous, and the hall necessarily large, pillars became indispensable to support the roof, which otherwise would have fallen in, and eventually they became a most important feature. In Orissa, on the contrary, all the cells open on the outer air, and their doors are only covered by shallow verandahs, and there are no halls in which internal pillars

happens, it is quite true that the earliest Caves at Ajantá, and generally in the West, are the plainest and least ornamented, but that is not a consequence of their age, but because they belonged to a sect remarkable for its puritanical asceticism. On the Eastern side of India, the conditions were reversed. At Buddha Gaya, Bharhut, and Udayagiri, the contemporary structures, if not the most richly ornamented, were at least as much so, as any that succeeded them. In fact, in so far as anything I have ever written on the subject is concerned, there is not one single paragraph in any work of mine that can be tortured into the expression of a belief, on my part, that greater or less richness of ornamentation is a test of age. Style is a test, and by style alone can their age be ascertained.

I believe I am tolerably familiar with all that Babu Rájendra has written on archæological subjects; but I have not yet found one paragraph in any of his works in which he shows that he ever heard of the science of Archæology, as it is understood in Europe, nor certainly one instance in which he has applied its principles to ascertain either the relative, or positive, age of any building. He is, in fact, in the exact position of the antiquaries of the last century, puzzling over inscriptions, or annals, or traditions; but having no knowledge of style nor any certain guide, and consequently tumbling into mistakes only calculated to excite wonder and amusement in the present generation of antiquaries.

At the same time, I am far from either rejecting or undervaluing the assistance gained in all these researches from the study of Palæography. It is always a help, and frequently a guide, which is in some instances indispensable; but it never—so far as I can judge—is capable of the same precision, nor can be so implicitly relied upon as Archæology, when this is properly understood and applied. I do, however, object

could possibly be introduced. There is, in fact, no analogy between the disposition of the caves in the East and those in the West. I need hardly, however, attempt to explain here in what the difference consists, as in the book on the subject I have in the press, conjointly with Mr. Burgess, the subject will be fully entered into.

to Prinsep's alphabets being used as an argument in the present discussion. We have made immense progress during the last forty years in our knowledge of the alphabets of India, and Prinsep only knew of that used in these caves from some fragments copied by gentlemen who neither knew the letters nor the language, and whose copies are consequently of the least possible value.¹

As I hope to show presently, the evidence derived from the inscriptions in these Caves is in perfect accord with what we learn from their architecture, as must indeed always be the case, when there exists sufficient means of comparing them together. In the present instance, I feel confident, that when the evidence derived from inscriptions is added to that deduced from the style in which the caves are decorated, the two, taken together, will be more than sufficient to prove that I was not mistaken in the date I assigned to Cave No. I.

In order to state his case more clearly, Babu Rajendra has divided the Caves at Ajantá into three groups. About the first there is no dispute. In the paper read to this Society in 1842, I stated that they all were excavated before the Christian Era, which the Babu admits. They are, however, interesting as showing how superior the Archæological method is to the Palæographical. Because, he says, they have all inscriptions in the Lât character, he argues that they must all be of one age—or very nearly so—though what that age is he does not venture to specify. Now, I defy any architect or antiquary to look at them without seeing at a glance that they are not all of the same age, that there is a succession, and a considerable interval must have elapsed between the earliest and the latest; and had he ever seen them, or known anything of archæology, even he must have admitted it was so. IX. and X., for instance, are Chaitya Caves, situated side by side, but so different, in every essential respect, as to prove that they belong to different ages. If their inscriptions

¹ Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal, vol. v. plates ix. and xxix.

were all in the same character, it would only show how worthless Palæography is for the purpose to which the Babu applies it; but the fact of the matter is, there are only two short inscriptions in the four caves which can, even by courtesy, be called "in the Lāt character," and they are in its most modern form, and certainly not of the same age.¹ This, however, is of little consequence here, as the group has absolutely no bearing on the age of Cave No. I.

The Babu's second group is very extensive, and arranged in a manner that passes my comprehension; but that, too, is of no consequence, as not bearing on the argument, nor has the accustomed inaccuracy with which they are described. I would, however, remark that Cave VIII. is not a "Chaitya," but one of the meanest Viharas in the place, and has no "inscription," and "no painted Buddha over the entrance;" Cave VI. has neither the one nor the other; and Cave XVI. is not the Zodiac cave; this last, however, is a mistake of Bhau Daji's, for which the Babu is not responsible. All this, however, is only what might be expected from any one writing on a subject of which he has no special knowledge. There are, however, two Caves in this group, XVI. and XVII.,² which have important inscriptions, which, with their architectural peculiarities, bear directly on the subject in hand, and regarding which, I should consequently like to say a few words.

Cave No. XVI. contains an important inscription of the Vindhyaśakti dynasty (J.B.B.R.A.S., vol. vii. p. 56), which I would like any one to compare with the Seoni plates of the same dynasty (J.A.S.B., vol. v. pl. xxxiii.). The alphabet is the same, but the form of characters is so different, that it would be competent to any one to argue that there was—on palæographic evidence—50 or 100

¹ Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal, vol. vii. inscriptions 1 and 2, on the third plate of Bhau Daji's paper. p. 63.

² Woodcuts of the interior of these two caves will be found in my *Eastern and Indian Architecture*, woodcuts 84, 85, and 86, and lithographic representations of them, plates iv. and v. of my *Rock Temples*, folio, London, 1846.

years between them, one way or the other. But even that does not concern us here, its direct bearing is only to show that it is anterior, probably to the extent of 50 or 100 years, to the inscription in the Zodiac Cave No. XVII. That inscription is most important for our present argument, because, when Bhau Daji's copy is compared with Mr. Burgess's photograph of that on Cave No. III. at Badami (Reports, vol. i. pl. xxxii.), they are found to be practically identical, in so far as the palæographical evidence is concerned. The alphabet, and the form of the letters, are the same, with only such differences as may arise from the one being an eye copy, the other an 'estampage,' and the geographical distance being 400 miles may also account for some slight differences; but it would require a very keen and practised eye to detect any of importance, or to say which is the oldest of the two. Now the great and cardinal fact is that the Badami inscription contains a date, "500 years from the Coronation of the Saka King," or in other words 578-9 A.D.

This Badami date is by far the most important discovery that has been made of late years for fixing the chronology of the architecture of the period. It is the cardinal point on which every discussion must hinge. Any attempt to fix the date of any cave without taking it into account is worthless.¹ We know exactly what the form of the character is in which it is written, and we know exactly what the architecture of the cave is in which it is found (Burgess, Reports, vol. i. plates xxiv. to xxxv.), and are consequently able to say what was before and what came after it; and with this knowledge I have no hesitation in asserting that Cave No. I. at Ajanta, is subsequent to Cave No. III. at Badami, consequently to A.D. 579. But it is just here that the argument between me and the Babu breaks down. He calls this an "opinion of mine." It is just such an opinion, however,

¹ I pointed out the value of this date in my original paper (Vol. XI. p. 160), but the Babu has an unpleasant habit of passing over "sub silentio" any facts that militate against his theories. Had he realized its importance, this paper would probably never have been written.

is that I have noticed that Henry the Seventh's "Unge" is more modern than "Wendish" although it runs as I would form, if any examples of "Unge" were polished out to me and I were asked for any testimony in any example of the "Wendish" form. The Babu does not see this, because he never heard of "Unge" being so used, and we cannot of course come to an understanding regarding it because one of us is speaking in a language the other does not understand. What the exact interval between the two cases may be, it is not so easy to determine, but certainly not less than twenty or thirty years.

Mr. Burgess p. 57 dates Cave XVII. at about A.D. 500, in which he is probably correct; but the difference in the architecture and the objects of Cave XVII. is so great that we can hardly allow less than seventy or eighty years; this on palaeographical and ethnological grounds bringing it almost to Cave III. at Balafré. But assuming this, the progress of the style of Cave I. is so great that it is difficult to believe that it could be accomplished within the thirty years the above theory assumes. The real difficulty is to get all one requires into the space. Probably by putting XVII. back some ten or fifteen years, and No. I. forward to a like extent, we may arrive more nearly at the exact truth. The paintings may have been—and probably were—executed some time after the events they were designed to represent.

Another point that tends to determine the age of this cave with tolerable precision is its position in the group. It certainly, from its locality, is the last excavated at that end of the series, and when we compare it with those next before it, and those opposite, at the other end, it seems impossible to escape the conviction that we are very near the age when cave-digging ceased to be the fashion, which, from various circumstances too long to enter upon here, we may assume to have been about 650 to 675 A.D.

As the Babu has so strong a leaning to palaeographic evidence, which he "considers much more authentic and less misleading, than"—what he is pleased to call—"aesthetic tests," it is a pity there is no important inscription in

Cave No. I. by which he could test the value of his theories. It is true he says, "No. I. has more than one painted inscription of the same character as the preceding group." Where are they to be found? I saw none, and I examined the cave with considerable attention. Dr. Bird saw none. Mr. Burgess devoted twenty-three closely printed quarto pages to the description of this cave, but mentions none.¹ It is true, however, that Dr. Bhau Daji on his third plate, p. 64, huddles together some eight or nine insignificant inscriptions, which he describes as "painted inscriptions on Caves Nos. I. II. and X.;" but which is in No. I., which in No. II., and which in No. X. he does not specify. As engraved they are all so much alike that, if they prove anything, it would be, that No. X., avowedly before the Christian era, was of the same age as Nos. I. and II., which are avowedly long after it, or *vice versâ*. If the Babu knows which belongs to Cave No. I., he ought to say so; or if he has any information not available to others, he ought to produce it. As the case at present stands, there is no palæographic evidence to show in the remotest degree what the age of this cave is, and certainly nothing that in the smallest degree invalidates the conclusions arrived at, from the style of the architecture, or that of its paintings and sculpture, which prove beyond a shadow of doubt, so far as I am capable of judging, that it was excavated in the first half of the seventh century of our era.

The second part of the task I have undertaken is infinitely more difficult than the first. Not that I think there is anything in the Babu's criticism that in the smallest degree invalidates what I advanced in my original paper; but the class of objections he puts forward are from their nature so indefinite, that it is almost impossible to return answers which will prove satisfactory. With the caves we had something tangible to go upon; but when it comes to questions of costume or likeness, or probabilities whether one or

¹ Since the above was in type, I have received from Mr. Burgess a letter dated Lanouli, 29th November, in which he says, in answer to my telegraphic inquiry, "There is no inscription, in Cave No. I. at Ajantâ, either cut or painted."

two embassies took place, or other events happened, we are evidently on a wide sea, from which it would require both skill and judgment to reach a port. When we venture into the hazy region of the politics of Persia and India in the seventh century, we must not look for a precision that would satisfy a conveyancer in Lincoln's Inn, and unless prepared to take a large and liberal view of matters, it would be better to leave them alone. Under such circumstances as we find, then existing, there is nothing so easy as to express doubts, and demand explanations. And, after all, such carping criticisms seldom lead to anything, and are generally confined to anonymous writers in third-class periodicals. They are so easy when there is no responsibility to produce something better. I cannot call to mind any instance of their being admitted into the publications of any scientific or literary society, unless it is to clear the space for the erection of some better structure, which is certainly not the case in this instance. However, as the Babu's lucubrations have been printed in our JOURNAL, I must say a few words, lest otherwise judgment may go against me by default.

First with regard to the name Pulakêsi. It was no invention of mine—it was suggested by Professor Nöldeke, who is, if not the best, at least one of the best Arabic scholars in Europe. It is no answer to him to repeat the various possible readings which he himself suggested, but rejected, after due consideration, in favour of the one he adopted. To this the Babu objects, as a matter of course—any one can do that; but has he anything to suggest in its place? If he has, he had better put it before the Professor, who, I have no doubt, will give him a reply. I hope it will not be such a crushing one as he received from Prof. Weber in the *Academy* of Nov. 15, 1879.

The giving of nicknames is a very ingenious device, a good deal resorted to in certain pleadings in some courts not in very high order; but never, so far as I know, in earnest scientific discussions. To call the principal person, in the so-called drinking scene, a "Bacchanal," certainly diverts the attention from the idea of his being a person of consequence; but it leaves untouched the question, why, being a foreigner

(Persian), his portrait appears four times as the principal person in the four most important points of the roof of a Buddhist Vihara in India. If he was only a Bacchanal, this seems to me strange.

In like manner, to call the messenger delivering a letter to the King, in the "Court scene" "The Ambassador," diverts attention from the fact that there are at least half a dozen ambassadors of the same rank in the place, and with their horses held outside. They are, in fact, grooms, or at least horsemen, of some sort, bringing a letter with the usual nuzzurana, from some king or potentate to some other, whoever he may be. They have no costume or state, nor any attendance that would lead any one to suspect that they were in any sense the *representatives* of the King who sent them.

The Babu cannot see any likeness in feature or costume between the Bacchanal and the Ambassadors. Nor can I. But I would not be distressed if I could not trace much likeness between the face of George the Fourth, as painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence, and that of a foreign office messenger, who arrived at the court of a foreign prince, after a long journey on horseback, wearied and travel-stained, in the costume of his profession. Nor would I be more surprised to find the state costume of Khùshrú and Shirín at Takht-i-Bostan did not resemble those of the Bacchanal, than I would be to find that the costume of any king and queen, in their robes of state, differed considerably from that they adopted when retired to their private apartments, and put on their dressing gowns and slippers. Surely such questions as these are not worthy of being treated seriously by grown-up men.

There is, however, one question which is perfectly legitimate, and which the Babu takes up in a proper spirit, and supports with sufficient references. It is that of the crimped streamers, or Banderoles, which I believed, and believe, belong exclusively to the Sassanian period. As Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua* is accessible to any one, it is easy to judge whether I am correct in asserting that the fillets in the first five

plates referred to, are only the ordinary Greek or Roman fillets usual on classical coins and statues. As we get near the Sassanian period (Plates IX. to XII) they get longer; but there are no true "crimped banderoles," such as are found on all the Sassanian sculptures in Persia, till we reach Plate XVI., where the Sassanian coins begin.

The works of Ker Porter, of Texier, and Flandin and Coste, are equally accessible, and if any one will take the trouble to study them, and realize what a true Sassanian crimped banderole is, as portrayed everywhere in Persia, I have no doubt that he will arrive at the conclusion that it is found only on Sassanian sculptures, Sassanian coins, and on the roof of Cave No. I. at Ajantá.

It surely can hardly be worth while noticing the objection that, as in Tabari there is "no allusion to a return embassy," the inference should be, that this very Irish correspondence began and ended with a single letter in one direction. As I read it, the whole context in Tabari shows that the relations between the Persian and Indian kings must have been long and intimate, and that many letters must have passed to and fro before such an incident could have occurred, as the one thus almost accidentally brought to our notice.

I have now, I hope, said enough to prove—what appears to me one of the most incontestable facts in the Cave Chronology of India—that Cave No. I. at Ajantá was excavated in the first half of the seventh century, and that consequently the paintings on the roof and walls cannot represent "Phases of Indian life 1800 to 2000 years ago," as Babu Rajendra persists in maintaining.

If this is so, it seems impossible that the persons represented on the paintings in the Cave can be either Bactrians or Assyrians—as these terms are usually understood, and there is nothing, so far as I can judge, in his paper to invalidate the conclusion I have arrived at that the figures on the roof do represent Khùshrú and Shrirín, and the "Court scene" on the walls, the delivery of a letter from that Persian Monarch to Pulakêsi, King of Mahârâshtra.

If these propositions are granted, I am quite willing to accept his conclusion, that "the intercourse between the Indians on the one hand, and the Persians, the Assyrians, and the Egyptians on the other, was probably more frequent in past times than it is now." But I would only ask, was the magniloquent announcement of such a truism worth all the pains and paper it has cost to bring it before the world? With regard to the long-extinct kingdoms of Egypt and Assyria, it is no doubt absolutely true; and with regard to Persia, it is a testimony in favour of the views I have just had the honour of laying before the Society, which I willingly accept.

JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. VI.—*On Sanskrit Texts Discovered in Japan.* By
Professor F. MAX MÜLLER.

It is probably in the recollection of some of the senior members of this Society how wide and deep an interest was excited in the year 1853 by the publication of Stanislas Julien's translation of the Life and Travels of Hiouen-thsang. The account given by an eye-witness of the religious, social, political, and literary state of India at the beginning of the seventh century of our era was like a rocket, carrying a rope to a whole crew of struggling scholars, on the point of being drowned in the sea of Indian chronology; and the rope was eagerly grasped by all, whether their special object was the history of Indian religion, or the history of Indian literature, architecture, or politics. While many books on Indian literature, published five-and-twenty years ago, are now put aside and forgotten, Julien's three volumes of Hiouen-thsang still maintain a fresh interest, and supply new subjects for discussion, as may be seen even in the last number of the Journal of your Society.

I had the honour and pleasure of working with Stanislas Julien, when he was compiling those large lists of Sanskrit and Chinese words which formed the foundation of his translation of Hiouen-thsang, and enabled him in his classical work, the *Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcire les noms Sanskrits* (1861), to solve a riddle which had puzzled Oriental scholars for a long time, viz. how it happened that the original

Sanskrit names had been so completely disguised and rendered almost unrecognizable in the Chinese translations of Sanskrit texts, and how they could be restored to their original form.

I had likewise the honour and pleasure of working with your late President, Professor H. H. Wilson, when, after reading Julien's works, he conceived the idea that some of the original Sanskrit texts of which the Chinese translations had been recovered might still be found in the monasteries of China. His influential position as President of your Society, and his personal relations with Sir John Bowring, then English Resident in China, enabled him to set in motion a powerful machinery for attaining his object; and if you look back some five-and-twenty years, you will find in your Journal a full account of the correspondence that passed between Professor Wilson, Sir J. Bowring, and Dr. Edkins, on the search after Sanskrit MSS. in the temples or monasteries of China.

On the 15th February, 1854, Professor Wilson writes from Oxford to Sir John Bowring:—

“I send you herewith a list of the Sanskrit works carried to China by Hwen Tsang in the middle of the seventh century, and in great part translated by him, or under his supervision, into Chinese. If any of them, *especially the originals*, should be still in existence, you would do good service to Sanskrit literature and to the history of Buddhism, by procuring copies.”

It is a well-known fact, that even long before the time of Hiouen-thsang, that is, long before the seventh century of our era, large numbers of Sanskrit MSS. had been exported to China. These literary exportations began as early as the first century A.D. When we read for the first time of Commissioners being sent to India by Ming-ti, the Emperor of China, the second sovereign of the Eastern Han dynasty, about 62 A.D., we are told that they returned to China with a white horse, carrying books and images.¹ And the account

¹ Beal, Travels of Buddhist Pilgrims, Introd. p. xxi; Chinese Repository, vol. x. No. 3, March, 1841.

proceeds to state that "these books still remain, and are revered and worshipped."

From that time, when Buddhism was first officially recognized in China,¹ there is an almost unbroken succession of importers and translators of Buddhist, in some cases of Brahmanic texts also, till we come to the two famous expeditions, the one undertaken by Fa-Hian in 400-415, the other by Hiouen-thsang, 629-645 A.D. Fa-Hian's Travels were translated into French by Abel Rémusat (1836), into English by Mr. Beal (1869). Hiouen-thsang's Travels are well known through Stanislas Julien's admirable translation. Of Hiouen-thsang we are told that he brought back from India no less than 520 fasciculi, or 657 separate works, which had to be carried by twenty-two horses.²

The earliest translators we know are those who worked under the Emperor Ming-ti, 62 A.D., viz. Kâsyapa Matanga (sometimes called Kâsyamatanga), and Tsu-fah-lan (Gobharana?).³ They had brought with them some Buddhist books of great importance. Their best known work is "The Sûtra of the 42 Sections," a kind of epitome of the Buddhist religion. Whether such a work ever existed either in Sanskrit or Pâli is extremely doubtful, and many difficulties would be removed, if we admitted, with M. Feer, that this so-called Sûtra of the 42 Sections was really the work of Kâsyapa Matanga and Gobharana⁴ themselves, who considered such an epitome of Buddhist doctrines, based on original texts, useful for their new converts in China. They translated, however, the Dasabhûmi-Sûtra, and the Lalita-Vistara, the legendary Life of Buddha (called Fo-pen-hing-king), and their translations enable us to assign to these works in Sanskrit a date prior to the beginning of our era.⁵

¹ See an account of the Introduction of Buddhism into China, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1856, August, p. 105. *Recherches sur l'origine des ordres religieux dans l'empire chinois, par Bazin.*

² Stan. Julien, *Pèlerins Bouddhistes*, vol. i. p. 296.

³ L. Feer, *Sutra en 42 articles*, p. xxvii.

⁴ Le Dhammapada, par F. Hù, suivi du Sutra en 42 articles, par Léon Feer, 1878, p. xxiv.

⁵ This first translation of the Lalita-Vistara seems unfortunately to be lost. It would have enabled us to see what the Life of Buddha was in the first century of the Christian era.

In 150 A.D. we hear of a famous translator, An-shi-kau, a native of Eastern Persia or Parthia, whose translations are still in existence.¹ Mr. Wylie considers Ansik to represent an original Arsak, and as An-shi-kau is reported to have been a royal prince, who made himself a mendicant and travelled to China, Mr. Wylie supposes that he was the son of one of the Arsacidae, Kings of Persia. Mr. Beal takes the name for a corruption of Asvaka or Assaka, Ἰππασίου.

In about 170 A.D. Chi-tsin is mentioned as the translator of the Nirvāṇa-Sūtra.

In 250 A.D. Chi-mang translated the "Rules of the Priesthood" from a MS. which is said to have come from the city of Pāṭali-putra (Patna).

In 260 A.D. Dharma-raksha, in Chinese Fa-hou, made a large collection of Buddhist and Brahmanic books, and with the help of other Shamans, is said to have translated no less than 165 texts, between the years 265-308. Among them there is a new version of the Lalita-Vistara (Pou-yao-king), which is in existence, a corrected translation of the Nirvāṇa-sūtra, and the Suvarṇaprabhā-sūtra.²

In 300 A.D. mention is made of a translation of the Vimalakīrti-sūtra (?), and the Saddharma pundarika (Fa-hwa).

This brings us to the times of the Emperor Yao-hsing (397-415), whose devotion to Buddhism induced him to secure the services of the learned translator Kumārajīva, and to send Fa-Hian to India to collect MSS.

In 460 A.D. we read of five Buddhists arriving in China from Ceylon by way of Tibet.³ These no doubt brought Pāli MSS. with them. Bodhidharma, too, the twenty-eighth Buddhist Patriarch, came from the South in 526 A.D., though not from Ceylon.

In 518, the famous traveller Sun-Yun was sent to India by the Queen Dowager of the Wei country in search of Buddhist books, and we gather from his Travels, which have been translated by Mr. Beal, that, after three years spent in

¹ See Journal of R.A.S. 1856, pp. 327, 332.

² Beal, *l.c.* p. xxiii.

³ Beal, *l.c.* p. xxxiii.

India, he returned to China with 175 volumes. During the Siu Dynasty, 589-619, the number of distinct Buddhist books translated into Chinese is said to have amounted to 1950.¹

That number was considerably increased afterwards, particularly by the famous Buddhist pilgrim Hiouen-thsang, who is said to have translated 740 works, forming 1335 books.

It was the publication of Hiouen-thsang's Travels, which roused the hopes of Professor Wilson that some of the old Sanskrit MSS. might still be discovered in China.

But though no pains were spared by Sir John Bowring to carry out Prof. Wilson's wishes, though he had catalogues sent to him from Buddhist libraries, and from cities where Buddhist compositions might be expected to exist, the results were disappointing, at least so far as Sanskrit texts were concerned. A number of interesting Chinese books, translated from Sanskrit by Hiouen-thsang and others, works also by native Chinese Buddhists, were sent to the library of the East India House; but what Professor Wilson and all Sanskrit scholars with him most desired, Sanskrit MSS., or copies of Sanskrit MSS., were not forthcoming. Professor Wilson showed me indeed one copy of a Sanskrit MS. that was sent to him from China, and, so far as I remember, it was the *Kāla-Kakra*,² which we know as one of the books translated from Sanskrit into Chinese. That MS., however, is no longer to be found in the India Office Library, though it certainly existed in the old East India House.

The disappointment at the failure of Professor Wilson's and Sir J. Bowring's united efforts was felt all the more keenly because neither Sanskrit nor Chinese scholars could surrender the conviction that, until a very short time since, Indian MSS. had existed in China. They had been seen by Europeans, such as Dr. Gutzlaff, the hard-working mis-

¹ A long list of Sanskrit texts translated into Chinese may be found in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1849, p. 353, seq., s.t. *Concordance Sinico-Sanskrite d'un nombre considérable de titres d'ouvrages Bouddhiques, recueillie dans un Catalogue Chinois de l'an 1306, par M. Stanislas Julien.*

² Csoma Körösi, *As. Res.* vol. xx. p. 488. *Journal Asiatique*, 1849, p. 356.

sionary in China, who in a paper, written shortly before his death, and addressed to Colonel Sykes (Journal R.A.S. 1856, p. 73), stated that he himself had seen Pāli MSS. preserved by Buddhist priests in China. Whether these MSS. were in Pāli or Sanskrit would matter little, supposing even that Dr. Gutzlaff could not distinguish between the two. He speaks with great contempt of the whole Buddhist literature. There was not a single priest, he says, capable of explaining the meaning of the Pāli texts, though some were interlined with Chinese. "A few works," he writes, "are found in a character originally used for writing the Pāli; and may be considered as faithful transcripts of the earliest writings of Buddhism. They are looked upon as very sacred, full of mysteries, and deep significations; and therefore as the most precious relics of the founder of their creed. With the letters of this alphabet the priests perform incantations¹ to expel demons, rescue souls from hell, bring down rain on the earth, remove calamities, etc. They turn and twist them in every shape, and maintain that the very demons tremble at the recitation of them."

This may account for the unwillingness of the priests to part with their old MSS., whether Sanskrit or Pāli, but it proves at the same time that they still exist, and naturally keeps up the hope that some day or other we may still get a sight of them.

Of course, it might be said that if MSS. did not last very long in India, neither would they do so in China. But even then, we might expect at least, that as in India the old MSS. were copied whenever they showed signs of decay, so they would have been in China. Besides, the climate of China is not so destructive as the heat and moisture of the climate of India. In India, MSS. seldom last over a thousand years. Long before that time paper made of vegetable substances decays, palm leaves and birch bark become brittle, and white ants often destroy what might have escaped the ravages of the climate. It was the duty, therefore, of Indian Rajahs to keep

¹ cf. Beal, Catalogue, p. 66.

a staff of librarians, who had to copy the old MSS. whenever they began to seem unsafe, a fact which accounts both for the modern date of most of our Sanskrit MSS. and for the large number of copies of the same text often met with in the same library.

The MSS. carried off to China were in all likelihood not written on paper, or whatever we like to call the material which Nearchus describes 'as cotton well beaten together,'¹ but on the bark of the birch tree or on palm leaves. The bark of trees is mentioned as a writing material used in India by Curtius;² and in Buddhist Sûtras, such as the *Karandavyûha* (p. 69), we actually read of *bhûrga*, birch, *mâsi*, ink, and *karama* (*kalam*), as the common requisites for writing. MSS. written on that material have long been known in Europe, chiefly as curiosities (I had to write many years ago about one of them, preserved in the Library of All Souls' College). Of late,³ however, they have attracted more serious attention, particularly since Dr. Bühler discovered in Kashmir old MSS. containing independent recensions of Vedic texts, written on birch bark. One of these, containing the whole text of the *Rig Veda Samhitâ*⁴ with accents, was sent to me, and though it had suffered a good deal, particularly on the margins, it shows that there was no difficulty in producing from the bark of the birch tree thousands and thousands of pages of the largest quarto or even folio size, perfectly smooth and pure, except for the small dark lines peculiar to the bark of that tree.

At the time of Hiouen-thsang, in the seventh century, palm leaves seem to have been the chief material for writing. He mentions a forest of palm trees (*Borassus flabelliformis*) near *Konkanapura* (the Western coast of the Dekhan), which was much prized on account of its supplying material for writing (vol. i. p. 202, and vol. iii. p. 148). At a later time, too, in 965, we read of Buddhist priests returning to

¹ The modern paper in Nepal is said to date from 500 years ago. Hodgson, *Essays*.

² M.M., *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 516.

³ Burnell, *South Indian Palæography*, 2nd ed. p. 84, *seq.*

⁴ See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. i., *Upanishads*, Introduction, p. lxxviii.

China with Sanskrit copies of Buddhist books written on palm leaves (peito).¹ If we can believe Hiouen-thsang, the palm leaf was used even so early as the first Buddhist Council,² for he says that Kasyapa then wrote the Pitakas on palm leaves (tāla), and spread them over the whole of India. In the Pāli *Gātakas*, *panna* is used in the sense of letter, but originally *parṇa* meant a wing, then a leaf of a tree, then a leaf for writing. *Patta*, also, which is used in the sense of a sheet, was originally *pattra*, a wing, a leaf of a tree. *Su-vannapatta*, a golden leaf to write on, still shows that the original writing material had been the leaves of trees, most likely of palm-trees.³ *Potthaka*, i.e. *pustaka*, book, likewise occurs in the Pāli *Gātakas*.

Such MSS., written on palm leaves, if preserved carefully and almost worshipped, as they seem to have been in China, ought to have survived to the present day, and they would certainly prove of immense value to the students of Buddhism, if they could still be recovered, whether in the original or even in later copies.

Being myself convinced of the existence of old Indian MSS. in China, I lost no opportunity, during the last five-and-twenty years, of asking any friends of mine who went to China to look out for these treasures, but—with no result!

Some years ago, however, Dr. Edkins, who had taken an active part in the search instituted by Prof. Wilson and Sir J. Bowring, showed me a book which he had brought from Japan, and which contained a Chinese vocabulary with Sanskrit equivalents and a transliteration in Japanese. The Sanskrit is written in that peculiar alphabet which we find in the old MSS. of Nepāl, and which in China has been further modified, so as to give it an almost Chinese appearance.

That MS. revived my hopes. If such a book was published in Japan, I concluded that there must have been a time when such a book was useful there, that is to say, when the Buddhists in Japan studied Sanskrit. Dr. Edkins kindly

¹ Beal's *Travels of Buddhist Pilgrims*, Introd. p. xlvii.

² *Pèlerins Bouddhistes*, vol. i. p. 158.

³ *Fausbøll*, *Dasaratha-jātaka*, p. 25.

七	サ ハタ ニ シヤ アヲ タナフ シヤ タ ソ シヤ ホ	ア シヤ キヤ ラハ シヤ タロ サ ラ ギヤ ラハ シヤ	シヤ シヤ チ キヤ シヤ ロ キ タ タラ キタ シヤ	金 シヤ バ ラメ シヤ ロ ハヤ シヤ ベ イ ヨ リヤ	ラシヤ ニ ヤ サ ハタ ナ アヲ タナフ ナ タ ニヤ
七	「賣	「赤	「銀	「珠	七
七	「彼	「及	「吠	「琉	
七	「妙	「及	「琉	「璃	

SPECIMEN PAGE OF THE JAPANESE EDITION
OF THE SUKHAVATĪVYŪHA-SŪTRA.

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered.

2. The second step is to gather relevant information and data.

3. The third step is to analyze the information and data.

4. The fourth step is to develop a solution or answer.

5. The fifth step is to implement the solution or answer.

6. The sixth step is to evaluate the results of the solution or answer.

7. The seventh step is to communicate the results of the solution or answer.

8. The eighth step is to reflect on the process and learn from the experience.

9. The ninth step is to apply the lessons learned to future problems or questions.

10. The tenth step is to continue to learn and grow as a professional.

11. The eleventh step is to stay current in your field.

12. The twelfth step is to seek out opportunities for growth and development.

13. The thirteenth step is to build a strong network of colleagues and mentors.

14. The fourteenth step is to take ownership of your work and career.

15. The fifteenth step is to stay motivated and committed to your goals.

16. The sixteenth step is to embrace change and adapt to new challenges.

17. The seventeenth step is to maintain a positive attitude and outlook.

18. The eighteenth step is to be open to feedback and criticism.

19. The nineteenth step is to be a team player and collaborate with others.

20. The twentieth step is to be a lifelong learner and never stop growing.

left the book with me, and though the Sanskrit portion was full of blunders, yet it enabled me to become accustomed to that peculiar alphabet in which the Sanskrit words are written.

While I was looking forward to more information from Japan, good luck would have it that a young Buddhist priest, Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio, came to me from Japan, in order to learn Sanskrit and Pāli, and thus to be able in time to read the sacred writings of the Buddhists in their original language, and to compare them with the Chinese and Japanese translations, now current in his country. After a time, another Buddhist priest, Mr. Kasawara, came to me for the same purpose, and both are now working very hard at learning Sanskrit. Japan is supposed to contain 34,388,300 inhabitants, all of whom, with the exception of about 100,000 followers of Shintô, are Buddhists, divided into ten principal sects, the sect to which Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio belongs being that of the Shinshiu. One of the first questions which I asked Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio, when he came to read Sanskrit with me, was about Sanskrit MSS. in Japan. I showed him the Chinese-Sanskrit-Japanese Vocabulary which Dr. Edkins had left with me, and he soon admitted that Sanskrit texts in the same alphabet might be found in Japan, or, at all events, in China. He wrote home to his friends, and, after waiting for some time, he brought me in December last a book which a Japanese scholar, Shuntai Ishikawa, had sent to me, and which he wished me to correct, and then to send back to him to Japan. I did not see at once the importance of the book. But when I came to read the introductory formula, *Evam mayâ srutam*, 'Thus by me it has been heard,' the typical beginning of the Buddhist Sûtras, I was delighted indeed. Here then was what I had so long been looking forward to—a Sanskrit text, carried from India to China, from China to Japan, written in the peculiar Nepalese alphabet, with a Chinese translation, and a transliteration in Japanese. Of course, it is a copy only, not an original MS., but copies presuppose originals at some time or other, and, such as it is, it is a first instalment, which tells us that we ought not

to despair, for where one of the long-sought-for literary treasures that were taken from India to China, and afterwards from China to Japan, has been discovered, others are sure to come to light.

We do not possess yet very authentic information on the ancient history of Japan, and on the introduction of Buddhism into that island. M. Léon de Rosny,¹ and the Marquis D'Hervey de Saint-Denys,² have given us some information on the subject, and I hope that Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio will soon give us a trustworthy account of the ancient history of his country, drawn from native authorities. What is told us about the conversion of Japan to Buddhism has a somewhat legendary aspect, and I shall only select a few of the more important facts, as they have been communicated to me by my Sanskrit pupil. Buddhism first reached Japan, not directly from China, but from Corea, which had been converted to Buddhism in the fourth century A.D. In the year 200 A.D., Corea had been conquered by the Japanese Empress Zingu, and the intercourse thus established between the two countries led to the importation of Buddhist doctrines from Corea to Japan. In the year 552 A.D. one of the Corean Kings sent a bronze statue of Buddha and many sacred books to the Court of Japan, and after various vicissitudes, Buddhism became the established religion of the island about 600 A.D. Japanese students were sent to China to study Buddhism, and they brought back with them large numbers of Buddhist books, chiefly translations from Sanskrit. In the year 640 A.D. we hear of a translation of the *Sukhavatîvyûha-mahâyâna-sûtra* being read in Japan. This is the title of the Sanskrit text now sent to me from Japan. The translation had been made by Kô Sô-gai, a native of Tibet, though living in India, 252 A.D., and we are told that there had been eleven other translations of the same text.³

Among the teachers of these Japanese students we find our

¹ *Le Bouddhisme dans l'extrême Orient*; *Revue Scientifique*, Décembre, 1879.

² *Journal Asiatique*, 1871, p. 386 *seq.*

³ Five of these translations were introduced into Japan, the others seem to have been lost in China. Hence the translations are spoken of as "the five in existence and the seven missing."

old friend Hiouen-thsang, whom the Japanese call Genziô. In the year 653 a Japanese priest, Dosho by name, studied under Genziô, adopted the views of the sect founded by him, the Hossô sect, and brought back with him to Japan a compilation of commentaries on the thirty verses of Vasubandha, written by Dharmapâla, and translated by Genziô. Two other priests, Chitsu and Chitatsu, likewise became his pupils, and introduced the famous Abhidharma-Kosha-sûtra into Japan, which had been composed by Vasubandha, and translated by Genziô. They seem to have favoured the Hinayâna, or the views of the Small Vehicle (Kushashin).

In the year 736 we hear of a translation of the Buddhâvatamsaka-vaipulya-sûtra, by Buddhahadra and others (317-419 A.D.), being received in Japan; likewise of a translation of the Saddharmapundarika by Kumâragîva.

And what is more important still, in the ninth century we are told that Kukai (died 835), the founder of the Shingon sect in Japan, was not only a good Chinese, but a good Sanskrit scholar also. Nay, one of his disciples, Shinnigo, in order to perfect his knowledge of Buddhist literature, undertook a journey not only to China, but to India, and died before he reached that country.

These short notices, which I owe chiefly to Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio, make it quite clear that we have every right to expect Sanskrit MSS., or, at all events, Sanskrit texts, in Japan, and the specimen which I have received encourages me to hope that some of these Sanskrit texts may be older than any which exist at present in any part of India.

The text which was sent to me bears the title of Sukhâvatî-vyûha-mahâyâna-sûtra.¹

This is a title well known to all students of Buddhist literature. Burnouf, in his *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme* (pp. 99-102),² gave a short account of this Sûtra, which enables us to see that the scene of the dialogue was laid at Râgagriha, and that the two speakers were Bhagavat and Ânanda.

¹ The MSS. vary between Sukhavatî and Sukhâvatî.

² See also *Lotus de la bonne Loi*, p. 267.

We saw before, in the historical account of Buddhism in Japan, that no less than twelve Chinese translations of a work, bearing the same title, were mentioned. The Chinese tell us at least of five translations which are still in existence.¹

Those of the Han and Wu dynasties (168–190 A.D.), we are told, were too diffuse, and those of the later periods, the T'ang and Sung dynasties, too literal. The best is said to be that by Kô Sô-gai, a priest of Tibetan descent, which was made during the early Wei dynasty, about 252 A.D. This may be the same which was read in Japan in 640 A.D.

The same Sûtra exists also in a Tibetan translation, for there can be little doubt that the Sûtra, quoted by Csoma Körösi (As. Res. vol. xx. p. 408) under the name of Amitâbhavyûha, is the same work. It occupies, as M. Léon Feer informs me, fifty-four leaves, places the scene of the dialogue at Râgagriha, on the mountain Grîdhra-kûta, and introduces Bhagavat and Ânanda as the principal speakers.

There are Sanskrit MSS. of the Sukhavatî-vyûha in your own Library, in Paris, at Cambridge, and at Oxford.

The following is a list of the MSS. of the Sukhavatî-vyûha, hitherto known :

1.) MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society, London (Hodgson Collection), No. 20. Sukhavatîvyûha-mahâyânasûtra, 65 leaves. Dated Samvat 934=A.D. 1814. It begins: *Namo dasadiganantâparyantalokadhâtupratishṭitebhyah*, etc. *Evam mayâ srutam ekasmin samaye Bhagavân Râgagrihe viharati sma*. It ends: *Sukhavatîvyûha-mahâyânasûtram samâptam*. Samvat 934, kârttikasudi 4, sampûrnam abhût. *Srîsuvârnapanârimahânagare Maitrîpûrimahâvihâre Srîvâkavagrâdâsa vagrâkâryasya Gayânanandasya ka sarvârthasiddheh*. (*Nepalese alphabet*.)

2.) MS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Collection Burnouf), No. 85; 64 leaves. It begins, after a preamble of five lines, *Evam mayâ srutam mekasmi samaye Bhagavân Râgagrihe viharati sma Grîdhra-kûte parvate mahatâ*

¹ Journal of the R.A.S. 1856, p. 319.

Bhikshusanghena sârdham. Dvâtrimsratâ Bhikshusahas-
raiḥ. It ends: Bhagavato mitâbhasya gunaparikirttanam
Bodhisattvâmaivaivartyabhûmipravesaḥ. Amitâbhavyuhapa-
rivarttaḥ. Sukhâvatîvyûhaḥ sampûrnaḥ. Iti Śrī Amitâ-
bhasya Sukhâvatîvyûha nâma mahâyânasûtram samâptam.¹
(*Devanâgarî alphabet.*)

3.) MS. of the Société Asiatique at Paris (Collection
Hodgson), No. 17; 82 leaves. (*Nepalese alphabet.*)²

4.) MS. of the University Library at Cambridge, No.
1368; 35 leaves. It begins with some lines of prose and
verse in praise of Amitâbha and Sukhavati, and then proceeds:
Evam mayâ srutam ekasmim samaye Bhagavân Râgagrîhe
nagare viharati sma, Gridhrakûtaparvate mahatâ Bhikshu-
sanghena sârdha, etc. It ends: iti śrîmad amitâbhasya
tathâgatasya Sukhâvatîvyûha - mahâyânasûtram samâptam.
(*Nepalese alphabet, modern.*)

5.) MS. given by Mr. Hodgson to the Bodleian Library,
Oxford (Hodgson 3). It begins with: Om namo ratnatra-
yâya. Om namaḥ sarvabuddhabodhisattvebhyaḥ, etc. Then
Evam mayâ srutam, etc. It ends with sukhâvatîvyûhamahâ-
yânasutram samâptam. (*Nepalese alphabet, modern.*)

But when I came to compare these Sanskrit MSS. with
the text, sent to me from Japan, though the title was the
same, I soon perceived that their contents were different.
While the text, as given in the ordinary Devanâgarî or
Nepalese MSS., fills about fifty to sixty leaves, the text of
the Sûtra, that reached me from Japan, would hardly occupy
more than eight or ten leaves.

I soon convinced myself that this MS. was not a text abbre-
viated in Japan, for this shorter text, sent to me from Japan,
corresponds in every respect with the Chinese Sûtra, trans-
lated by Mr. Beal in his *Catena*, pp. 378-383, and published
in your Journal, 1866, p. 136. No doubt the Chinese transla-
tion, on which Mr. Beal's translation is based, is not only free,
but displays the misapprehensions peculiar to many Chinese
renderings of Sanskrit texts, due to a deficient knowledge

¹ I owe this information to the kindness of M. Léon Feer at Paris.

² See Journal Asiatique, 3rd series, vol. iii. p. 316; vol. iv. p. 296-8.

either of Sanskrit or of Chinese on the part of the translators, perhaps also to the different genius of those two languages.

Yet, such as it is, there can be no doubt that it was meant to be a translation of the text now in my possession. Mr. Beal tells us that the translation he followed is that by Kumâragîva, the contemporary of Fa-Hian (400 A.D.), and that this translator omitted repetitions and superfluities in the text.¹ Mr. Edkins knows a translation, *s.t.* Wou-liang-sheu-king, made under the Han dynasty.² What is important is that in the Chinese translation of the shorter text the scene is laid, as in the Japanese Sanskrit text, at Srāvastī, and the principal speakers are Bhagavat and Sâriputra.

There is also a Tibetan translation of the short text, described by Csoma Körösi (As. Res. vol. xx. p. 439). Here, though the name of the scene is not mentioned, the speakers are Bhagavat and Sâriputra. The whole work occupies seven leaves only, and the names of the sixteen principal disciples agree with the Japanese text. The translators were Pragnâvarman, Sûrendra, and the Tibetan Lotsava Ya-shes-sde.

M. Feer informs me that there is at the National Library a Chinese text called O-mi-to-king, *i.e.* Amitâbha-sûtra. The scene is at Srāvastī, the speakers are Bhagavat and Sâriputra.

Another text at the National Library is called Ta-O-mi-to-king, *i.e.* Mahâ Amitâbha-sûtra, and here the scene is at Râgagriha.

There is besides, a third work, called Kwan-wou-liang-sheu-king, by Kiang-ling-ye-she, *i.e.* Kâlayasas, a foreigner of the West, who lived in China about 425 A.D.³

¹ J.R.A.S. 1866, p. 136.

² J.R.A.S. 1866, p. 136.

³ Beal, Catalogue, p. 23. J.R.A.S. 1856, p. 319. Beal, Catalogue, p. 77, mentions also an Amitâbha-sûtra-upadesa-sâstra, by Vasubandha, translated by Bodhiruki (Wou-liang-sheu-king-yeou-po-ti-she). There is an *Amitâbha Sûtra*, translated by Chi-Hien of the Wu period, *i.e.* 168-190 A.D., mentioned in Mr. Beal's Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka, p. 6. The next Sûtra, which he calls the Sûtra of measureless years, is no doubt the Amitâyus-Sûtra, Amitâyus being another name for Amitâbha (Fu-shwo-wou-liang-sheu-king, p. 6). See also Catalogue, pp. 99, 102.

We have, therefore, historical evidence of the existence of three Sûtras, describing Sukhavatî, or the Paradise of Amitâbha. We know two of them in Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan, one long, the other short. The third is known as yet in Chinese only.

Of the two Sanskrit texts, the one from Nepal, the other from Japan, the latter seems certainly the earlier. But even the fuller text must have existed at a very early time, supposing that it was translated during the second century, or, at all events, before 220 A.D.

The shorter text is first authenticated through the translation of Kumâragîva, about 400 A.D.; but if the views generally entertained as to the relative position of the longer and shorter Sûtras be correct, we may safely claim for our short Sûtra a date within the second century of our era.

What Japan has sent us is, therefore, a Sanskrit text, of which we had no trace before, which must have left India at least before 400 A.D., but probably before 200 A.D., and which gives us the original of that description of Amitâbha's Paradise, which formerly we knew in a Chinese translation only, which was neither complete nor correct.

The book sent to me was first published in Japan in 1773, by Ziômiô, a Buddhist priest. The Sanskrit text is intelligible, but full of inaccuracies, showing clearly that the editor did not understand Sanskrit, but simply copied what he saw before him. The same words occurring in the same line are written differently, and the Japanese transliteration simply repeats the blunders of the Sanskrit transcript.

There are two other editions of the same text, published in 1794 A.D. by another Japanese priest, named Hôgô. These are in the possession of Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio, and offered some help in correcting the text. One of them contains the text and three Chinese translations, one being merely a literal rendering, while the other two have more of a literary character and are ascribed to Kumâragîva (A.D. 400), and Hiouen-thsang (A.D. 648).

Lastly, there is another book by the same Hôgô, in 4 vols., in which an attempt is made to give a grammatical analysis

of the text. This, however, as Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio informs me, is very imperfect.

I have to-day brought with me the Japanese Sanskrit text, critically restored, and a literal translation into English, to which I have added a few notes.

TRANSLATION.

Adoration to the Omniscient.

This is what I have heard. At one time the Blessed (Bhagavat, *i.e.* Buddha) dwelt at *Srāvastī*,¹ in the *Geta-grove*, in the garden of *Anāthapīṇḍaka*, together with² a large company of *Bhikshus* (mendicants), viz. with thirteen hundred *Bhikshus*, all of them acquainted with the five kinds of knowledge,³ elders, great disciples,⁴ and *Arhats*,⁵ such as *Sāriputra*, the elder, *Mahāmaudgalyāyana*, *Mahākāśyapa*, *Mahākapphina*, *Mahākātyāyana*, *Mahākaushhila*, *Revata*, *Sudīpanthaka*, *Nanda*, *Ānanda*, *Rāhula*, *Gavāmpati*, *Bharadvāga*, *Kālodāyin*, *Vakkula*, and *Aniruddha*.⁶ He dwelt together with these and many other great disciples, and together with many noble-minded *Bodhisattvas*, such as *Maṅgusrī*, the prince, the *Bodhisattva Agita*, the *Bodhisattva Gandhahastin*, the *Bodhisattva Nityodyukta*, the *Bodhisattva Anikshiptadhura*. He dwelt together with them and many other noble-minded *Bodhisattvas*, and with *Sakra*, the *Indra* or *King*⁷ of the *Devas*, and with *Brahman Sahāmpati*. With these and many other hundred thousands of *Nayutas*⁸ of sons of the gods, *Bhagavat* dwelt at *Srāvastī*.

Then *Bhagavat* addressed the honoured *Sāriputra* and said: O *Sāriputra*, after you have passed from here over a hundred thousand *Kotis* of *Buddha-countries* there is in the Eastern part a *Buddha-country*, a world called *Sukhavatī* (the happy country). And there a *Tathāgata*, called *Amitāyus*, an *Arhat*, fully enlightened, dwells now, and remains, and supports himself, and teaches the Law.⁹

Now what do you think, *Sāriputra*, for what reason is that world called *Sukhavatī* (the happy)? In that world *Sukhavatī*, O *Sāriputra*, there is neither bodily nor mental pain for living beings. The sources of happiness are in-

numerable there. For that reason is that world called Sukhavatî (the happy).

And again, O Sâriputra, that world Sukhavatî is adorned with seven terraces, with seven rows of palm-trees, and with strings of bells.¹⁰ It is inclosed on every side,¹¹ beautiful, brilliant with the four gems, viz. gold, silver, beryl, and crystal.¹² With such arrays of excellences peculiar to a Buddha-country is that Buddha-country adorned.

And again, O Sâriputra, in that world Sukhavatî there are lotus lakes, adorned with the seven gems, viz. gold, silver, beryl, crystal, red pearls, diamonds, and corals as the seventh. They are full of water, which possesses the eight good qualities,¹³ they have smooth bathing places, they are free from crows,¹⁴ (or so full that crows may drink there), covered with golden sand, and of vast extent. And in these lotus lakes there are all around on the four sides four stairs, beautiful and brilliant with the four gems, viz. gold, silver, beryl, and crystal. And on every side of these lotus lakes gem trees are growing, beautiful and brilliant with the seven gems, viz. gold, silver, beryl, crystal, red pearls, diamonds, and corals, as the seventh. And in those lotus lakes lotus flowers are growing, blue, blue-coloured, of blue splendour, blue to behold; yellow, yellow-coloured, of yellow splendour, yellow to behold; red, red-coloured, of red splendour, red to behold; white, white-coloured, of white splendour, white to behold; beautiful, beautifully-coloured, of beautiful splendour, beautiful to behold, and in circumference as large as the wheel of a chariot.

And again, O Sâriputra, in that Buddha-country there are heavenly musical instruments always played on, and the earth is lovely and of golden colour. And in that Buddha-country a flower rain of heavenly Mândârava blossoms pours down three times every day, and three times every night. And the beings who are born there worship before their morning meal¹⁵ a hundred thousand Kotis of Buddhas by going to other worlds; and having showered a hundred thousand of Kotis of flowers upon each Tathâgata, they return to their own world in time for the afternoon rest.¹⁶ With such

arrays of excellences peculiar to a Buddha-country is that Buddha-country adorned.

And again, O Sâriputra, there are in that Buddha-country swans, curlews,¹⁷ and peacocks. Three times every night, and three times every day, they come together and perform a concert, each uttering his own note. And from them thus uttering proceeds a sound proclaiming the five virtues, the five powers, and the seven steps leading towards the highest knowledge.¹⁸ When the men there hear that sound, remembrance of Buddha, remembrance of the Law, remembrance of the Assembly, rises in their mind.

Now, do you think, O Sâriputra, that these are beings who have entered into the nature of animals (birds, etc.)? This is not to be thought of. The very name of hells is unknown in that Buddha-country, and likewise that of (descent into) animal natures and of the realm of Yama (the four apâyas).¹⁹ No, these tribes of birds have been made on purpose by the Tathâgata Amitâyus, and they utter the sound of the Law. With such arrays of excellences, etc.

And again, O Sâriputra, when those rows of palm-trees and strings of bells in that Buddha-country are moved by the wind, a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds from them. Yes, O Sâriputra, as from a heavenly musical instrument consisting of a hundred thousand Kotis of sounds, when played by Âryas, a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds, a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds from those rows of palm-trees and strings of bells moved by the wind. And when the men there hear that sound, reflection on Buddha arises in their body, reflection on the Law, reflection on the Assembly. With such arrays of excellences, etc.

Now what do you think, O Sâriputra, for what reason is that Tathâgata called Amitâyus? The length of life (âyus), O Sâriputra, of that Tathâgata and of those men there is immeasurable (amita). Therefore is that Tathâgata called Amitâyus. And ten Kalpas have passed, O Sâriputra, since that Tathâgata awoke to perfect knowledge.

And what do you think, O Sâriputra, for what reason is that Tathâgata called Amitâbhâs? The splendour (âbhâs),

O Sâriputra, of that Tathâgata is unimpeded over all Buddha-countries. Therefore is that Tathâgata called Amitâbhâs.

And there is, O Sâriputra, an innumerable assembly of disciples with that Tathâgata, purified and venerable persons, whose number it is not easy to count. With such arrays of excellences, etc.

And again, O Sâriputra, of those beings also who are born in the Buddha-country of the Tathâgata Amitâyus as purified Bodhisattvas, never to return again and bound by one birth only, of those Bodhisattvas also, O Sâriputra, the number is not easy to count, except they are reckoned as infinite in number.²⁰

Then again all beings, O Sâriputra, ought to make fervent prayer for that Buddha-country. And why? Because they come together there with such excellent men. Beings are not born in that Buddha-country of the Tathâgata Amitâyus as a reward and result of good works performed in this present life.²¹ No, whatever son or daughter of a family shall hear the name of the blessed Amitâyus, the Tathâgata, and having heard it, shall keep it in mind, and with thoughts undisturbed shall keep it in mind for one, two, three, four, five, six or seven nights, that son or daughter of a family, when he or she comes to die, then that Amitâyus, the Tathâgata, surrounded by an assembly of disciples and followed by a host of Bodhisattvas, will stand before them at their hour of death, and they will depart this life with tranquil minds. After their death they will be born in the world Sukhavatî, in the Buddha-country of the same Amitâyus, the Tathâgata. Therefore then, O Sâriputra, having perceived this cause and effect,²² I with reverence say thus, Every son and every daughter of a family ought to make with their whole mind fervent prayer for that Buddha-country.

And now, O Sâriputra, as I here at present glorify that world, thus in the East, O Sâriputra, other blessed Buddhas, led by the Tathâgata Akshobhya, the Tathâgata Merudhvaga, the Tathâgata Mahâmeru, the Tathâgata Meruprabhâsa, and the Tathâgata Mangudhvaga, equal in number to the sand of

the river Gangâ, comprehend their own Buddha-countries in their speech, and then reveal them.²³ Accept this repetition of the Law, called the "Favour of all Buddhas," which magnifies their inconceivable excellences.

Thus also in the South, do other blessed Buddhas, led by the Tathâgata Kândrasûryapradîpa, the Tathâgata Yasa/prabha, the Tathâgata Mahârkiskandha, the Tathâgata Merupradîpa, the Tathâgata Anantavîrya, equal in number to the sand of the river Gangâ, comprehend their own Buddha-countries in their speech, and then reveal them. Accept, etc.

Thus also in the West do other blessed Buddhas, led by the Tathâgata Amitâyus, the Tathâgata Amitaskandha, the Tathâgata Amitadhvaḡa, the Tathâgata Mahâprabha, the Tathâgata Mahâratnaketu, the Tathâgata Suddharasmi-prabha, equal in number to the sand of the river Gangâ, comprehend, etc.

Thus also in the North do other blessed Buddhas, led by the Tathâgata Mahârkiskandha, the Tathâgata Vaisvânaranirghosha, the Tathâgata Dundubhisvaranirghosha, the Tathâgata Dushpradharsha, the Tathâgata Âdityasambhava, the Tathâgata Galeniprabha (*Gvalanaprabha* ?), equal in number to the sand, etc.

Thus also in the Nadir do other blessed Buddhas, led by the Tathâgata Simha, the Tathâgata Yasas, the Tathâgata Yasa/prabhâva, the Tathâgata Dharma, the Tathâgata Dharmadhara, the Tathâgata Dharinadhvaḡa, equal in number to the sand, etc.

Thus also in the Zenith do other blessed Buddhas, led by the Tathâgata Brahmaghosha, the Tathâgata Nakshatrarâḡa, the Tathâgata Indraketurdhvagarâḡa, the Tathâgata Gandhottama, the Tathâgata Gandhaprabhâsa, the Tathâgata Mahârkiskandha, the Tathâgata Ratnakusumasampushpitagâtra, the Tathâgata Sâlendrarâḡa, the Tathâgata Ratnotpalasrî, the Tathâgata Sarvâdarsa, the Tathâgata Sumerukalpa, equal in number to the sand, etc.

Now what do you think, O Sâriputra, for what reason is that repetition of the Law called the Favour of all Buddhas ? Every son or daughter of a family who shall hear the name

of that repetition of the Law and retain in their memory the names of those blessed Buddhas, will all be favoured by the Buddhas, and will never return again, being once in possession of the transcendent true knowledge. Therefore, then, O Sâriputra, believe,²¹ accept, and long for me and those blessed Buddhas!

Whatever sons or daughters of a family shall make mental prayer for the Buddha-country of that blessed Amitâyus, the Tathâgata, or is making it now or has made it formerly, all these will never return again, being once in possession of the transcendent true knowledge. They will be born in that Buddha-country, have been born, or are being born now. Therefore, then, O Sâriputra, mental prayer is to be made for that Buddha-country by faithful sons and daughters of a family.

And as I at present magnify here the inconceivable excellences of those blessed Buddhas, thus, O Sâriputra, do those blessed Buddhas magnify my own inconceivable excellences.

A very difficult work has been done by Sâkyamuni, the sovereign of the Sâkyas. Having obtained the transcendent true knowledge in this world Saha, he taught the Law which all the world is reluctant to accept, during this corruption of the present Kalpa, during this corruption of mankind, during this corruption of belief, during this corruption of life, during this corruption of passions.

This is even for me, O Sâriputra, an extremely difficult work that, having obtained the transcendent true knowledge in this world Saha, I taught the Law which all the world is reluctant to accept, during this corruption of mankind, of belief, of passion, of life, and of this present Kalpa.

Thus spoke Bhagavat joyful in his mind. And the honourable Sâriputra, and the Bhikshus and Bodhisattvas, and the whole world with the gods, men, evil spirits and genii, applauded the speech of Bhagavat.²⁵

This is the Mahâyânasûtra
called Sukhavatîvyûha.

This Sûtra sounds to us, no doubt, very different from the original teaching of Buddha. And so it is. Nevertheless it is the most popular and most widely read Sûtra in Japan, and the whole religion of the great mass of the people may be said to be founded on it. "Repeat the name of Amitâbha as often as you can, repeat it particularly in the hour of death, and you will go straight to Sukhavati and be happy for ever;" this is what Japanese Buddhists are asked to believe, this is what they are told was the teaching of Buddha. There is one passage in our Sûtra which seems even to be pointedly directed against the original teaching of Buddha. Buddha taught that as a man soweth so shall he reap, and that by a stock of good works accumulated on earth, the way is opened to higher knowledge and higher bliss. Our Sûtra says No; not by good works done on earth, but by a mere repetition of the name of Amitâbha is an entrance gained into the land of bliss. This is no better than what later Brahmanism teaches, viz. "Repeat the name of Hari or of Krishna, and you will be saved." It is no better than what even some Christian teachers are reported to teach. It may be that in a lower stage of civilization even such teaching has produced some kind of good.¹ But Japan is surely ripe for better things. Is it not high time that the millions who live in Japan, and profess a faith in Buddha, should be told that this doctrine of Amitâbha and all the Mahâyâna doctrine is a secondary form of Buddhism, a corruption of the pure doctrine of the Royal Prince, and that, if they really mean to be Buddhists, they should return to the words of Buddha, as they are preserved to us in the old Sûtras? Instead of depending, as they now do, on Chinese translations, not always accurate, of degraded and degrading Mahâyâna tracts, why should they not have Japanese translations of the best portions of Buddha's real doctrine, which would elevate their character, and give them a religion of which they need not be ashamed? There are Chinese translations of some of the better portions of the Sacred Writings of

¹ See H. Yule, *Marco Polo*, 2nd ed. vol. i. pp. 441-443.

Buddhism. They exist in Japan too, as may be seen in that magnificent collection of the Buddhist Tripitaka which was sent from Japan as a present to the English Government, and of which Mr. Beal has given us a very useful Catalogue. But they are evidently far less considered in Japan than the silly and mischievous stories of Amitâbha and his Paradise.

I hope that Mr. Bunyio Nanjio and Mr. Kasawara, if they diligently continue their study of Sanskrit and Pâli, will be able to do a really great and good work, after their return to Japan. And if more young Buddhist priests are coming over, I shall always, so far as my other occupations allow it, be glad to teach them, and to help them in their unselfish work. There is a great future in store, I believe, for those Eastern Islands, which have been called prophetically "the England of the East," and to purify and reform their religion, that is, to bring it back to its original form, is a work that must be done before anything else can be attempted.

In return, I hope that they and their friends in Japan, and in Corea and China too, will do all they can to discover, if possible, some more ancient Sanskrit texts, and send them over to us. A beginning, at all events, has been made, and if the members of this Society, who have friends in China or in Japan, will help, if H. E. the Japanese Minister, Mori Arinori, who has honoured us by his presence to-day, will lend us his powerful assistance, I have little doubt that the dream which passed before the mind of your late President may still become a reality, and that some of the MSS. which, beginning with the beginning of our era, were carried from India to China, Corea, and Japan, may return to us, whether in the original or in copies, like the one sent to me by Mr. Shuntai Ishikawa.

With the help of such MSS. we shall be able all the better to show to those devoted students who from the extreme East have come to the extreme West in order to learn to read their sacred writings in the original Sanskrit or Pâli, what difference there is between the simple teaching of

Buddha and the later developments and corruptions of Buddhism. Buddha himself, I feel convinced, never knew the names of Amitâbha, Avalokitesvara, or Sukhavatî. Then how can a nation call itself Buddhist whose religion consists chiefly in a belief in a divine Amitâbha and his son Avalokitesvara, and in a hope of eternal life in the paradise of Sukhavatî?

NOTES.

¹ Srāvastî, capital of the Northern Kosalas, residence of King Prasenajit. It was in ruins when visited by Fa-Hian (init. V. Saec.); not far from the modern Fizabad. Cf. Burnouf, Introduction, p. 22.

² Sârdha, with, the Pâli saddhim. Did not the frequent mention of 1,200 and a half, i.e. 1,250, 1,300 and a half, i.e. 1350, persons accompanying Buddha arise from a misunderstanding of sârdha, meaning originally 'with a half'?

³ Abhiṣṇânâbhiṣṇâtaiḥ. The Japanese text reads abhiṣṇâtâbhâṣṇâtaiḥ, i.e. abhiṣṇâtâbhiṣṇâtaiḥ. If this were known to be the correct reading, we should translate it by 'known by known people,' *notus a viris notis*, i.e. well-known, famous. Abhiṣṇâta in the sense of known, famous, occurs in Lalita-Vistara, p. 25, and the Chinese translators adopted that meaning here. Again, if we preferred the reading abhiṣṇânâbhiṣṇâtaiḥ, this too would admit of an intelligible rendering, viz. known or distinguished by the marks or characteristics, the good qualities, that ought to belong to a Bhikshu. But the technical meaning is 'possessed of a knowledge of the five abhiṣṇâs.' It would be better in that case to write abhiṣṇâtâbhiṣṇânaiḥ, but no MSS. seem to support that reading. The five abhiṣṇâs or abhiṣṇânas which an Arhat ought to possess are the divine sight, the divine hearing, the knowledge of the thoughts of others, the remembrance of former existences, and magic power. See Burnouf, Lotus, Appendice, No. xiv. The larger text of the Sukhavatîvyûha has abhiṣṇânâbhiṣṇânaiḥ, and afterwards abhiṣṇâtâbhiṣṇânaiḥ. The position of the participle as the uttara-pada in such compounds as abhiṣṇânâbhiṣṇâtaiḥ is common in Buddhist Sanskrit.

⁴ Mahârâvaka, the great disciples, properly the eighty principal disciples.

⁵ Arhadbhiḥ. I have left the correct Sanskrit form, because the Japanese text clearly gives the termination adbhiḥ. Hôgô's text has the more usual form arhantaiḥ. The change of the old classical arhat into the Pâli arahana, and then back into Sanskrit arhanta, arahanta, and at last arihanta, with the meaning of 'destroyer of the enemies,' i.e. the passions, shows very clearly the different stages through which Sanskrit words pass in the different phases of Buddhist Literature. In Tibet, in Mongolia, and in China, Arhat is translated by 'destroyer of the enemy.' See Burnouf, Lotus, p. 287, Introduction, p. 296. Arhat is the title of the Bhikshu on reaching the fourth degree of perfection. Cf. Sûtra of the 42 Sections, cap. 2. Clemens of Alexandria (d. 220) speaks of the *Scapula* who worshipped a pyramid erected over the relics of a god. Is this a translation of Arhat, as Lassen (De nom. Ind. philosoph. in Rhein Museum, vol. i. p. 187)

and Burnouf (Intro. p. 295) supposed, or a transliteration of Samana? Clemens also speaks of *Sevral* (Stromat. p. 539, Potter).

⁶ Names of Disciples in Sanskrit, Pāli, Chinese, Tibetan, and Japanese MSS. Beal, J.R.A.S. 1866, p. 140:

JAPANESE MS.	SANSKRIT. (Burnouf, Lotus, p. 1).	CHINESE. (Beal, Catena, p. 378).	TIBETAN.	PĀLI.
1 Śāriputra	Śāriputra	Śāriputra	Sharihi-bu	Sariputta
2 Mahāmaudgal- yāyana	Maudgalyāyana	Maudgalyāyana	Mongal-gyi-bu	Moggallāna
3 Mahākāśyapa	Kāśyapa	Kāśyapa	Hodsrungs- -ch'hen-po	Kassapa
4 Mahākapphina	Kapphina	Kapphina (?)	Kātyāhi-bu	Kappina
5 Mahākātyāyana	Kātyāyana	Kātyāyana	Kapina	Kakkāyana
6 Mahākauśītīla	Kauśītīla	Gokira	Gsus-poch'he	
7 Revata	Revata	Revata	Nam-gru	Revata
8 Suddhipanthaka (Sudi, MS.)	(Mahāpantha- ka?)	Śrutavimsati- koti	Lam-p'hran- -bstan	
9 Nanda		Nanda	Dgah-vo	Nanda
10 Ānanda		Ānanda	Kundgahvo	Ānanda
11 Rāhula	Rāhula	Rāhula.	Sgra-gchan- -hdsin	Rāhula (Kumāra)
12 Gavāmpati	Gavāmpati	Gavāmpati (Pindoda; Pindola?)	Balang-bdag	
13 Bharadvāja	Bharadvāja	Bharadvāja	Bharadhwaja	
14 Kālodayin		Kālāditya	Hch'har-byed- -nagpo	Kāla (tthera)
15 Vakkula		Vakula	Vakula	
16 Aniruddha	Aniruddha	Aniruddha	Mahgags-pa	Anuruddha (tthera)

⁷ Indra, the old Vedic god, has come to mean simply lord, and in the *Kānda Paritta* (Journal Asiatique, 1871, p. 220) we actually find Asurinda, the Indra or Lord of the Asuras.

⁸ The numbers in Buddhist Literature, if they once exceed a *Koī* or *Koī*, *i.e.* ten millions, become very vague, nor is their value always the same. *Ayuta*, *i.e.* a hundred *Koīs*; *Niyuta*, *i.e.* a hundred *Ayutas*; and *Nayuta*, *i.e.* 1 with 22 zeros, are often confounded, nor does it matter much so far as any definite idea is concerned which such numerals convey to our mind.

⁹ *Tishtiati dhriyate yāpayati dharmaṃ ka desayati*. This is evidently an idiomatic phrase, for it occurs again and again in the Nepalese text of the *Sukhavatīvyūha* (MS. 26b, l. 1. 2; 55a, l. 2, etc.). If it is right, it seems to mean, he stands there, holds himself, supports himself, and teaches the law. Burnouf translates the same phrase by, "ils se trouvent, vivent, existent" (Lotus, p. 354). On *yāpeti* in Pāli, see Fausböll, *Dasaratha-jātaka*, pp. 26, 28; and *yāpana* in Sanskrit.

¹⁰ *Kiṅkiṇīgāla*. The texts read *kaṅkaṇagalais ka* and *kaṅkaṇīgālais ka*, and again later *kaṅkaṇīgālanām* (also *lū*) and *kaṅkaṇīgālānām*. Mr. Beal translates from Chinese, "seven rows of exquisite curtains," and again, "gemmous curtains." First of all it seems clear that we must read *gāla*, net, web, instead of *gala*. Secondly, *kaṅkana*, bracelet, gives no sense, for what could be the meaning of nets or strings of bracelets? I prefer to read *kiṅkiṇīgāla*, nets or strings or rows of bells. Such rows of bells served for ornamenting a garden, and it may be said of them that, if moved by the wind, they give forth certain sounds. In the commentary on *Dhammapada* 30, p. 191, we meet with *kiṅkinigāla*, from which likewise the music proceeds; see Childers, *s.v. gāla*. In the MS. of the Nepalese *Sukhavatīvyūha* (R.A.S.), p. 39a, l. 4, I likewise find *svaranarata-kiṅkiṇīgālāni*, which settles the matter, and shows how little confidence we can place in the Japanese texts.

¹¹ *Anuparikkāṭṭha*, enclosed: see *parikkāṭṭha* in Childers' Dict.

¹² The four and seven precious things in Pāli are according to Childers':

1. <i>suvarāṇa</i> ,	gold.
2. <i>rajata</i> ,	silver.
3. <i>māṇi</i> ,	pearls.
4. <i>maṇi</i> ,	gems as <i>sapphira</i> , <i>ruby</i> .
5. <i>vaṭṭiyaṇa</i> ,	cat's eye.
6. <i>vaṭṭiya</i> ,	diamond.
7. <i>paṭṭama</i> ,	coral.

Here Childers translates cat's eye: but *s.c.* *vaṭṭiyaṇa*, he says, a precious stone, perhaps lapis lazuli.

In Sanskrit (Burnouf, *Lect.* p. 300):

1. <i>suvarāṇa</i> ,	gold.
2. <i>rajata</i> ,	silver.
3. <i>vaṭṭiyaṇa</i> ,	lapis lazuli.
4. <i>sphatika</i> ,	crystal.
5. <i>śākhamaṇi</i> ,	red pearls.
6. <i>amaraṇiṭṭha</i> ,	diamond.
7. <i>mudragava</i> ,	coral.

Julien (*Pélerin's Buddhismes*, vol. iii. p. 482) gives the following list:

1. <i>sphatika</i> ,	rock crystal.
2. <i>vaṭṭiyaṇa</i> ,	lapis lazuli.
3. <i>amaraṇiṭṭha</i> ,	coralline.
4. <i>mudragava</i> ,	amber.
5. <i>padmarāga</i> ,	ruby.

Vaidūrya (or *Vaidūrya*) is mentioned in the *Tathāratagunagūṇānāntinyaviśāyāvatāranirdeśa* (Wassilief, p. 161) as a precious stone which, if placed on green cloth, looks green, if placed on red cloth, red. The fact that *vaidūrya* is often compared with the colour of the eyes of a cat, would seem to point to the cat's eye (see Borsook's Engl. San-skrit Dictionary, vol. iii. preface, p. ix), certainly not to lapis lazuli. Cat's eye is a kind of chalcedony. I see, however, that *vaidūrya* has been recognized as the original of the Greek *βήρυλλος*, a very ingenious conjecture, either of Weber's or of Pott's, considering that lingual *d* has a sound akin to *r*, and *ry* may be changed to *ly* and *ll* (Weber, *Omina*, p. 326). The Persian *billaur* or *ballūr*, which Skeat gives as the etymon of *βήρυλλος*, is of Arabic origin, means crystal, and could hardly have found its way into Greek at so early a time.

¹³ *Purobhaktena*. The text is difficult to read, but it can hardly be doubtful that *purobhaktena* corresponds to Pāli *purebhaddam*, *i.e.* before the morning meal, opposed to *paṭṭhābhaddam*, after the noonday meal, *i.e.* in the afternoon. See Childers, *s.c.* *Pūrvabhaktikā* is the first repast, as Prof. Cowell informs me.

¹⁴ *Kākāpeya*. One text reads *Kākāpeya*, the other *Kākāpeya*. It is difficult to choose. The more usual word is *kākāpeya*, which is explained by Pāṇini ii. 1, 33. It is uncertain, however, whether *kākāpeya* is meant as a laudatory or as a depreciatory term. Bochtlingk takes it in the latter sense, and translates *nadī kākāpeyā*, by a shallow river that could be drunk up by a crow. *Tārānātha* takes it in the former sense, and translates *nadī kākāpeyā*, as a river so full of water that a crow can drink it without bending its neck (*kākair anatakandharaiḥ piyate; pūrṇodakutvena prasaṁsyē kākaiḥ pere nadyādaṁ*). In our passage *kākāpeya* must be a term of praise, and we therefore could only render it by "ponds so full of water that crows could drink from them." But why should so well known a word as *kākāpeya* have been spelt *kākāpeya*, unless it was done intentionally? And if intentionally, what was it intended for? We must remember that Pāṇini ii. 1, 42 schol. teaches us how to form the word *tirthakāka*, a crow at a tirtha, which means a person in a wrong place. It would seem therefore that crows were considered out of place at a tirtha or bathing place, either because they were birds of ill omen, or because they defiled the water. From that point of view, *kākāpeya* would mean a pond not visited by crows, free from crows.

¹⁵ The eight good qualities of water are limpidity, purity, refreshing coolness, sweetness, softness, fertilizing qualities, calmness, power of preventing famine, productiveness. See Beal, *Catena*, p. 379.

¹⁶ Divā vihārāya, for the noonday rest, the *siesta*. See Childers, *s.v.* vihāra.

¹⁷ Krauñākā. Snipe, curlew. Is it meant for Kuravika, or Karavika, a fine-voiced bird? or for Kalavinka, Pāli Kalavika? See Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 566. I see, however, the same birds mentioned together elsewhere, as hamsakrauñkama-yūrasukaśālikakokila, etc. On mayūra see Mahāv. *Introd.* p. xxxix; Rig V. I. 191, 14.

¹⁸ Indriyabalabodhyaṅgasabda. These are technical terms, but their meaning is not quite clear. Spence Hardy, in his *Manual*, p. 498, enumerates the five indrayas, viz. 1) sardhāwa, purity (probably śraddhā, faith), 2) wiraya, persevering exertion (vīrya), 3) sati or smirti, the ascertainment of truth (smṛiti), 4) samādhi, tranquillity, 5) pragnāwa, wisdom (pragñā).

The five balayas (bala), he adds, are the same as the five indrayas.

The seven bowdyānga (bodhyaṅga) are according to him : 1) śīhi or smirti, the ascertainment of the truth by mental application, 2) dharmawicha, the investigation of causes, 3) wiraya, persevering exertion, 4) prīti, joy, 5) passadhi, or prasrabdhi, tranquillity, 6) samādhi, tranquillity in a higher degree, including freedom from all that disturbs either body or mind, 7) upekshā, equanimity.

It will be seen from this that some of these qualities or excellences occur both as indriyas and bodhyangas, while balas are throughout identical with indriyas.

Burnouf, however, in his *Lotus*, gives a list of five balas (from the Vocabulaire Pentaglotte) which correspond with the five indriyas of Spence Hardy, viz. śraddhā-bala, power of faith, vīrya-bala, power of vigour, smṛiti-bala, power of memory, samādhi-bala, power of meditation, pragñā-bala, power of knowledge. They precede the seven bodhyangas both in the *Lotus*, the Vocabulaire Pentaglotte, and the Lalita-Vistara.

To these seven bodhyangas Burnouf has assigned a special treatise, *Appendice xii.* p. 796. They occur both in Sanskrit and Pāli.

¹⁹ Niraya, the hells, also called Naraka. Yamaloka, the realm of Yama, the judge of the dead, is explained as the four Apāyas, *i.e.* Naraka, hell, Tiryagyonī, birth as animals, Pretaloka, realm of the dead, Asuraloka, realm of evil spirits. The three terms which are here used together, occur likewise in a passage translated by Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 544.

²⁰ Iti sankhyām gaṅgāhanti, they are called, *cf.* Childers, *s.v.* sankhyā. Asāṅkhyeya, even more than aprameya, is the recognized term for infinity. Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 852.

²¹ Avaramātraka. This is the Pāli oramattako, 'belonging merely to the present life,' and the intention of the writer seems to be to inculcate the doctrine of the Mahāyāna, that salvation can be obtained by mere repetitions of the name of Amitābha, in direct opposition to the original doctrine of Buddha, that as a man soweth, so he reapeth. Buddha would have taught that the kuśalamūla, the root or the stock of good works performed in this world (avaramātraka), will bear fruit in the next, while here 'vain repetitions' seems all that is enjoined. The Chinese translators take a different view of this passage, and I am not myself quite certain that I have understood it rightly. But from the end of this section, where we read kulaputrena vā kuladuhitrā vā tatra buddhakṣetre kṛtāprāñidhānam kartavyam, it seems clear that the locative (buddhakṣetre) forms the object of the prāñidhāna, the fervent prayer or longing. The Satpuruṣa already in the Buddhakṣetra would be the innumerable men (manuṣyās) and Boddhisattvas mentioned before.

²² arthavaśa, lit. the power of the thing; *cf.* Dhammapada, p. 388, v. 289.

²³ I am not quite certain as to the meaning of this passage, but if we enter into the bold metaphor of the text, viz. that the Buddhas cover the Buddha-countries with the organ of their tongue and then unroll it, what is intended can hardly be anything but that they first try to find words for the excellences of

those countries, and then reveal or proclaim them. Burnouf, however (Lotus, p. 417), takes the expression in a literal sense, though he is shocked by its grotesqueness. On these Buddhas and their countries, see Burnouf, Lotus, p. 113.

²⁴ Pratiyatha. The texts give again and again pattiyaṭha, evidently the Pāli form, instead of pratiyāta. I have left tha, the Pāli termination of the 2 p. pl. in the imperative, instead of ta, because that form was clearly intended, while pa for pra may be an accident. Yet I have little doubt that pattiyaṭha was in the original text. That it is meant for the imperative, we see from *śraddadhādhvam*, etc., further on. Other traces of the influence of Pāli or Prakrit on the Sanskrit of our Sūtra appear in *arhantaiḥ*, the various reading for *arhaddhīḥ*, which I preferred; *sambahula* for *bahula*; *dhriyate yāpayati*; *purobhaktana*; *anyatra*; *saṅkhyām gakkhanti*; *avaramātraka*; *veṭhana* instead of *veshāna*, in *nirveṭhana*; *dharmaparyāya* (Corp. Inscript. plate xv.), etc.

²⁵ The *Sukhavatīvyūha*, even in its shortest text, is called a *Mahāyāna-sūtra*, nor is there any reason why a *Mahāyāna-sūtra* should not be short. The meaning of *Mahāyāna-sūtra* is simply a Sūtra belonging to the *Mahāyāna-school*, the school of the Great Vehicle. It was Burnouf who, in his "Introduction to the History of Buddhism," tried very hard to establish a distinction between the *Vaipulya* or developed Sūtras, and what he calls the simple Sūtras. Now the *Vaipulya Sūtras* may all belong to the *Mahāyāna school*, but that would not prove that all the Sūtras of the *Mahāyāna school* are *Vaipulya* or developed Sūtras. The name of Simple Sūtra, in opposition to the *Vaipulya* or developed Sūtras, is not recognized by the Buddhists themselves; it is really an invention of Burnouf's. No doubt there is a great difference between a *Vaipulya Sūtra*, such as the Lotus of the Good Law, translated by Burnouf, and the Sūtras which Burnouf translated from the *Divyāvadāna*. But what Burnouf considers as the distinguishing mark of a *Vaipulya Sūtra*, viz. the occurrence of *Bodhisattvas*, as followers of the Buddha *Sākyamuni*, would no longer seem to be tenable,* unless we classed our short *Sukhavatī-vyūha* as a *Vaipulya* or developed Sūtra. For this there is no authority. Our Sūtra is called a *Mahāyāna Sūtra*, never a *Vaipulya Sūtra*, and yet among the followers of Buddha, the *Bodhisattvas* constitute a very considerable portion. But more than that, *Amitābha*, the Buddha of *Sukhavatī*, another personage whom Burnouf looks upon as peculiar to the *Vaipulya-Sūtras*, who is in fact one of the *Dhyāni-buddhas*, though not called by that name in our Sūtra, forms the chief object of our Sūtra, and is represented as contemporary with Buddha *Sākyamuni*.† The larger text of the *Sukhavatī-vyūha* would certainly, according to Burnouf's definition, seem to fall into the category of the *Vaipulya Sūtras*. But it is not so called in the MSS. which I have seen, and Burnouf himself gives an analysis of that Sūtra (Introduction, p. 99), as a specimen of a *Mahāyāna*, but not of a *Vaipulya Sūtra*.

* La présence des *Bodhisattvas* ou leur absence intéresse donc le fonds même des livres où on la remarque, et il est bien évident que ce seul point trace une ligne de démarcation profonde entre les Sūtras ordinaires et les Sūtras développés.—Burnouf, Introduction, p. 112.

† L'idée d'un ou de plusieurs Buddhas surhumains, celle de *Bodhisattvas* créés par eux, sont des conceptions aussi étrangères à ces livres (les Sūtras simples) que celle d'un *Ādibuddha* ou d'un Dieu.—Burnouf, Introduction, p. 120.

॥ नमः सर्वज्ञाय ॥

एवं मया श्रुतं । एकस्मिन्समये भगवाञ्श्रावस्त्वां विहरति स्म जेतवने
 ऽनाथपिण्डदस्त्रारामे महता भिक्षुसंघेन सार्धं त्रयोदशभिर्भिक्षुशतैर-
 भिज्ञानाभिज्ञातैः स्थविरैर्महाश्रावकैः सर्वैरर्हद्भिः । तद्यथा स्थविरैरेण
 च शारिपुत्रेण महामौद्गल्यायनेन च महाकाश्यपेन च महाकप्थिणेन च
 महाकात्यायनेन च महाकौष्ठिलेन च रेवतेन च शुद्धिपथकेन च नन्दिनेन
 चानन्दिनेन च राज्ञलेन च गवांपतिना च भरद्वाजेन च कालोदयिना च
 वकुलेन चानिरुद्धेन च । एतैश्चान्यैश्च संबङ्गलैर्महाश्रावकैः संबङ्गलैश्च
 बोधिसत्त्वैर्महासत्त्वैः । तद्यथा मञ्जुश्रिया च कुमारभूतेनाजितेन च
 बोधिसत्त्वेन गंधहस्तिना च बोधिसत्त्वेन नित्योद्युक्तेन च बोधिसत्त्वेना-
 निचिप्तधुरेण च बोधिसत्त्वेन । एतैश्चान्यैश्च संबङ्गलैर्बोधिसत्त्वैर्महा-
 सत्त्वैः । शक्रेण च देवानामिन्द्रेण ब्रह्मणा च सहांपतिना । एतैश्चान्यैश्च
 संबङ्गलैर्देवपुत्रनयुतशतसहस्रैः ॥

तत्र खलु भगवानायुष्मन्तं शारिपुत्रमामन्त्रयति स्म । अस्ति शारिपुत्र
 पश्चिमे दिग्भाग इतो बुद्धचेचं कोटिशतसहस्रं बुद्धचेत्राणामतिक्रम्य
 सुखवती नाम लोकधातुः । तत्रामितायुर्नाम तथागतो ऽर्हन्सम्यक्संबुद्ध
 एतर्हि तिष्ठति ध्रियते यापयति धर्मं च देशयति । तत्किं मन्यसे शारिपुत्र
 केन कारणेन सा लोकधातुः सुखवतीत्युच्यते । तत्र खलु पुनः शारिपुत्र
 सुखवत्यां लोकधातौ नास्ति सत्त्वानां कायदुःखं न चित्तदुःखं अप्रमा-
 णान्येव सुखकारणानि । तेन कारणेन सा लोकधातुः सुखवतीत्युच्यते ॥

पुनरपरं शारिपुत्र सुखवती लोकधातुः सप्तभिर्वेदिकाभिः सप्तभि-
 स्तालपंक्तिभिः किंकिणीजालैश्च समलंकृता समंततोऽनुपरिचिप्ता चित्रा
 दर्शनीया चतुर्णां रत्नानां । तद्यथा सुवर्णस्य रूपास्य वैडूर्यस्य स्फटि-
 कस्य । एवंरूपैः शारिपुत्र बुद्धचेत्रगुणव्यूहैः समलंकृतं तद्बुद्धचेचं ॥

पुनरपरं शारिपुत्र सुखवत्यां लोकधातौ सप्तरत्नमयः पुष्करिण्यः ।

तद्यथा सुवर्णस्य रूप्यस्य वैडूर्यस्य स्फटिकस्य लोहितमुक्तस्यारमगर्भस्य
 सुसारगल्लस्य सप्तमस्य रत्नस्य । अष्टांगोपेतवारिपरिपूर्णाः समतीर्थकाः
 काकापेया सुवर्णवालुकाः संस्तृताः । तासु च पुष्करिणीषु समंताच्चतु-
 र्दिशं चलारि सोपानानि चित्राणि दर्शनीयानि चतुर्णां रत्नानां ।
 तद्यथा सुवर्णस्य रूप्यस्य वैडूर्यस्य स्फटिकस्य । तासां च पुष्करिणीनां
 समंताद्गतवृक्षा जाताश्चित्रा दर्शनीया सप्तानां रत्नानां । तद्यथा सुव-
 र्णस्य रूप्यस्य वैडूर्यस्य स्फटिकस्य लोहितमुक्तस्यारमगर्भस्य सुसारग-
 ल्लस्य सप्तमस्य रत्नस्य । तासु च पुष्करिणीषु संति पद्मानि जातानि
 नीलानि नीलवर्णानि नीलनिर्भासानि नीलनिर्दर्शनानि । पीतानि
 पीतवर्णानि पीतनिर्भासानि पीतनिर्दर्शनानि । लोहितानि लोहित-
 वर्णानि लोहितनिर्भासानि लोहितनिर्दर्शनानि । चित्राणि चित्रवर्णानि
 चित्रनिर्भासानि चित्रनिर्दर्शनानि शकटचक्रप्रमाणपरिणाहानि । एवं-
 रूपैः शारिपुत्र बुद्धचेत्रगुणव्यूहैः समलंकृतं तद्बुद्धचेत्रं ॥

पुनरपरं शारिपुत्र तत्र बुद्धचेत्रे नित्यप्रवादितानि दिव्यानि तूर्याणि
 सुवर्णवर्णा च महापृथिवी रमणीया । तत्र च बुद्धचेत्रे त्रिष्कृत्वो रात्रौ
 त्रिष्कृत्वो दिवसस्य पुष्पवर्षं प्रवर्षति दिव्यानां मांदारवपुष्पाणां । तत्र
 ये सत्त्वा उपपन्नास्त एकेन पुरोभक्तेन कीटिशतसहस्रं बुद्धानां वंद्य-
 त्वाँल्लोकधातून्गत्वा । एकैकं च तथागतं कीटिशतसहस्राभिः पुष्पवृष्टि-
 भिरत्यवकीर्य पुनरपि तामेव लोकधातुमागच्छंति दिवाविहाराय ।
 एवंरूपैः शारिपुत्र बुद्धचेत्रगुणव्यूहैः समलंकृतं तद्बुद्धचेत्रं ॥

पुनरपरं शारिपुत्र तत्र बुद्धचेत्रे संति हंसाः क्रौञ्चा मयूराश्च । ते
 त्रिष्कृत्वो रात्रौ त्रिष्कृत्वो दिवसस्य संनिपत्य संगीतिं कुर्वन्ति स्म स्वक-
 स्वकानि च रतानि प्रव्याहरन्ति । तेषां प्रव्याहरतामिन्द्रियबलबोध्द्व्यंग-
 शब्दो निश्चरति । तत्र तेषां मनुष्याणां तं शब्दं श्रुत्वा बुद्धमनसिकार
 उत्पद्यते धर्ममनसिकार उत्पद्यते संघमनसिकार उत्पद्यते ॥ तत्किं
 मन्यसे शारिपुत्र तिर्यग्योनिगतास्ते सत्त्वाः । न पुनरेवं द्रष्टव्यं । तत्क-

स्माद्धेतोः । नामापि शारिपुत्र तत्र बुद्धचेत्रे निरयाणां नास्ति तिर्य-
ग्योनीनां यमलोकस्य नास्ति । ते पुनः पचिसंघास्तेनामितायुषा तथा-
गतेन निर्मिता धर्मशब्दं निश्चारयन्ति । एवंरूपैः शारिपुत्र बुद्धचेत्रगुण-
व्यूहैः समलंकृतं तद्बुद्धचेत्रं ॥

पुनरपरं शारिपुत्र तत्र बुद्धचेत्रे तासां च तालपंक्तीनां तेषां च किंकि-
णीजालानां वातेरितानां वल्लुर्मनोज्ञः शब्दो निश्चरति । तद्यथापि
नाम शारिपुत्र कोटिशतसहस्रांगिकस्य दिव्यस्य तूर्यस्य चार्यैः संप्रवा-
दितस्य वल्लुर्मनोज्ञः शब्दो निश्चरति एवमेव शारिपुत्र तासां च ता-
लपंक्तीनां तेषां च किंकिणीजालानां वातेरितानां वल्लुर्मनोज्ञः शब्दो
निश्चरति । तत्र तेषां मनुष्याणां तं शब्दं श्रुत्वा बुद्धानुस्मृतिः काये संति-
ष्ठति धर्मानुस्मृतिः काये संतिष्ठति संघानुस्मृतिः काये संतिष्ठति । एवं-
रूपैः शारिपुत्र बुद्धचेत्रगुणव्यूहैः समलंकृतं तद्बुद्धचेत्रं ॥

तत्किं मन्यसे शारिपुत्र केन कारणेन स तथागतोऽमितायुर्नामो-
च्यते । तस्य खलु पुनः शारिपुत्र तथागतस्य तेषां च मनुष्याणामपरि-
मितमायुष्ममाणं । तेन कारणेन स तथागतोऽमितायुर्नामोच्यते । तस्य
च शारिपुत्र तथागतस्य दश कल्पा अनुत्तरां सम्यक्संबोधिमभिसं-
बुद्धस्य ॥

तत्किं मन्यसे शारिपुत्र केन कारणेन स तथागतोऽमिताभा ना-
मोच्यते । तस्य खलु पुनः शारिपुत्र तथागतस्याभा अप्रतिहता सर्व-
बुद्धचेत्रेषु । तेन कारणेन स तथागतोऽमिताभा नामोच्यते ॥ तस्य
च शारिपुत्र तथागतस्याप्रमेयः श्रावकसंघो येषां न सुकरं प्रमाणमा-
ख्यातुं शुद्धानामर्हतां । एवंरूपैः शारिपुत्र बुद्धचेत्रगुणव्यूहैः समलंकृतं
तद्बुद्धचेत्रं ॥

पुनरपरं शारिपुत्र येऽमितायुषस्तथागतस्य बुद्धचेत्रे सत्त्वा उपपन्नाः
शुद्धा बोधिसत्त्वा अविनिवर्तनीया एकजातिप्रतिबद्धास्तेषां शारिपुत्र
बोधिसत्त्वानां न सुकरं प्रमाणमाख्यातुमन्यत्राप्रमेयाः संख्येया इति

संख्यां गच्छन्ति ॥ तत्र खलु पुनः शारिपुत्र बुद्धचेत्रे सत्त्वेः प्रणिधानं कर्तव्यं । तत्कस्माद्वेतोः । यत्र हि नाम तथारूपैः सत्पुरुषैः सह समवधानं भवति ॥ नावरमात्रकेण शारिपुत्र कुशलमूलेनामितायुषस्तथागतस्य बुद्धचेत्रे सत्त्वा उपपद्यन्ते । यः कश्चिच्छारिपुत्र कुलपुत्रो वा कुलदुहिता वा तस्य भगवतोऽमितायुषस्तथागतस्य नामधेयं श्रोष्यति श्रुत्वा च मनसि करिष्यति एकरात्रं वा द्विरात्रं वा त्रिरात्रं वा चतुरात्रं वा पंचरात्रं वा षड्रात्रं वा सप्तरात्रं वा विचित्रचित्तो मनसि करिष्यति यदा स कुलपुत्रो वा कुलदुहिता वा कालं करिष्यति तस्य कालं कुर्वतः सोऽमितायुस्तथागतः श्रावकसंघपरिवृतो बोधिसत्त्वगणपुरस्कृतः पुरतः स्थास्यति सोऽविपर्यस्तचित्तः कालं करिष्यति च । स कालं कृत्वा तस्मैवामितायुषस्तथागतस्य बुद्धचेत्रे सुखवत्यां लोकधातावुपपत्स्यते । तस्मात्तर्हि शारिपुत्र इदमर्थवशं संपश्यमान एवं वदामि सत्कृत्य कुलपुत्रेण कुलदुहित्रा वा तत्र बुद्धचेत्रे चित्तप्रणिधानं कर्तव्यं ॥

तद्यथापि नाम शारिपुत्र अहमेतर्हि तां परिकीर्तयामि एवमेव शारिपुत्र पूर्वस्थां दिशश्चोभ्यो नाम तथागतो मेरुध्वजो नाम तथागतो महामेरुर्नाम तथागतो मेरुप्रभासो नाम तथागतो मेरुध्वजो नाम तथागत एवंप्रमुखाः शारिपुत्र पूर्वस्थां दिशि गंगानदीवालुकोपमा बुद्धा भगवन्तः स्वकस्वकानि बुद्धचेत्राणि जिह्नेद्रियेण संच्छादयित्वा निर्वैठनं कुर्वन्ति । प्रतीयथ यूयमिदमचिंत्यगुणपरिकीर्तनं सर्वबुद्धपरिग्रहं नाम धर्मपर्यायं ॥

एवं दक्षिणस्थां दिशि चंद्रसूर्यप्रदीपो नाम तथागतो यशःप्रभो नाम तथागतो महार्चिस्त्वधो नाम तथागतो मेरुप्रदीपो नाम तथागतोऽनंतवीर्यो नाम तथागत एवंप्रमुखाः शारिपुत्र दक्षिणस्थां दिशि गंगानदीवालुकोपमा बुद्धा भगवन्तः स्वकस्वकानि बुद्धचेत्राणि जिह्नेद्रियेण संच्छादयित्वा निर्वैठनं कुर्वन्ति । प्रतीयथ यूयमिदमचिंत्यगुणपरिकीर्तनं सर्वबुद्धपरिग्रहं नाम धर्मपर्यायं ॥

एवं पश्चिमायां दिक्षमितायुर्नाम तथागतोऽमितस्कंधो नाम तथागतोऽमितध्वजो नाम तथागतो महाप्रभो नाम तथागतो महारत्नकेतुर्नाम तथागतः शुद्धरश्मिप्रभो नाम तथागत एवंप्रमुखाः शारिपुत्र पश्चिमायां दिशि गंगानदीवालुकोपमा बुद्धा भगवंतः स्वकस्वकानि बुद्धचेत्राणि जिह्मिन्द्रियेण संच्छादयित्वा निर्वैठनं कुर्वति । प्रतीयथ यूयमिदमचिंत्यगुणपरिकीर्तनं सर्वबुद्धपरिग्रहं नाम धर्मपर्यायं ॥

एवमुत्तरायां दिशि महार्चिस्कंधो नाम तथागतो वैश्वानरनिर्घोषो नाम तथागतो दुंदुभिस्वरनिर्घोषो नाम तथागतो दुष्प्रधर्षो नाम तथागत आदित्यसंभवो नाम तथागतो जलनिप्रभो नाम तथागतः प्रभाकरो नाम तथागत एवंप्रमुखा शारिपुत्रोत्तरायां दिशि गंगानदीवालुकोपमा बुद्धा भगवंतः स्वकस्वकानि बुद्धचेत्राणि जिह्मिन्द्रियेण संच्छादयित्वा निर्वैठनं कुर्वति । प्रतीयथ यूयमिदमचिंत्यगुणपरिकीर्तनं सर्वबुद्धपरिग्रहं नाम धर्मपर्यायं ॥

एवमधस्तायां दिशि सिंहो नाम तथागतो यशो नाम तथागतो यशःप्रभासो नाम तथागतो धर्मो नाम तथागतो धर्मधरो नाम तथागतो धर्मध्वजो नाम तथागत एवंप्रमुखाः शारिपुत्राधस्तायां दिशि गंगानदीवालुकोपमा बुद्धा भगवंतः स्वकस्वकानि बुद्धचेत्राणि जिह्मिन्द्रियेण संच्छादयित्वा निर्वैठनं कुर्वति । प्रतीयथ यूयमिदमचिंत्यगुणपरिकीर्तनं सर्वबुद्धपरिग्रहं नाम धर्मपर्यायं ॥

एवमुपरिष्ठायां दिशि ब्रह्मघोषो नाम तथागतो नक्षत्रराजो नाम तथागत इन्द्रकेतुध्वजराजो नाम तथागतो गंधोत्तमो नाम तथागतो गंधप्रभासो नाम तथागतो महार्चिस्कंधो नाम तथागतो रत्नकुसुमसंपुष्पितगात्रो नाम तथागतः सालेंद्रराजो नाम तथागतो रत्नोत्पलश्रीर्नाम तथागतः सर्वादृशो नाम तथागतः सुमेरुकल्पो नाम तथागत एवंप्रमुखाः शारिपुत्रोपरिष्ठायां दिशि गंगानदीवालुकोपमा बुद्धा भगवंतः स्वकस्वकानि बुद्धचेत्राणि जिह्मिन्द्रियेण संच्छादयित्वा निर्वैठनं

कुर्वति । प्रतोयथ यूयमिदमचिंत्यगुणपरिकीर्तनं सर्वबुद्धपरिग्रहं नाम धर्मपर्यायं ॥

तत्किं मन्यसे शारिपुत्र केन कारणेनायं धर्मपर्यायः सर्वबुद्धपरिग्रहो नामोच्यते । ये केचिच्छारिपुत्र कुलपुत्राः कुलदुहितरो वास्य धर्मपर्यायस्य नामधेयं श्रोयन्ति तेषां च बुद्धानां भगवतां नामधेयं धारयिष्यन्ति सर्वे ते बुद्धपरिगृहीता भविष्यन्त्यविनिवर्तनीयाश्च भविष्यन्त्यनुत्तरायां सम्यक्संबोधी । तस्मात्तर्हि शारिपुत्र अद्दधाध्वं प्रतीयथाकाञ्चयथ मम च तेषां च बुद्धानां भगवतां । ये केचिच्छारिपुत्र कुलपुत्रा वा कुलदुहितरो वा तस्य भगवतोऽमितायुषस्तथागतस्य बुद्धचेचे चित्तप्रणिधानं करिष्यन्ति कृतं वा कुर्वन्ति वा सर्वे तेऽविनिवर्तनीया भविष्यन्त्यनुत्तरायां सम्यक्संबोधी तत्र च बुद्धचेच उपपत्स्यन्त्युपपन्ना वीपपद्यन्ति वा । तस्मात्तर्हि शारिपुत्र आद्वैः कुलपुत्रैः कुलदुहितृभिश्च तत्र बुद्धचेचे चित्तप्रणिधिस्त्यादयितव्यः ॥

तद्यथापि नाम शारिपुत्राहमेतर्हि तेषां बुद्धानां भगवतामेवमचिंत्यगुणान्परिकीर्तयामि एवमेव शारिपुत्र ममापि ते बुद्धा भगवन्त एवमचिंत्यगुणान्परिकीर्तयन्ति ॥

सुदुष्करं भगवता शाक्यमुनिना शाक्याधिराजेन कृतं सहायां लोकधातावनुत्तरां सम्यक्संबोधिमभिसंबुध्य सर्वलोकविप्रत्ययनीयो धर्मो देशितः कल्पकषाये सत्त्वकषाये दृष्टिकषाये आयुष्कषाये क्लेशकषाये । तन्ममापि शारिपुत्र परमदुष्करं यन्मया सहायां लोकधातावनुत्तरां सम्यक्संबोधिमभिसंबुध्य सर्वलोकविप्रत्ययनीयो धर्मो देशितः सत्त्वकषाये दृष्टिकषाये क्लेशकषाये आयुष्कषाये कल्पकषाये ॥

इदमवोचद्भगवानानन्दमनाः । आयुष्माञ्शारिपुत्रस्ते च भिचवस्ते च बोधिसत्त्वाः सदेवमानुषासुरगंधर्वश्च लोको भगवतो भाषितमभ्यनन्दन् ।

॥ सुखवतीव्यूहो नाम महायानसूत्रं ॥

POSTSCRIPT, *March 10th, 1880.*

The hope which I expressed in my paper on "Sanskrit Texts discovered in Japan," viz. that other Sanskrit texts might still come to light in Japan or China, has been fulfilled sooner than I expected. Mr. A. Wylie wrote to me on the 3rd of March that he had brought a number of Sanskrit-Chinese books from Japan, and he afterwards kindly sent them to me to examine. They were of the same appearance and character as the Dictionary which Dr. Edkins had lent me and the Sukhavatī-vyūha which I had received from Japan. But with the exception of a collection of invocations, called the *Vagra-sūtra*, and the short *Pragñā-hṛdaya-sūtra*, they contained no continuous texts. The books were intended to teach the Sanskrit alphabet, and every possible and impossible combination of the Devanāgarī letters, and that was all. Still, so large a number of books written to teach the Sanskrit alphabet augurs well for the existence of Sanskrit texts. There was among Mr. Wylie's books a second Chinese-Sanskrit-Japanese vocabulary, of which Mr. Kasawara has given me the following account: "This vocabulary is called 'A thousand Sanskrit and Chinese words,' and it is said to have been arranged by I-sing, who left China for India in 671, about 27 years after Hiouen-thsang's return to China, and who is best known as the author of a book called *Nan-hae-ki-kwei-chou'en*, on the manners and customs of the Indian Buddhists at that time.

"This vocabulary was brought from China to Japan by Zikaku, a Japanest priest, who went to China in 838 and returned in 847. It is stated at the end of the book, that in the year 884 a Japanese priest of the name of Rioyu copied that vocabulary from a text belonging to another priest, Yūikai. The edition brought from Japan by Mr. Wylie was published there in the year 1727 by a priest called Jiakumyo."

The following curious passage occurs in the preface of Jiakumyo's edition: "This vocabulary is generally called 'one thousand Sanskrit and Chinese words.' It is stated in Annen's work, that this was first brought (from China) by

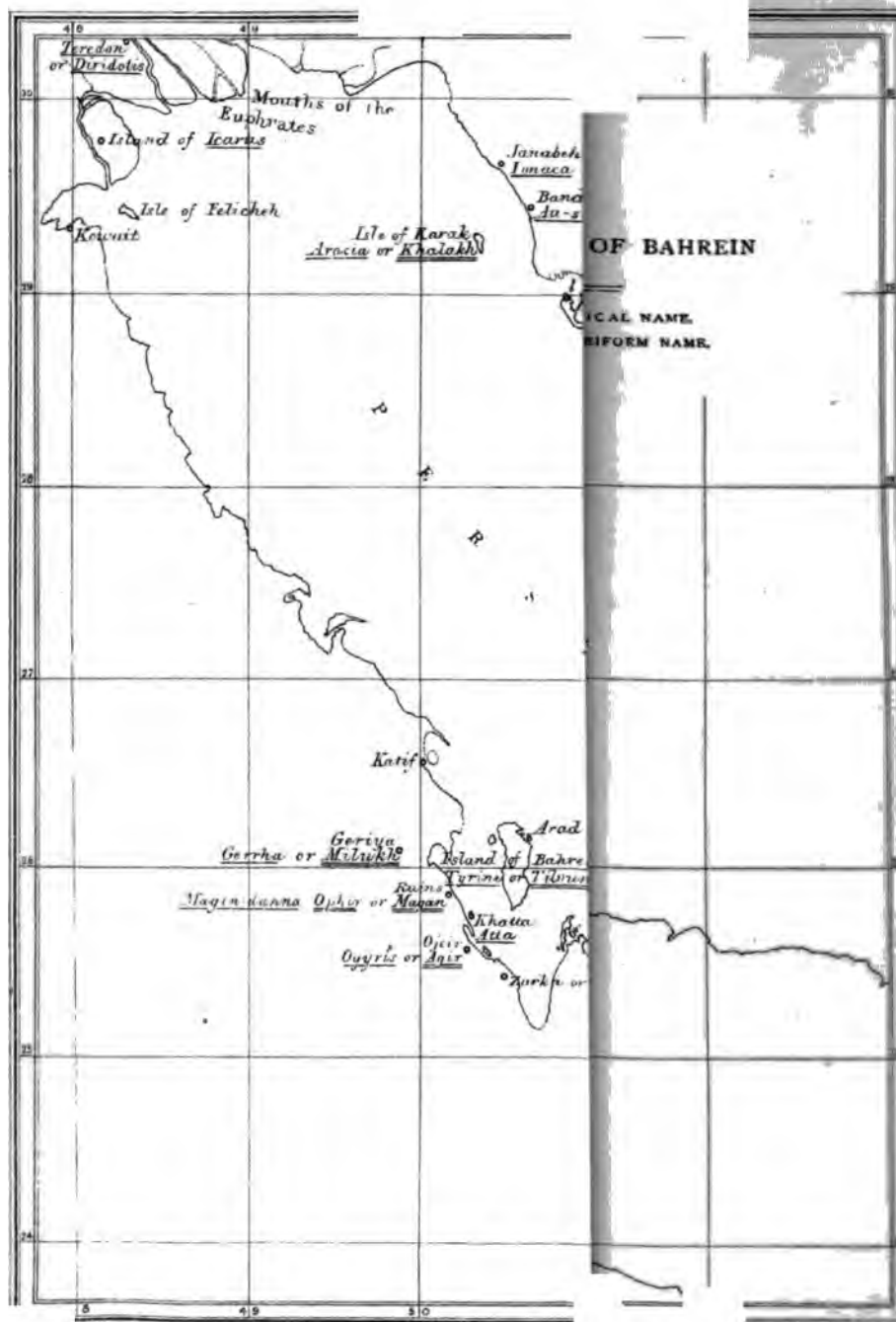
Zikaku. I have corrected several mistakes in this vocabulary, comparing many copies; yet the present edition is not free from blunders; I hope the readers will correct them, if they have better copies.

“In the temple Horiuji, in Yamato, there are treasured *Pragñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtram*, and ‘*Sonsho*’-dhāraṇī, written on two palm leaves, handed down from Central India; and, at the end of these, fourteen letters of the ‘*siddha*’ are written. In the present edition of the vocabulary the alphabet is in imitation of that of the palm leaves, except such forms of letters as cannot be distinguished from those prevalent among the scribes at the present day.

“Horiuji is one of eleven temples founded by the prince Umayado (who died A.D. 621). This temple is at a town named Tatsuta, in the province Yamato, near Kyoto, the western capital.”

Here, then, we have clear evidence that in the year 1727 palm-leaves containing the text of Sanskrit Sūtras were still preserved in the temple of Hōriuji. If that temple is still in existence, might not some Buddhist priest of Kyoto, the western capital of Japan, be induced to go there to see whether the palm leaves are still there, and, if they are, to make a copy and send it to Oxford?

F. M. M.



ART. VII.—*Extracts from Report on the Islands and Antiquities of Bahrein.* By Captain DURAND.¹ With Notes by Major-General Sir H. C. RAWLINSON, K.C.B., F.R.S.

THESE Islands, from which the Portuguese were expelled by a British fleet aiding Shah Abbas in 1622 A.D., and of which the advantages were tersely put to me by a native the other day in the words, "The land is silver and the sea is pearl," are situated generally in lat. 26° and long. 50° , the exact position of the Portuguese fort on the larger island being given as lat. $26^{\circ} 13' 53''$ N., long. $50^{\circ} 31' 45''$ E. They are surrounded by shoal water on every side, which greatly adds to the beauty of the place. Thus, on looking out to sea on the morning of a clear sky and a fresh nor'-wester, it would seem as if Nature, at all times lavish of effect, had here, however, exhausted every tint of living green in her paint box; and then, wearying of the effort, had splashed an angry streak of purple into the foreground. The water itself is so clear that you can see far down into the coral depths, while springs of fresh water bubble up through the brine, both near the entrance of the harbour and at several other places along the coast.

Local stories relate that, a long time ago, a chief called Ibn Hakim came from Katif, wishing to marry a lovely daughter of the Bahrein Chief. But titles or money must have been wanting, as his proposals were treated with contempt. On this, he began warlike operations by depriving the thirsty Bahreinees of the water from three wells—one at Ali, one in the Bilád-i-Kadím, and one

¹ Enclosure to letter addressed by Lieut.-Col. E. C. Ross, H.B.M. Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, to A. C. Lyall, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India Foreign Department.

close to Bahrein, called Daráz. The invader, however, was, it is said, eventually defeated, and compelled to retire to the mainland. Though these shallow seas are undeniably a beautiful feature in the landscape, they are also very dangerous ; for they have never been thoroughly¹ surveyed ; in fact, except to the north and north-east of the islands, the soundings are practically unknown. Bahrein being surrounded on three sides by the mainland lying roughly at a distance of 30 to 40 miles off, the intermediate ocean, which is the unsurveyed part, is the very one from which an attack may be apprehended, and against which it might, therefore, be difficult to guard. From the top of the Jebel Dukhan, or hill of smoke, in the very centre of the larger island, a perfect view of this sea and the encircling mainland is obtainable ; and this, if necessary, could be very easily made use of as a signalling station, as the hill-top is distinctly visible both from Muharrak and Manameh.

The interior of the islands of Bahrein (and of the large one in particular) presents some very marked features. Thus, beginning at the centre and looking outwards, taking one's stand on the Jebel Dukhan, the whole lies below in full view. Firstly, the hill itself, which rises about 400 feet above the sea-level, looks like the old crater of a volcano with an encircling ring of cliffs facing inwards some three or four miles off ; yet these really present no appearance of volcanic action. From the outer crest of this ring of cliffs the land slopes more or less gradually down to the sea on all sides.

The original chart² of Bahrein harbour, though scarcely intended to be an accurate land survey, shows fairly the lie of the ground. To the south and east, all the island is very bare ; but, almost due west of the Jebel, groups of palm-trees begin to line the coast and stretch thence all round

¹ I have marked the lowest line of survey, east and west of north in my tracing from the chart as supplied to Her Majesty's Navy vessels.

² By Commander Constable and Lieut. Wish, resurveyed in 1872-74 by Messrs. S. Thompson and Cuthbert, of Her Majesty's schooner *Constance*.

the northern shore to the north-east, being abundantly supplied with water, for which, indeed, Bahrein is famous. The Arabs imagine these and other springs on the mainland to be an underground stream from the Euphrates, the "*Euphraten flumen per quoddam Arabiæ emergere putant*" of Pliny, vi. 159. The principal springs are the Gassari on the road from Manameh to the Bilád-i-Kadím; the Umm-i-Shaoom, a mile to the eastward of Manameh; the Abu Geidan, in the Bilád-i-Kadím; and the Adari, which last supplies many miles of date-groves through a canal of ancient workmanship, the stone of which in some places is falling in, but which still forms a perfect river of fast-running water, about 10 feet broad by two in depth. The spring itself is from 30 to 35 feet deep, and rises so strongly that a diver is forced upwards on nearing the bottom.¹ The water, where it rises from this deep spring, whose basin artificially banked is about 22 yards broad by 40 long, is as clear as crystal, with a slightly green tint. It holds a shoal or two of large fish and many water tortoises. It is not perfectly sweet, and this applies to nearly all the wells, the best drinking water being brought on camels from the wells of the Umm Koefih and Hanaini,² said to be 20 fathoms deep, in the hills of Rifaa. The water is conducted from these various wells by ordinary unbanked channels, the larger of which have now come to look like natural streams.

On nearing the coast, white dusty ground—the relic, probably, of former habitations—intrudes everywhere; and mighty mounds bare of vegetation tower above the palm groves. Mass upon mass, mound upon mound, they stretch on in endless chains all round the slope that falls from the cliffs to the sea, clinging more particularly, perhaps, to the higher ground, but being found in separate clusters near the coast itself. The parent group seems to be that at Ali, a modern village, but other large ones are

¹ I had some pearl divers with me who went down and walked about on the bottom; they then looked like pigmies about a foot high.

² Names of two villages a mile or so apart on the top of the circle of cliffs.

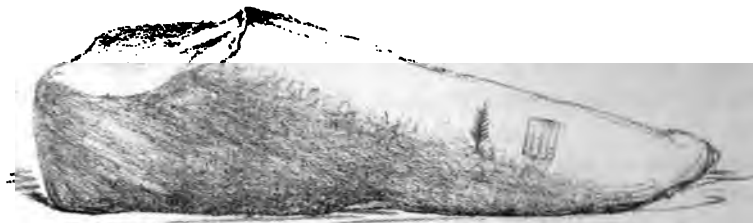
to be found at many places, noticeably in the Bilád-i-Kadím. The red ones on the left of the high road to Rifaa, and the chain of five or six large ones facing the northern sea near the village of Sirabe, which are only some out of very many groups, are all more or less worthy of notice. I shall have to recur again to these monuments.

I have already given a slight sketch of the individuality of these islands, if I may use the term, in connexion with the lie of the ground, and the certainty forced upon even the most superficial observer that he is standing upon no common soil, but on that of a land which, although now desolate enough, has probably teemed with life, and under whose dust may, possibly, lie the history of countless generations. I have also mentioned the tumuli, which cover the island on all sides, from the coast to the centre or the cliffs of the central basin. I will now take one glance at what is known of the earliest historic days of the race that peopled these islands, and then give a brief account of what three weeks of constant research have disclosed, leaving it for others, who know more about these matters than I do, to judge whether my conclusions are right or wrong.

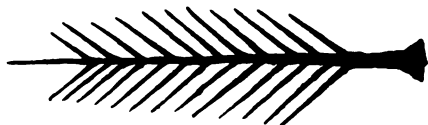
We know that these islands have been ruled by Phœnicians, Babylonians (?), Persians, Arabs, and Portuguese. With regard to the first-named Herodotus says that "the Phœnicians first dwelt upon the Erythrean Sea, having migrated thence to the Mediterranean, when, etc.," and again, later on, in his account of the forces that Xerxes paraded for the conquest of Greece, after having mentioned that the Phœnicians of Sidon had won the regatta held at the foot of that monarch's marble throne on Abydos, he adds that "according to *their own* account this nation dwelt anciently upon the Erythrean Sea, but, crossing thence, fixed themselves upon the Coast of Syria, where they still inhabit."

My first visit to the Sheikh resulted in an immediate call for horses and a ride out from Muharrak to the date-groves of Simabi, where the Chief said they had lately come upon an old well. The sand-hills on this side of the island evidently

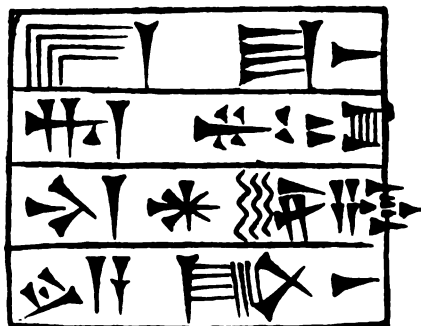
1. SKETCH OF STONE DISCOVERED BY CAPT DURAND.
(2 FT. 2 IN. LONG).



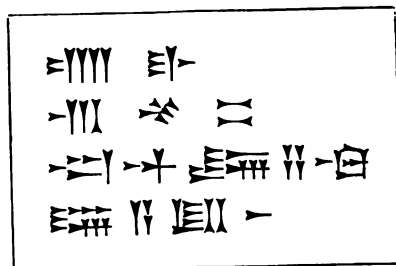
2. PALM BRANCH OVER INSCRIPTION.



3. FACSIMILE OF INSCRIPTION ON STONE.



4. THE SAME IN ASSYRIAN.



cover old buildings,¹ and the "well" that had been found was either a stone conduit with cross branches or the foundations of an old stone building, some six or seven feet below the surface, now holding water. The ground had been struck with a scraper to make room for a young date plant, and had fallen in, thus disclosing the stone work below. I could not ask to search there, as it would have damaged the garden, but I asked the gardener, though in vain, to go down, and find out what it was.

After this I rode round to every mosque on this side of the island, thinking it most likely to find intelligent inhabitants there. I was taken to many, into the walls of which old Arabic inscriptions had been let, and to the ruined mosque of the Meshed-i-Abú-Zeidán,² near the Bilád-i-Kadím, said to have been built with the material of a still older structure, and likely, therefore, to yield specimens of old writing. It contains one old tablet, and a ring of stones round one, if not two, of its room walls are scored with large Kufic letters, perhaps from some earlier building. These I did not copy.

At last, after having visited twenty mosques at least, which produced nothing but a cup of coffee, a kallian, and innumerable complaints of the tyranny of the Sheikhs and their tribe, I was told of a stone that nobody could read. This, therefore, I went to see, and found it imbedded in the "holy of holies" in the Madrassah-i-Daood, in the Bilád-i-Kadím. The stone is of black basalt shaped like the prow of a boat, or an animal's tongue, and is two feet two inches long. I had no difficulty in getting it, in spite of its holy

¹ I have since heard from Abdullah bin Rijjab, one of a rich firm of brothers, engaged in the pearl trade, that when he was a boy he remembers seeing the officers of a French and an English frigate accompanied by a Persian (Ailehi) Ambassador digging and turning over stones in this very place. He did not know with what results.

² The well of the Abú-Zeidán is worth mentioning. It springs under an arch of stone, which serves as the foundation of part of the walls of a small mosque. The water is beautiful and warm in the cool weather, being said to become cold in the hot. I suppose the change is merely in the temperature of the air. A stone pillar with two circular stones as a basement rising from the water supports part of the superstructure. The pattern on the outer arch is peculiar.

situation, by telling the Moollahs that it was a fire-worshipper's stone, probably an idol, and had no business where it was. To back my argument, I gave a few rupees to repair the mosque, and thus the loss was made up to them. Sheikh Ahmed sent a slave who dug it out and carried it home for me. The characters are evidently Babylonian or Assyrian Cuneiform, but some of the characters look like hieroglyphs.

With regard to the tumuli, it is possible that some of these may be the remains of the Phœnician temples noticed by Androstenes. Those nearest to the village of Ali have had buildings on the top of them formed of shaped blocks of sandstone. I cannot mention all the places on these islands which probably contain buried buildings, but content myself with drawing attention to one or two of the most prominent.

On leaving the town of Manameh, the western road, passing through lines of date gardens, lands one in the Wilâyat-i-Kadîm or Bilâd-i-Kadîm, 'the ancient city,' where, probably from time immemorial, building has been piled upon building. Here several mounds, rising white and shrubless, attract attention, but leaving these again, and inclining to the north of west, passing the Portuguese fort on the sea-board still massive and imposing in its decay, we come upon a line of high sand-hills, chained together, facing the northern sea, at the distance of a mile or so from the beach, near the villages of Barboora and Shirebi. These I walked over, but found only one outlying stone, a large mass that bore signs of shaping. One square-cut hole, as if for the jamb of a large door, was obvious, as also two channels square-cut on the same face. I regret that I took at the time but little notice of these. It is only deductively, after seeing other mounds and going over half the island, that I have been led to attach importance to these particular mounds, from the fact, firstly, of their size, secondly, of their position in a line facing the sea, and, thirdly, because there are no mounds of lesser proportions near them.

Leaving these, however, I retraced my steps to the Bilâd-

i-Kadim, and on starting, again, I passed through date groves, and found myself almost immediately on a broad road entirely devoid of a single blade of grass, and appearing to be raised an inch or two above the surrounding soil, which bears a few scattered shrubs. This, I think, for part of its length at least, was at one time a made road: there is not, however, enough traffic at the present day between "Ali" and Manameh to beat out a sheep track.

This village of "Ali," where the road lands us in a small tumbled-down village, inhabited by Shiahhs, is built of and over old habitations, and immediately outside of it there is a most singular group of mounds, to which I will now draw attention. They number about 25 or 30, some larger, some smaller, the largest being from forty to fifty feet high, and from forty to fifty yards through their broadest base; they are somewhat furrowed by the weather, but retain a strong family likeness, particularly in the squareness of their tops, which are often indented; they are bare and close together, which facts (in spite of the enormous block of shaped sandstone cropping out *near and on the top* of some, and the gallery in one of them, also near the summit) made me doubt the correctness of my first conjecture that they must be temples. Still, as they were the only distinctly shaped mounds of their size that I was able to examine closely, while immediately behind them stretched chain upon chain, and group upon group of lesser tumuli, unquestionably graves, I clung to the hope that this large group might be something more. But if these miles upon miles of crowded heaps are tombs, where did the inhabitants live? Probably they lived along the coast as at present, building their houses of the branches of the palm-tree, as do still the poorer classes.

Or, possibly, these islands may have been the cemetery of Gerrha, which was the great Phœnician mart in these parts, and which is believed to have been at the bottom of the long bay behind Bahrein; while other causes, such as their fertility, and their abundance in beautiful water, may have caused them to have been regarded as holy ground. The correct site of Gerrha has been somewhat disputed. D'Anville places it

at Katif; Niebuhr, at Koweit or Grain; and Forster, I think, probably correctly, at the bottom of the bay behind Bahrein.¹

I have been told by Arabs that there are many large ruins on the mainland, and one man in particular told me that they had found traces of building stones and pillars at a place where salt is quarried. The bottom of the Gulf behind Bahrein has, I believe, never been carefully explored.

To return, however, to the mounds at Ali. On my first arrival, I went over and round many of the larger ones, and at last my perseverance was rewarded by finding an entrance into one of these (under a flat stone near the summit), through which, lying down, we were just able to creep, and on getting beyond the opening we found ourselves in a long passage or gallery, which was, however, blocked with fallen masonry a few yards in front of us. The roof of this passage is formed by transverse blocks of flat stone, laid from wall to wall, about six feet in breadth, the width of the passage being somewhat less. The walls, where still intact, were covered with a coarse-grained hard plaster, and where broken, showed an enormous thickness of large stones, welded together with the same rough plaster.

From the general form of these greater mounds I should think they had been pillared circular edifices with slightly domed or flat roofs. I saw no trace of carving on any of the blocks of stone lying about on these mounds. All that were so exposed were of huge size; but, though every block bore evidence of having been shaped, they were so worn by age, that no writing, however deep, could have remained. No doubt, as time wore on, the inhabitants have made use of these mounds as quarries, which may partly account for the

¹ Vincent makes Gerrha to have been on the site of the present Katif, and as to deducing Tyrians and Aradians from the names of these Gulf islands, says simply, and rather unfairly, that it is consonant with the perpetual vanity of the Greeks, who reduce everything unknown to the standard of their own fabulous history. I think that this place may, amongst other reasons, have drawn importance from its situation with regard to the monsoon and the peculiar winds of the Gulf itself, as well as perhaps from the debouchure of a mouth of the Euphrates? With regard to this, see some account of monsoons, etc., in Vincent's preliminary observations to the "*Voyage of Nearchus*."

bare appearance of many of them, where no stone is left on the surface. Moreover, the stones that were buried may have fared better than their exposed comrades. With regard to the positions of the mounds themselves, I could see no trace of any unity of design in the grouping, except perhaps in one place, where four corner mounds seemed to be connected by a wall, and where, in the centre of the so-formed quadrangle, appears a mound of undefined shape, smaller, but resembling the others.

Since writing the above I have opened a small mound, fifty-seven paces round, and nine or ten feet in height, to the westward of the large group, and have begun upon a larger one. Of the latter I will give an account presently. The small one is one of many hundreds that lie grouped together. It appears to be simply a single tomb, though oddly chambered. The centre passage was 4ft. 9in. high from the ground, and roofed with single slabs of rough hewn limestone stretching across about 3ft. 6in. each; the width of this passage being three feet clear. The height of the side chambers, which were only 3ft. 6in., combined with their shortness 3ft. 8in., as well as the fact that I found the skull between the thigh bones, shows that the man must have been buried in a sitting position.

The walls of the tomb were of rough hewn stone and unmortared, so that dust had drifted into the chambers, sifting in between the stones and covering much of the floor to a depth of several inches. I opened from the eastward, and came upon a central passage lying nearly east and west, a fact that I have since utilized in beginning my work on the larger mound. On carrying away the earth we found no entrance, but made one by removing large blocks of stone, luckily in the very centre of the big passage. From here we had to step down about three feet six inches, and found, at length, in the first compartment to the right (and north), the skull and bones of a man. Unfortunately a slight shake was given to the basket, after I had placed it carefully on one side, and the skull, though propped in dust, fell to pieces. Judging

by the thigh bones, the man could not have stood much, if at all, over five feet nine inches. The skull seemed a very small one, specially low in the forehead, with a good development of the orbital ridge, narrow and more developed in length than in breadth, but still a small skull. It lay between the thigh bones, one of which was broken. This position of the skull, however, in conjunction with the lowness of the chamber and its want of depth, would seem to show that the corpse was buried in a sitting posture. In the small compartment facing the first we found the bones of some small animal, probably a gazelle or a sheep, and some remains of a rather delicate clay drinking vessel; while, scattered in the dust of the central passage, were a lot of small shapeless pieces of oxidized metal, brass or copper, and some fragments of a vessel of coarse red earthenware.

In the western and corresponding side chambers, both partially blocked by one or two large stones, nothing was found, except dust and a few laminated bones. These came out of the south-western chamber, but, with them, there was no skull or recognizable human bones. Here and there, scattered among the dust throughout the tomb, were pieces of what appeared to me to have been once ivory or wood; these being found on sifting the baskets of dust which came out when the tomb was being laid bare to its foundation stones.

April 6th, 1879.—I can now give a further account of the larger mounds that I have been since engaged upon.

In the first place, I chose the most perfect looking of the large tumuli, the present height of which is about 45 feet, circumference 200 paces, and the circular mound around it 330 paces, 20 paces of level ground separating this latter from the base of the mound, with a line of wall joining the outer circle to the base of the mound.

I naturally thought that this mound might cover the ruins of a small circular temple, and not those of a tomb. So we began to work at the top and centre, cutting down several yards. Finding, however, nothing but a ring of large

stones, I left the top and began work again a few feet above the base, running a cutting into the mound and taking care to retain the same line east and west, having remarked a depression or shallow channel from the top to the bottom of the mound in this direction. Here, on going in a few feet, our progress was blocked by enormous stones, which appeared, on removal, to form part of a cyclopean circular containing wall. One of the blocks we had to break up with the crow-bar measured roughly over six feet long, by three feet six broad, and eighteen inches deep.

The height of this wall above the ground level of my tunnel was about seven or eight feet, which would make it at least ten feet high from the level of the ground. The blocks used were unequal in size and unmortared.¹

On breaking through this wall, I almost at once found myself in a passage or gallery, about six feet broad, and gradually narrowing (as I found afterwards) to five feet three inches at the inner end. The walls on either side were of rough, unmortared, and carelessly fitted stones, varying in size, but sloping pyramidally upwards from the encircling wall and also slightly outwards from their base. I picked my way between these containing walls, removing the earth as I went, and thus gradually clearing out the passage behind as we proceeded.

This increased the labour enormously, and was I believe unnecessary, from the compactness of the mass, the relative small size of our gallery, and the outward slope of the walls.

A second barrier or inner wall, which blocked the entrance to the tomb itself was met with at a distance of thirty feet six inches from the first circular wall of blocks. On nearing this inner wall we found the passage on either side to be roughly mortared, and where the well-welded barrier forbade access, the wall on either

¹ Some of the outlying blocks on the other large mounds (already noticed) are of sandstone, and have been carefully shaped; perhaps the architects were equal to shaping sandstone, but not to shaping the harder limestone, or at any rate did not think that it was worth while to do so.

side had two coats, one of rough and the other of smooth mortar, the latter underlying the former, which still here bore the marks of the plasterer's finger smears. The undercoat was of different material, and so smooth and hard that we had to use our picks to remove it. The transverse wall of cemented blocks had been built in apparently after the side-walls had been finished. We blew this out.

From the platform on which these blocks were placed, a drop of three feet six inches brought us to the smooth and mortared floor of the tomb; here we turned up, among the stones and rubble masonry, a large amount of charcoal in such big pieces, that I think the roof must have been at one time supported by date tree trunks. Some pieces of a thinner character presented the appearance of bamboo-matting charcoaled.

On the right and left of the passage were two shelves on either side, the lowest of which was carefully lined with mortar, but held nothing but yellow dust, with which they were filled up. These were four feet long, by eight inches in depth, and were at a height of six feet nine from the ground or platform. There is nothing to show to what use these shelves can have been put. On descending from the platform (the end of the passage) the walls carefully mortared still continued right and left for three feet two inches, and then turned at right angles, forming small mortuary chambers of the same shape as those in the lesser tomb previously described.

The dimensions of these chambers right and left of the passage are roughly seven feet three (length), by three feet three (breadth), and five feet six (height). From the interior walls of these chambers stretched back, through piles of rubble and fallen blocks, the side walls of a passage some four feet broader than the gallery by which we had entered.

To give an idea of the size of the stones used, there is a big mass now lying in the passage, probably a whole stone, and one of those that formed the roof, the dimensions of which are five feet long by four feet broad, and two feet nine in depth, and another lying alone in the left-hand side chamber, five feet

long by one foot ten thick. Of course, all round, over and under these, there are smaller masses buried in mortar, flints and earth. Though I searched most carefully, I found no marks of writing anywhere, not even a mason's mark on any of the stones.

I think that the roof of the tomb, which, from the breadth of the central passage, could not be made of single transverse blocks, was unequal to supporting the weight of earth piled upon it, and had gradually slipped in.


Out of all the number of large tombs, there is still one, though not the largest, which would, I believe, well repay further research.





From October to April the climate of Bahrein is delightful, during the other months of the year it would be impossible to carry on work.

NOTES ON CAPT. DURAND'S REPORT UPON THE ISLANDS OF BAHREIN. By MAJOR-GENERAL SIR H. RAWLINSON, K.C.B., F.R.S., President and Director of the Royal Asiatic Society.

HAVING been led by Capt. Durand's discoveries at Bahrein to look into the question of the antiquities of the Persian Gulf, I have been surprised to find how much new and interesting matter relating to this region has been accumulated since Vincent and Heeren conducted their investigations into "the commerce and navigation of the ancients"; and although, therefore, I have not sufficient leisure at my command at present to work out the inquiry as it deserves to be worked out, I have still thought that the notes collected during my desultory reading might be usefully submitted to a meeting of this Society, both with a view to the partial illustration of the subject, and more especially in the hope of suggesting lines of research to other and more competent students.

The importance, then, of this maritime region in the

earliest period of the world's history may be inferred from the fact that, whereas Babylonia was mainly instrumental in imparting civilization to Western Asia, the Babylonians themselves admitted having received all their knowledge from the mysterious islanders of the Persian Gulf. The tradition preserved by Berosus, of Oannes, or "the fish God," who came up from "that part of the Erythræan Sea which borders on Babylonia," to teach the inhabitants of the country between the Tigris and Euphrates, "letters and sciences and arts of every kind," evidently points to this period of primitive civilization.¹ Oannes appears in the inscriptions as "the creator of mankind"; "the God of knowledge"; the lord of the primeval cities of *Erid*, of *Surippak*, and of *Khalkha*. He is usually known by the name of  "the God of the house of water," to which title I proposed many years ago to give the phonetic value of *Héa*, a provisional reading, which has remained in use ever since, though it has really very little except convenience to recommend it. The question then arises, who were these primitive "fathers of knowledge," who first civilized the settlers on the Tigris and Euphrates, and whose memory was perhaps preserved in the legend of the Garden of Eden and the tree of knowledge? From many circumstances, which will be

¹ The late George Smith, in the third chapter of his "Chaldean Account of Genesis," p. 37, has extracted from Cory's fragments most of the Greek notices referring to the early mythology and the primitive settlement of Babylonia, and has compared them in a somewhat perfunctory manner with the traditions preserved in the Cuneiform Inscriptions. His account of *Héa* or Oannes is at any rate far from satisfactory, and really adds very little to what I published on the subject twenty-two years ago in vol. i. of Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, p. 599. The great desideratum has been to find the Cuneiform original of the Greek *Ὀαννης*, but up to the present time the search has been unsuccessful. If Lenormant's conjecture had proved true that  had the power of *khan*, the Accadian name for a fish being *khanna*, then we might have compared  as a title of *Héa* with Oannes; but all the evidence goes to show that  had the phonetic value of *nun*, and nothing else. The original name of *Héa* seems to have been  *Adu nuna*, which probably meant "the fish king." (See B.M.I. vol. ii. p. 31, No. 2, which is an etymological commentary on the Accadian text of an unrecovered portion of the "fall" Tablet, other portions of the same commentary which refer to the published text of the fall tablet, being included in B.M.I. vol. v. now almost ready for issue.)

detailed in the course of these notes, I judge that they were a dark race, the ancestors of the "black-heads" of the inscriptions, and possibly the same as the Adamites of Genesis. They clearly did not belong to what is called the Semitic family of nations, as there is hardly a name in the original mythology or geography of the region which can be traced to a Hebrew or Arabic root.¹ They seem to have been of the same race, judging from their language, as the later Akkad of Babylonia; and it may be conjectured that they owed their early refinement to their position on the great line of traffic between the east and west. Commerce, indeed, has always sharpened the intelligence, and pioneered the way to civilization; and the same influences, which in a later age placed the Phœnicians at the head of European progress, may thus be supposed, at the first dawn of history, to have been in operation in the Persian Gulf. And here I may observe, that the reasons why, in very early times—and even as late as the time of Alexander—the emporia of commerce between India and the Mediterranean were to be found in the Persian Gulf, rather than on the southern coast of Arabia, or in the Red Sea, were simply these:—1st, that in the infancy of navigation mariners dared not strike directly across the Indian Ocean from the Malabar coast to Aden, but were obliged to creep along the shore from the mouth of the Indus to the entrance to the Persian Gulf; 2nd, that the Persian Gulf, with its varying winds, was always a far more convenient sea for navigation than the funnel-shaped Red Sea, where the wind blew for nine months continuously in one direction, and for three months in the other; and 3rd, that the valley of the Euphrates, and the northern skirts of

¹ It is difficult of course in some cases to determine whether the Accadian or Assyrian rendering of a proper name may be the original form. For instance, the evil spirits, companions of Oannes, who are named by Abydenus (following Berosus) *Εὐδαίμων* and *Ἐν-εὐδαίμων*, appear in the Inscriptions as *Vadukku* and *Egimu* in Assyrian, but *Vaduk* and *Gigim* in Accadian, which are mere variant forms of the same title, and probably signify "the strikers" and "the ravagers;" and I may add that *Ἐνδ-βουλος* is probably *Ana-gallú* (Arabic غول "the destroyers") the Greek labial as usual replacing the hard guttural, and *Ανά-δαφος* may be *Ana-rabyú*, "the crouchers," the *d* and *r* interchanging. In this view *Ανήμεντος* will be the only one of the five monsters of Berosus unidentified.

Arabia (along the caravan route, for instance, from Gerrha to Palmyra), offered far greater facilities for inland transport to the west, than the hot trackless wastes of the centre of the peninsula. To these combined causes, then, it was owing that *Milukh* and *Magan*, Ophir and Gerrha, long maintained their commercial and maritime ascendancy, to be succeeded in later times by Siraf and Keis, by Ormuz and Bassorah.

Having thus explained generally my view of the early condition of the Persian Gulf, I now enter upon particulars, relying mainly on the inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia for a due illustration of the subject. The earliest available source of information is no doubt the Babylonian mythology. I have a strong suspicion that the worship of H \acute{e} a or Oannes, which was introduced from the Persian Gulf, was originally distinct from, and perhaps antagonistic to, the worship of the two other Gods of the Triad, Anu and Bel, the cult of Anu being perhaps of native growth, while that of Bel was borrowed from the Eastern mountaineers, the famous 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 or *Sadu rabu*, "the great mountain," which is always spoken of as "the father of Bel," being the modern *Kibir Koh*, or outer range of Zagros, a name which has the same signification.¹ Whether this distinction can or cannot be maintained

¹ For "the great mountain," the father of *Bel* or *Ilu*, second God of the Babylonian Triad, see B.M.I. iv. 18, 14; iv. 23, 30; iv. 27, 17; iv. 60, 23, and Smith's Discoveries, p. 392, Ins. line 7. This remarkable feature of the Babylonian mythology is named in one passage (iv. 27, 17) *Im-kharris* or Heaven's hill, and is described as "reaching its head to heaven while its foundations touched the *abûi*," an indication which, if of any geographical value, will alone suit *Kibir-koh*, which stretches out its roots to the great lake at *Tiḫ*. I was for some time under the impression that the *Sadu rabu* or "great mountain" of Bel was represented by the large mound at Niffer, which was especially Bel's city: and where the *Ziggurat* or Tower was named *Bit-Im-kharris*, "the House of Heaven's hill;" but further research has satisfied me that "the great mountain" was a real physical feature, though often used in a mythical sense (as in B.M.I. iv. 60, 23, where the name is bracketed with *Nidukki* or Bahrein), and provisionally, therefore, I suggest *Kibir-koh* as its modern representative. Of course the *sadu rabu*, "father of Bel," is quite distinct from the *Sadu-rabu-matâti* or *Kharris-gal-kurkurra*, in which almost all Assyrian scholars, except Smith, have insisted up to the present time on seeing a sort of Eastern Olympus, but which was in reality nothing more than the great national temple at Assur (or *Kileh Shergât*), with *Necropolis* attached, the *mat aralli* of Botta's Ins. 153, l. 12, and 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 of B.M.I. vol. i. p. 32, 32. Bel was sometimes called "the great mountain" himself, and was enshrined with the other Gods and Goddesses, in the famous temple of *Sadu-rabu-matâti* at Assur. See Botta's Ins. pl. 131, l. 19.

is not, however, of much consequence to my present argument, which is confined to Héa and his ocean domicile. He is best known as the Lord of the *Abšú* or "abyss," a name which is usually applied in a sort of mythic sense to the "waters under the earth" of the Hebrews, but which also certainly indicated a geographical reality; being, in fact, the sea now called the Persian Gulf, and more specifically the great inland sea, which at different periods of history has spread over a more or less extent of the low country intervening between the salt sea shore and the higher land at the foot of the mountains. It is only at least by supposing an inland sea of this nature—the "Assyrium stagnum" of Justin, and since greatly circumscribed by the gradual accretion of alluvial deposit from the rivers—that I can explain how "the blessed city," or *Erid*, Héa's chief seat of worship, and represented by the ruins of Tîb, which are now more than 200 miles from the sea-coast, came to be designated "the house of the *Abšú*," $\text{𒀭} \text{𒂗} \text{𒀭}$; ¹ or how the ark in the Chaldæan account of the Deluge could have been launched into the *Abšú* from the inland town of Surippak (probably near the modern Hôweiza), where it was built by Khasis-udra or Xisuthrus.² The third seat of the "water-god," or $\text{𒂗} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ *Héa*, was at $\text{𒂗} \text{𒀭}$ *Khalkha*, which, as the name never occurs in the accounts of the Assyrian military expeditions, I suppose to have been an island in the Gulf, and which, accordingly, I venture to compare with خارك Kharak or Karrak, a name that may, I think, be also recognized in the *'Apákia* of Ptolemy, off the Persian coast, and the *Aracia* of Pliny, the

¹ See B.M.I. vol. iv. p. 45, l. 35. In the same passage, $\text{𒀭} \text{𒂗} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ the Accadian name for the *abšú*, is explained as "the abode of knowledge," *Bit-nimiki*, in reference, no doubt, to the primitive colonists who came from the Persian Gulf.

² See col. 1, l. 27 of Deluge tablet. I call *Surippak* an inland town because neither in ancient nor in modern times has a city ever been built on the sea-shore at the mouth of a great river like the Euphrates, for the simple reason that in such a position the city would be buried under alluvial deposit in the course of a very few years. *Surippak* is mentioned as late as the time of *Khammuragas*, about B.C. 1500, but not later. See Smith's "Early History of Babylon," Journ. of Soc. of Bib. Arch. vol. i. p. 59, where, however, the name is expressed under its Accadian form of *Mairu* (for *Mazu*).

As the Persian alphabet always substituted an *r* for the Semitic *l*, *Harak* would naturally represent the Babylonian *Khalakh* or *Khalkha*, which name is given as the seat of the god H \acute{e} a in B.M.I. vol. ii. p. 60, l. 22, this notice being, moreover, confirmed by the phrase $\rightarrow \text{𐎶} \text{𐎠 \text{𐎧}} \leftarrow$ “the Lord Bull, king of Khalakh,” which is found among the titles of H \acute{e} a on an unpublished fragment in the British Museum. Yacút's account of *Kharak* is interesting. He says, “It is an island in the Persian Gulf (*Bahar-el Fars*t), which looks like a lofty mountain (the “monte præalto” of Pliny, and the height being really 280 feet) in the middle of the sea. When a vessel leaves ‘*Abadan*’ (at the mouth of the Euphrates) for ‘*Omán*, and the wind is favourable, it will reach *Kharak* in a day and night. It is included in the dependencies of *Fars*, and is situated out in the sea opposite to *Jannábeh* and *Míhrúyan*, the one position being visible from the other with a good sight, whilst the mountains inland are always clearly to be seen from the island. I have often visited the place, and found on it a tomb, to which they make pilgrimages and offer vows, the islanders pretending that it is the tomb of Muhammad Ibn El Hanifeh, though this is contrary to history.” Now it is quite possible, I think, in view of that persistency of tradition which is so marked in the East, that this pilgrimage to a spurious shrine may be a relic of the old sailor-worship of H \acute{e} a. There is indeed to be seen at the present day, in the centre of the island of Kharak, a rude cave-temple, which bears marks of the remotest antiquity,

¹ B.M.I. vol. ii. p. 60, l. 21. Ptolemy calls Aracia the Island of Alexander, but for what reason is not apparent. His island of Tabiana in the immediate vicinity was named after the river Táb, and his Ταόρα represents of course the توك of the Persians. The Achemenian Palace of Taœe, mentioned by Strabo, was probably at the modern village of Dalaki, where there is a fine mound of great apparent antiquity; but the most promising site for excavation in that part of Persia would seem to be at the village of *Hindían* on the Táb river, where, according to the traveller *Mosier Ibn Mohalhal*, there were in his time (tenth century) "wonderful remains and magnificent buildings, from which they excavated buried treasures as they do in Egypt, together with temples of marvellous workmanship and *Pyrea*." The ruins still exist, as I have heard, between the two arms of the river about one stage south of *Bibuhán*.

though the traces of a cross and a half-obliterated Syrian inscription show that in later times it must have been used as a Christian hermitage. Geographical commentators have been usually content to identify Kharak with the *Ἰκαρος* or *Ἰχάρα* of the Greeks, where there was a shrine to Apollo and Diana, but the measurements are quite unsuitable. Icarus, so named, it is said, by Alexander, was found by Archias, the king's first exploring officer sent from Babylon, to be only distant 120 stadia (ten or twelve miles) from the mouth of the Euphrates; and the evidence of Androstenes, who conducted a later survey, further shows that it was close to the Arabian coast.¹ It has probably been long ago absorbed in the new land of the Bubián Island, formed by the continued deposit of alluvium, and it is useless, therefore, now to search for the site. It is a subject of more interest, as indicating the line of advance by which the primitive Turanian colony must have approached the Euphrates, to observe that Nearchus passed another island sacred to Neptune (*Héa* or *Oannes*), as far east as *Oaracta* or *Kishm*,² so that the inference would seem to be, that the first immigrants came from the Indian Ocean, but whether from India itself, or from Egypt by the Red Sea and the southern coast of Arabia, cannot at present be decided. On one side there is the remarkable tradition preserved by Diodorus that "Belus, the son of Neptune (*i.e.* Merodach, the son of *Héa*), led a colony from Egypt into the province of Babylon, and fixing his seat on the river Euphrates, consecrated Priests, whom the Babylonians call Chaldeans, and who observe the motions of the stars in

¹ Vincent, in his *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, vol. i. p. 522, would identify the Icarus visited by Archias with the island of *Felicheh* off Grane Harbour, but admits that the distance does not correspond; while he supposes Ptolemy's *Ichara* to be a distinct island and one of the Bahrein group. When we consider the enormous extent of new land, at least fifty miles in length, that has been formed at the mouth of the Euphrates since the time of Alexander, it must be evident that it is a hopeless task to attempt to verify the Greek measurements by a comparison with modern distances.

² Vincent supposes Neptune's Island, noticed by Nearchus, to be the modern *Angar*, or as it is now called *Hinjám*, but *Angar* or *Argan* is almost necessarily *Organa*, and Neptune's Island, seen from it in the offing, can only be, I think, the Greater Tomb. *Argan* or *Hinjám*, where we now have a telegraph station, is, it must be remembered, exactly in the line of navigation up the Gulf and close to *Kishm*, so that it could not possibly be described as "an islet in the offing."




imitation of the Priests and Astrologers of Egypt.”¹ On the other side, it is to be noted that native tradition, as preserved by a certain Semiramus of Babylon, who is quoted by the author of the Paschal Chronicle, described the famous primitive teacher of Astronomy to the Babylonians as Andubarius the Indian, this name of Andubar applying to the mythical personage usually called Izdubar by Assyriologists, whose adventures, as translated by George Smith, have recently created so much interest amongst Oriental and Biblical students.² In the name of $\text{𐎠𐎵} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}$ we have for the first element 𐎠𐎵 *An*, a God, and secondly, *Dubar* or *Thubar* (Arabic *شجر* ‘a sort of palm-tree’), preceded by the determinative of *wood*, which, as usual, is not pronounced. Andubar, as I long ago pointed out, was the impersonation of the Sun; this identification being rendered certain by the hymn translated by Smith (*Discoveries*, p. 394), where all the usual solar epithets, “judge of mankind, etc.,” are applied to the hero in question, and his twelve cantos, illustrating the sun’s passage through the twelve signs of the Zodiac, may thus have well been considered as a popular introduction to Astronomy. There was also a saying familiar amongst the people of the Sowád at the time of the Arab invasion, and which the early traditionists repeated without understanding, that *Niffer* was the original *Babil*, *Modain* was Ctesiphon, and *Abillah* (the port of entry at the mouth of the Euphrates) was a dependency of *Hind* or India, this connexion of the two names seeming to point to the original immigration.³











But the worship of H \acute{e} a or Neptune was not the only cult

¹ See Diod. Sic. lib. i. cap. 2. It has also occurred to me that the epithet *μυσαρδης*, applied to Oannes by Berosus, and hitherto unexplained, may possibly represent the ethnic title *Muṣari*, or Egyptian, in allusion to the nationality of the primitive colony.


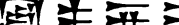




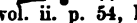


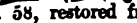
² This curious passage I transcribe at length: ‘*Εν τοῖς χρόνοις τῆς πυρρηνολίας δε τοῦ γένους τοῦ Ἀρφαζδὸς ἄνθρωπος τις Ἰνδοῦ ἀνεφάνη σοφὸς ἀστρονόμος ἐνὸς καὶ Ἀνδουβάρου, ὃς καὶ συνεγράψατο πρῶτος Ἰνδοῖς ἀστρονομίαν.*—Pasch. Chron. ed. Dindorf, vol. i. p. 64. Observe that although *Andubar* is said to have taught the Indians, the whole chapter copied from Semiramus relates to Babylonian tradition, and the name of Arphaxad, who was the supposed father of the Chaldeans, points in the same direction. It was common to name teachers after trees; thus the preceptor of Manes was named *Budda* or ‘the Terebinth tree.’

³ *Yacút* in voce *Niffer*.

introduced by the primitive "black-heads" into Babylonia. The Persian Gulf was equally famous for the worship of the sun, and for that of the sun's closest attendant, the planet Mercury, the latter being the cult with which the Bahrein discoveries are more immediately connected. With regard to the sun-worship I may refer, firstly, to the report of Alexander's officers that the island of Icarus, in the northern part of the Persian Gulf, was sacred to Apollo and Diana, and, secondly, to Ptolemy's notice of the *Ἱερα ἡλίου ἄκρα* on the Arabian coast, somewhat further to the south, while in respect to the Cuneiform evidence I may note that, besides many passages which seem to connect the sun directly with *Niduk-ki* or Bahrein,¹ there is the whole series of the adventures of Izdubar (or more properly "Andubar the Indian"), which, belonging to the period of the primitive Babylonian colonization, certainly represent the solar myth, and may thus be received as an indication of the original faith. In respect to Mercury, however, the evidence is far more weighty and direct. The inscription, indeed, on Captain Durand's famous black stone discovered at Bahrein, forms the ground-work of the argument. It is written in what is usually called Hieratic Babylonian, and may be transliterated as follows: Hekal Rimugas, eri-Inzak, Aqiru, *i.e.* "The Palace of Rimugas, the servant of Mercury, of the tribe of Ogyr." It is important to note that the name of *Rimugas* is of undoubted Accadian etymology, the ending in *s* being a marked peculiarity of the pre-Semitic names, while *Inzak* is given in a bilingual fragment as the Accadian name for Nebo or Mercury, as worshipped at    or Bahrein.² But there was still another divinity worshipped in the Persian Gulf, who was probably of more importance than any of those already noticed. The Greeks of Alexander's time called this divinity Venus, and associated her with











¹ Compare especially B.M.I. vol. iv. p. 60, col. 1, lines 23, 24, 26, and 38; and it is not impossible but that          , who was certainly one of the Gods of *Nidukki* (B.M.I. vol. iv. p. 25, l. 18), may be a form of the Sun-god, being joined with *Biseba*, which was another name for the sun, in B.M.I. vol. ii. p. 69, lines 66, 67.

² Compare B.M.I. vol. ii. p. 54, l. 66, restored from duplicate copy, with B.M.I. vol. ii. p. 60, l. 30.





1 For the benefit of Assyrian students I quote the various passages where these equivalent readings severally occur: (a)  =  *Lakhamun* = *Ziru-panit* of *Nidukki*, B.M.I. vol. ii. p. 54, l. 58, restored from duplicate copy.  or  i.e. *Lakhama* or *Lakhamu*, as the 'female principle of Nature' (same as *Anata*, wife of *Anu*), B.M.I. vol. ii. p. 54, l. 9, vol. iii. p. 59, l. 15, and Creation Tablet, l. 10. (b)  *Pap-nun*, gloss for  *Tasmit*, B.M.I. vol. ii. p. 48, l. 39, but  *Pap-nun* (great giver?) of heaven and earth" is a name for *Ziru-panit*, B.M.I. vol. ii. p. 54, l. 54, restored from duplicate, and is applied to the same Goddess as wife of Merodach, B.M.I. vol. iv. p. 21, l. 52; while in an unpublished list "*Pap-nun* of heaven and earth" is wife of  (or   'the proclaimer of good fortune,' who was a mere secondary form of *Nebo*, or *Mercury*, see B.M.I. vol. iii. p. 66, col. 3, l. 30, and col. 7, l. 29, and B.M.I. vol. iv. p. 59, l. 43.


² If *Lakk-amun* were a genuine reading, it might be explained as 'the messenger of Ammon' ($\text{𐤋𐤋𐤏𐤍} = \text{lakk} = \text{gukkal}$), and would seem to have been borrowed from Egypt, like *Huras*, *Bar*, *Parra*, and several other names common to Egyptian and Babylonian divinities; but I cannot venture to generalize on a single example.

who was in a later age worshipped in Babylonia under at least three different forms, namely, *Ziru-panit*, wife of Merodach; *Tasmit*, wife of Nebo; and *Gula*, wife of Ninip, the Assyrian Hercules. The attributes at any rate of *Gula*,¹ who in the general lists is sometimes bracketed with *Lakhmu*, the male principle of nature, are exactly suited to the Goddess of Bahrein; for she is, 1st, "the great mother (*ummu alidat* or 'genetrix') of the black-heads," 2nd, she is "the Queen of Kararak," "she who blesses the tomb" (*abrikkat aralli*); and 3rd, she is "the Queen of life," "she who resuscitates the dead," the lady in fact of the resurrection, and the Goddess accordingly around whose shrine the "the black-heads" or Erythræans would naturally desire to be buried; precisely as at the present day the Persian sectaries desire to be buried at Kerbela and Nejef, not so much out of respect to the tombs of the martyred Imams, as because the last judgment is traditionally expected to take place in the *Wadi-as-Salâm* in the immediate neighbourhood; and I may add, as a parallel case, that I attribute the multitude of ancient graves at *Warkâ* or *Huruk* to the celebrity of the neighbouring shrine of Istar, who, as another representative of the productive power of nature, was also probably supposed to preside over the resurrection; and here it becomes necessary to take up the general geographical

¹ A few references seem to be here required. *Gula* is associated with     *Lakhmu* (to be distinguished from *Lakhamu*), apparently as man and wife, on a fragment in the Museum giving a very complete list of the Gods, and as yet unpublished. For her title as 'great mother of the black-heads,' see B.M.I. vol. iv. p. 61, l. 27, where she is joined with    or *Ninip*, her usual partner, either under his own name or under the secondary form of    *Damu*. Her best-known title is Lady of *Nisinna* or *Karak*, which was probably the same place as the *Karaka* of the list of Darius, and the *Charax* of later geography (modern *Mohamrah*, near the mouth of the Euphrates), see B.M.I. vol. ii. p. 51, l. 34, and compare B.M.I. vol. iv. p. 63, lines 15 and 21. For her title of *Mupallidat miti* 'she who restores the dead to life,' see B.M.I. vol. iv. p. 19, l. 8, and B.M.I. vol. ii. p. 39, l. 31, and p. 62, l. 15. From the many passages indeed in which she is invoked, it is evident she was considered the arbitress of life and death, see Michaux Stone, col. 4, l. 5, B.M.I. vol. iii. p. 41, l. 29, and p. 43, col. 4, l. 15. It must be admitted that there is no evidence to connect *Gula* directly with *Nidukki* or Bahrein, though it is tolerably certain that her worship prevailed extensively in the Persian Gulf.

question which is so closely connected with the mythological that the one is unintelligible without a due knowledge of the other.

Let it be understood then that throughout the Assyrian tablets, from the earliest period to the latest, there is constant allusion to an island called   *Niduk-ki* in Accadian, and   *Tilun* or *Tilmun* in Assyrian,¹ and that this name, which unquestionably applies to Bahrein, is so frequently associated with two others, *Milukh* and *Magan*, or *Makkan*, that the three places may be assumed with certainty to be in the same neighbourhood. Now *Milukh* and *Magan*, which simply mean, as I believe, "upper" and "lower," are better known to Assyriologists in their application to Egypt, that is, as indicating "the lower and upper country," or *Misraim* in the dual number. It is immaterial to my present argument to discuss whether the Egyptian *Milukh* and *Magan* are to be understood as Lybia and Sinai, according to the suggestion of Lenormant,² which seems to be accepted by Oppert and even by Sayce, or whether the two names refer, as I believe, to the upper country of Egypt and the Delta. What I have here to do is to show that there was an "eastern" as well as a "western" *Milukh* and *Magan*, and that the two names in Eastern Geography indicated two ports in the Persian Gulf, which must have been contiguous to Bahrein.³ The evidence




¹ The meaning of the Accadian name *Nidukki* may be either 'possessing altars' or 'possessing a God,' for the letter  used as a monogram, has both significations, and either of these would be suitable to the holy character of the island; but it is difficult to find a similar signification for the Assyrian equivalent *Tilun* or *Tilmun*, if we are restricted to a Semitic etymology. It is quite possible, however, that *Tilmun* may be an adopted name, *Til* being allied to *Tilla*, a Turanian correspondent to *Akkad* 'high lands,' and *mun* being explained in Syllabary 156 by *dabtu* 'favour or blessing,' so that the meaning of the name might be 'the blessed hill' or perhaps 'the blessed isle.'

² See Journal of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, vol. vi. pp. 348 and 399. M. Lenormant, I see, credits Prof. Jules Oppert with the original identification of *Milukh* as the *Μερόη* of the Greeks, but this is, I believe, incorrect. My "Illustrations of Egyptian History from the Cuneiform Inscriptions" appeared in vol. vii. new series, of the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature" (Feb. 1861), long before M. Oppert published anything on the subject, and in that paper will be found, not only the suggestion regarding Meroe, but most of the other identifications of Egyptian Historical and Geographical names which Brugsch regards as one of the most interesting discoveries of the age.

³ If the tradition were confirmed of a very early colonization of Babylonia from Egypt, we might well suppose the names of *Milukh* and *Magan* to have been








to this effect I proceed briefly to recapitulate.¹ In all the geographical lists, as well as in the classification of ships and products, the names of *Nidukki*, *Milukh*, and *Magan* are associated with a uniformity which it would be impossible to explain if the one place were in the Persian Gulf, and the others in the Mediterranean. There is indeed no conceivable reason why in these lists—some of them very ancient—which relate exclusively to Babylonia, Assyria, and their dependencies, remote Egyptian names should be introduced.² The




brought round to the Persian Gulf by the original immigrants from the Red Sea, and might thus be justified in searching for an etymology in the dialects of the Valley of the Nile. Lenormant at one time suggested a direct Semitic derivation for *Milukh* by comparing it with the Hebrew מלח 'salt,' and curiously enough the town of Gerrha was actually built of blocks of rock-salt, so that the name, if thus derived, would be most appropriate to the locality; but such an explanation would take no account of the contrast between *Magan* and *Milukh*, and I cannot therefore accept it. Still less can I approve of Lenormant's later reading of *Keslukk* (Biblical Casluchim) instead of *Milukh* (Journ. Bib. Arch. vol. vi. p. 402). I would prefer to derive *Milukh* from a root resembling מלך, though probably Egyptian rather than Assyrian. With regard to Ophir and Apirak, which I have ventured to regard as synonyms of *Milukh*, there is much uncertainty. *Khupur* is no doubt given in B.M.I. vol. ii. p. 50, l. 51, as an Accadian term for "Highland"; but I find it difficult to admit, with Sayce, that this is a mere modified form of *Khapis*, or *Apir*, or *Apar* (Ezra iv. 9), which was the vernacular name of the Susians or Elamites; for the full name of the country inhabited by these tribes was *Khallapirti*, Nakah-i-Rustam Ins. l. 17 (which appears almost unaltered in the *Χαλταπῆρις* of Ptolemy adjoining *Κισσία*), and the other forms of *Khapirti*, *Khapirti*, *Khapis*, and *Apar*, were mere degradations of the original title, a still further corruption having survived in *Lepet*, which was the name applied to the city of Ahwaz as late as the Arab conquest (Procop. Edit. Dindorf, vol. ii. p. 504). I think it safer then not to attempt to connect Ophir and *Apirak* etymologically with the Susian *Apir*, but to be content with showing that, whatever may have been the meaning of the names, the two places—that is, 1st, the port visited by the fleets of Solomon, and which, in Genesis x. 29, is bracketed with Havilah at the mouth of the Euphrates; and 2nd, the country taken by Naram-Sin (together with *Magan*) after the conquest of *Nidukki*—must have been on the Arabian coast opposite to Bahrein, and most possibly at or near the spot afterwards occupied by Gerrha. And I may conclude my remarks on the subject by suggesting that the name of *Hupir*, which is given to the king of *Nidukki* or *Tilmun* in the Annals of the second Sargon, may possibly reproduce the original title of the great emporium of commerce in the immediate neighbourhood, which was usually expressed in Hebrew by חֲפִיר.

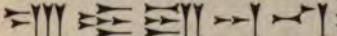
¹ For notices of *Nidukki* see B.M.I. vol. ii. p. 46, lines 5, 48; vol. ii. p. 51, l. 17; vol. ii. p. 53, l. 11; vol. iii. p. 60, l. 18; vol. iii. p. 4, l. 70, restored from duplicate; vol. iv. p. 60, *passim*; vol. iv. p. 25, l. 18. In an unpublished fragment containing an interesting geographical list, two names are found as correspondents to *Nidukki*, *Tilmun* and *Aznú*,   , immediately followed by *Magan* and *Milukh*. *Aznú* is otherwise unknown, but may represent the lesser island of Bahrein.

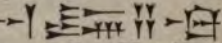
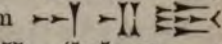
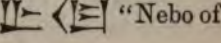
² See especially B.M.I. vol. iv. p. 38, lines 13, 14. In the very curious list of countries and their descriptive titles, B.M.I. vol. ii. p. 51, it is very probable that

earliest mention of *Nidukki* probably occurs in the great Astrological work, which appears to have been composed before the institution of the Assyrian empire, as the name of Assur never once occurs in it, but the only geographical indication therein contained is that *Nidukki* must have been to the east of Babylon. In the mythological tablet, published in B.M.I. vol. iv. pl. 60, *Nidukki* is frequently spoken of, but apparently in a mythical sense, being associated with "the great mountain" of Bel, with the mysterious Bull, with the sun-worship, and generally with the East in a most perplexing manner. The first historical notice of the place occurs on a tablet giving an account of the great Sargon's career (about 1600 B.C., according to Smith), where the king is said to have reached "the lower sea" or Persian Gulf, and the country of "the black-heads," and to have reduced *Nidukki*, and another sea-port of which the name is incomplete; and this notice is of the more importance as in what appears to be the continuation of the same campaign on another tablet, Sargon's son, Naramsin, is said to have conquered *Ris-bin*, the king of *Apirak*, and his ally the king of *Magan*, whose name however is lost. Now the *Magan* and *Apirak* here named, and which are possibly again mentioned on the Naramsin vase obtained by M. Fresnel and since lost, cannot by any possibility belong to Egypt, but must certainly be sought for in the Persian Gulf.¹ In my view, then, *Apirak*—or, without the Accadian augment, *Apir*—answering to the Biblical "Ophir," was probably situated either at *Katif* or *Gerrha*, and was the same place as *Milukh*, both of these names perhaps signifying "the

the two names in line 18, which follow *Magan* and *Milukh*, refer to the Bahrein Islands. One is    *Tila* = , and the other *Saggis* =    or Mercury. The title 'region of springs' exactly suits Capt. Durand's description of Bahrein.

¹ See Smith's translation of the Sargon tablet, restored from a duplicate copy, in the Journal of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, vol. i. p. 46, and his translation of the Naramsin record in the same paper, p. 51. With regard to his reading of *Apirak* and *Magan* for the two names on the Naramsin vase, I entertain some doubt. I repeatedly studied the inscription from the original vase, and satisfied myself that the first letter of the fifth line was   , as indeed it is printed (B.M.I. vol. i. p. 3, No. vii.), from a squeeze which I then took; and I cannot see my way to reading this character as *api*.

upper," in contradistinction to *Magan*, "the lower."¹ At whatever precise spot this port may have been situated, it was no doubt from the very earliest times the emporium of Indian commerce, and on this account attracted the navies of Solomon, the articles with which his ships were loaded being, as is well known, Indian both in name and character. The sister port of *Magan* seems to have given its name to the God who was worshipped there, and who was either "the Sun," or his attendant Mercury, and the God's name  must in later times have applied to the port itself, for *Maγudáva* is laid down in Ptolemy's chart, which was taken from the Roman traders of the time, at the entrance of the Sinus Gerraicus, where is now found the village of Dhelum, answering to the *Dheláma* ذلّامة of the Arab geographers.² It is only necessary to state further, in reference to *Nidukki* or *Tilmun*, that its identification with Bahrein is further shown by the well-known passage in the annals of the younger Sargon, where the submission is described of Hupir, the king of the islands, who dwelt like a fish in the sea, at the distance of 30 *kaspu* or "double hours" (equal to about 210 English miles) from the mouth of the Euphrates, a measurement which is strictly accurate.

To return, now, to the mythological part of the subject, the identification of the God *Inzak* is of great interest. On Capt. Durand's stone the name is written  with which we must compare the form  given as the equivalent of  "Nebo of


¹ The augment of locality is found in many of the old Accadian names, such as *Asnunak*, *Surippak*, *Susinak*, *Apirak*, etc. It is probably a relic of *ki* 'place.' Sayce has shown some reason for regarding *Apir*, the vernacular name of Susiana, as a synonym of *Numma* or *Elam* 'upper' (*Journ. Bib. Arch.* vol. iii. p. 468), and *Magan* is certainly used in B.M.I. vol. iv. p. 13, l. 16, for 'lower,' in contradistinction to *eliti* or 'upper.'

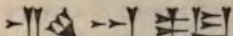
² I used to consider all the names in the fragment, B.M.I. vol. iii. p. 69, lines 53-58, from *Mitra* to *Biséba*, as titles for the 'sun,' and I then supposed *Maganda-anna* to be the same as *ina isid samé* 'in the lower part of heaven,' an epithet constantly applied to the sun (B.M.I. vol. iv. p. 28, l. 25, and *Bib. Arch.* vol. v. p. 438 and vol. vi. p. 383); but it seemed impossible that 'the dark God,' *Ilu zalam*, which is used for the shadow of the sun in B.M.I. vol. i. p. 18, l. 44, could also represent the sun itself; and I prefer, therefore, now referring all the names, excluding *Biséba*, to Mercury. I may add that the title of 'the dusky God' very possibly survives in the modern village of *Dhelum*.

Nidukki," in B.M.I. vol. ii. p. 54, l. 66. This name of Inzak, however, is composed of two elements, *In*, "a Lord," and *sak*, "the first or nearest," a variant of the title, $\rightarrow\text{I} \langle \text{E} \rightarrow \text{I} \rangle$ *Uzak*, being thus given in B.M.I. vol. ii. p. 60, l. 30, among the titles of Nebo, with the translation of $\rightarrow\text{II} \text{II} \nabla \rightarrow\text{III} \rightarrow\text{I}$ *bil asaridu*, or "Lord, the nearest." This title of *Asaridu* was probably given to Mercury, because he was the nearest planet to the sun.¹ Another Accadian compound for the same word *asaridu* was $\rightarrow\text{II} \nabla \rightarrow\text{I}$ (see Smith's Alphabet, No. 94, 2), and we are fully justified, therefore, in applying to Mercury the planetary title of $\rightarrow\text{II} \nabla \rightarrow\text{I} \rightarrow\text{I} \text{I}$ (B.M.I. vol. ii. p. 49, l. 42), which has hitherto been usually referred to Saturn; this identification, again, leads to further explanations, for $\rightarrow\text{II} \nabla \rightarrow\text{I} \rightarrow\text{I} \text{I}$ (literally "the nearest star to the sun") is stated to be the same as $\rightarrow\text{I} \langle \rightarrow \rightarrow \rangle$ or $\rightarrow\text{I} \text{E} \rightarrow \text{II} \nabla$ "the dark God," who is noticed in B.M.I. vol. iv. p. 25, l. 18, as the special God of *Nidukki*. No doubt the title of $\rightarrow\text{I} \text{E} \rightarrow \text{II} \nabla$ "the dark God" (Assyr. *Ilu zalmi*, B.M.I. vol. ii. p. 49, l. 42, and vol. iii. p. 69, l. 66), was given to Mercury on account of its close propinquity to the sun, the star being, according to the Latin astronomers, "perustus aut solatus" (and for the same reason Nebo is often styled in the Inscriptions $\rightarrow\text{I} \rightarrow \Delta \rightarrow \text{I} \rightarrow \Delta \rightarrow \text{I}$ or *emuk liti*, "steeped in flame," and is even confounded with the "spirit of fire," $\rightarrow\text{I} \rightarrow \Delta \rightarrow \text{I} \rightarrow \text{II} \Delta$, who seems, nevertheless, astronomically to have been properly identified with the lightning);² and

¹ *Asaridu*, which is given in the lists as the equivalent both of $\text{E} \rightarrow \text{I} \langle \text{E} \rightarrow \text{I} \rangle$ and $\rightarrow\text{II} \nabla \rightarrow\text{I}$ (read by Lenormant as *Sag-gis*), usually means 'the first' or 'chief' or 'eldest,' but 'nearest' seems to be also quite a legitimate rendering. The etymology is unknown, but I conjecture it to be the word from which the Arabs have derived their name of عطارد *Atârid*, for Mercury, by substituting the *ain* for *alif*, and hardening the sibilant, as in 'Athtar for *Istar* or Venus, *Aturia* for Assyria, etc.











² See B.M.I. vol. ii. p. 60, l. 38. The most direct identification of Nebo with the Fire God occurs in the inscription on the famous tablet which gives the numerical value of the Assyrian deities, and which, though often quoted, has never, I believe, been published *in extenso*. Here the last God of the second division, which must necessarily answer to Nebo, is named $\rightarrow\text{I} \rightarrow \Delta \rightarrow \text{I}$

herein we probably see the origin and explanation of the Greek stories about King Erythras and the Erythræan Sea. It is quite certain that the colossal tumuli discovered and partially opened by Capt. Durand on the larger island of Bahrein represent the tomb of Erythras on the island of Tyrine, or Ogyris, which attracted the notice of Alexander's officers. The geographical evidence of identity is quite complete, and the description of the spot given by Orthogoras, "on a lofty mound covered with wild palms," would suit the locality at the present day.¹ The only point which is difficult of decision seems to be whether the far-famed tomb of Erythras, "the red king," was a temple of Inzak (or Mercury, "the dusky God"), or whether there may not have been a real sepulchre on the island of some early king of the "black-heads," whose name was used as the eponym of his race.² It was the dusky or swarthy colour of the primitive colonists which the Greeks translated by Erythræan, and which probably led the islanders to take "the dusky God" as their tutelary divinity; for the monogram  by which Nebo of *Nidukki* was distinguished is explained in one of the Cuneiform syllabaries as *Sagga-gunu*, that is, "head-colour," or "reddish brown";³ and curiously enough the character in question has also the two syllabic values of *Sur* and *Kus*, the one value having possibly suggested that connexion with the Syrians of the Mediterranean which so sorely puzzled the Greeks, while the other pointed less obscurely to

. For the identification of the Fire God with the lightning, *birku*, see B.M.I. vol. iii. p. 66, col. 2, l. 20, and col. 7, l. 10.

¹ Strabo, p. 766.

² Artemidorus, as quoted by Strabo, p. 779, alludes to this eponymous character of Erythras, when he says that some of the natives called him a son of Perses, who formerly reigned in these parts.

³ Syllabary 483 and B.M.I. vol. ii. p. 21, l. 41. In the latter passage *gur* is the gloss for *Inzu*,  'the red-brown goat,' or  (Capricorn or Tebeth), which Sayce calls 'the double ship'! Assyriologists do not seem to have discovered that the *gunu* of the lists is everywhere 'colour' (Chald. ), and that the ideographic representative was usually the prefix , as in  'a fish,'  'fish-colour,'  'a head,'  'head-colour,'  'mud-colour' (?), , etc.

a derivation from the Kush or Asiatic Ethiopians of Herodotus and Strabo, who dwelt in the same region. The rationalizing Greeks, who evidently looked upon King Erythras as a myth, attempted to explain the name of the Erythræan Sea by the ruddy reflexion on the waves of the rays of a vertical sun, or by the colour of the adjoining mountains, reddened by the intensity of the heat;¹ but the colour of the islanders, as it seems to me, offers a far more plausible solution of the difficulty. I shall not here critically discuss the question whether there really ever was any ethnic connexion between the islanders of the Persian Gulf and the founders of the Mediterranean sea-ports of Tyre and Sidon, because there is no direct evidence either for or against such a supposition to be derived from the inscriptions. The supposed similarity of name between Tylus and Aradus in the Persian Gulf, and *Tsur* and *Arvad* on the Phœnician coast, will not bear a moment's serious examination;² but at the same time I see nothing improbable in the Turanian immigrants who first colonized Babylonia from the Gulf, having subsequently pushed on to the westward till they reached the shores of the Mediterranean, and formed that confederacy of cities on the sea-coast, which belonged (many centuries anterior to a Semitic settlement) to the Philistines of the Bible, a Turanian race immediately cognate with the Canaanites and Hittites. If any dependence is to be placed on the information given by the priests of Tyre to Herodotus, that the Temple of Hercules had been founded 2300 years before his visit,—and viewed by the light of recent discovery as to the extreme antiquity of the historic monuments of Egypt and Babylonia, I can see no improbability in the statement,—this great Turanian immigration must have set

¹ See Strabo, *loc. cit.*


² Before quitting the subject of *Nidukki*, I may allude to a curious passage in B.M.I. vol. ii. p. 60, col. 3, which seems to refer to some fabulous voyage of the king of the island, in a ship built for the purpose. The passage is too imperfect to be made out clearly, and the geographical names are in many cases mutilated; but I strongly suspect that the list was intended to represent a sort of Periplus of the Erythræan Sea. The catalogue of names reads as follows: *Nidukki*, *Nibiru*, *Gupé*, *Suli* . . . , *Istar* offspring of *Nigara*, *Nigara* offspring of *Nigira*, mountains of *Purru* . . . , *Pasiri*, *Pasa* . . . , *Tobar*, *Khiliba* . . . , *Khilibana*, *Kumad* . . . , *Tilikhasbat*, *Sandarippi*, *Sé* . . . , and *Bapi*.


in at least 5000 years ago. Of course it was not accomplished at one time, or in one wave. All colonization, both in Europe and in Western Asia, seems to have followed the same line of movement, and the particular migration from Bahrein to Tyre may have been only one of several successive removals. It is certainly a remarkable proof of the persistency of tradition among the Assyrians of their civilization being derived from the Persian Gulf, that Nebo, the special guardian of "the dusky race," and the tutelary god of Bahrein, is always spoken of in the Assyrian mythology as the inventor of the system of Cuneiform writing.¹ I have sometimes fancied, indeed, that the entire line of immigration might be traced by following the records of local worship. For instance, the cult of Nebo, "the burnt or dusky god," may have been originally established at Bahrein as a protecting influence against the volcano (or *Jabal Dukhan*, "mountain of smoke"), still to be seen in the island, for, according to Justin, it was to escape the earthquakes, caused no doubt by this terror of nature, that the first emigrants left the island.² H \acute{e} a's shrine at Khalakh, or *Kharak*, would then form the next historical step in the progress of the colony; from whence, according to the same tradition, the emigrants passed on to the "Assyrian stagnum," just as we find that H \acute{e} a, sprung from $\rightarrow\text{Y} \square$, "the primeval spirit of the deep," fixed his first capital at the blessed city Erid or *Tib*, on the northern shore of the inland sea or *abšú*, the locality having, indeed, preserved its sacred character almost to the present day.³ H \acute{e} a, or Oannes, it must

¹ See, among other passages, B.M.I. vol. ii. p. 60, l. 34. A dissertation of some extent, if not of much interest, on Nebo's connexion with writing and learning, will be found in my essay "On the Religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians" (Herodotus, vol. i. p. 639). The Babylonian Hermes was well known to the later Greeks as the reputed author of the Chaldean oracles, and there are two Gods mentioned in the lists under the names of *Irmis* and *Kharimis*, from whom the Greeks may perhaps have borrowed the title, though their function seems to have been to protect the *ziggurats* or 'towers of the temples,' rather than the libraries. B.M.I. vol. iii. p. 66, col. 7, l. 13.

² Justin, xviii. 3, § 2: "Tyriorum gens condita a Phœnicibus fuit, qui terræ motu vexati, relicto patriæ solo, Assyrium stagnum primum, mox mari proximum littus incoluerunt, conditâ ibi urbe, quam à piscium ubertate Sidona appellarunt." This abundance of fish is probably another trace of the cult of Oannes.

³ I extract the following account of *Tib* from Yacút: "It is a small town between *Wásit* and *Khuzistân*. The inhabitants are Nabt to the present day, and their language Nabathean. Dáúd Ibn Ahmed Ibn Said, a merchant of *Tib*,

be remembered, was half-fish half-man, and wherever, therefore, we find notices of the fish worship, we may perhaps recognize the influence of the passage of H_{éa}'s colony. The line of advance, indeed, would seem indicated, 1st, by H_{éa}'s mother in the Indian Ocean; 2nd, by H_{éa} himself in the Persian Gulf, and as far north as T_{ib}; and 3rd, by his daughter  having founded and named Nineveh, which is represented by the same monogram as the name of the goddess, and signifies "the shrine of the fish."¹ From Nineveh we might trace the passage of the colony—along the same line, perhaps, that was subsequently followed by the Ibr_{is} or Hebrews—by the holy fish at Harran and Hierapolis (or Carchemish)² to Syria, where, as we know, fish had every-

جب (the peace of God be on him), says as follows: It is current amongst us that T_{ib} was founded by Seth, the son of Adam, and that its people continued in the religion of Seth, which is the same as Sabæism, until Islām arose, when they became Muhammedans. There were some wonderful talismans in T_{ib}, some of which have become obsolete, while others remain in force to the present day, one of them being that any wasp entering the place dies immediately; and almost up to our present time no snake or scorpion was to be found in the place, and to this very day neither a black and white crow nor a magpie can come there." Among the many arguments in favour of identifying T_{ib} with the Eden of Genesis, I may mention two which are not generally known. The Jukhā, answering to the Gihon of Genesis, is the name of the eastern arm of the Tigris on one side of T_{ib}; while the Phison, called in the Samaritan version Kadūf, and answering to the Kerkha or Eulais, which comes from M_{ih}rjān Kadaf, مہر جان کدف, or Scimerrah, and alone of all the Babylonian rivers contains the Sokam or 'onyx stone,' is on the other. For the Accadian name of T_{ib}ba (equivalent to T_{ib}), applying to Erid or  'the blessed city,' see B.M.I. vol. iv. p. 21, l. 40.

¹ It is impossible to overlook the fact that in both of the Biblical apoloques relating to Nineveh, the account, I mean, of the journey of Jonah, and the apocryphal story of Tobit, a fish plays the principal part, which, if it be a mere coincidence, is at least remarkable; but I must reserve any further remarks on the fish legend for another occasion.

² I take this opportunity of asserting my own claim to the discovery that the Carchemish of the Bible (*Gargamis* of the Inscriptions) was represented not by Circessium, at the mouth of the Khabūr, but by Hierapolis, or Mabog, considerably to the north, an identification which, in the late excellent article in *The Times* newspaper on the history of the Hittites, was credited to Signor Maspero. I announced this discovery in 1853 (see my paper on the "Early History of Babylonia," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XV. p. 231), and pointed out that the Syrians translated Carchemish by Mabog (2 Chron. xxxv. 20), a name derived from the 'mother of the Gods,' or 'Syria Dea,' who was worshipped there. And here I may add, as a curious coincidence, that Atargatis (or ʾAṯṯUR_u Tar'atā), the Syriac name for the great Goddess, signifies 'a gate'; and that Camis, the name of the great Goddess of the primitive Italians, seems to have had the same signification, as she was also called Janua (the wife of Janus). Is it then allowable to translate Kar-gamis (or Carchemish) "the fort of the Goddess Gamis or Camis 'the gate'?" The same Goddess seems to have been called Bābia by the Syrians of a later age.

where a sacred character, and where, at Ascalon and Ashdod in particular, the fish god was especially worshipped. This curious subject would require for its illustration far more study than I can here bestow on it, but it is well worth the attention of those who have time at their command.

I now propose, before closing my notes, briefly to consider the geographical branch of the subject.

There has long been, as it is well known, great uncertainty and a great conflict of opinion with regard to the identification of the islands of the Persian Gulf in Ancient Geography; but this uncertainty has arisen mainly from an imperfect sifting of the authorities. Guided by our present improved knowledge both of the hydrography of the Gulf, and of the vernacular nomenclature of the region, I venture to think that all difficulties disappear, and that we can identify the Greek forms of the Arabian names as certainly as we can identify the isles of the Archipelago. The Greeks gained their first acquaintance with this part of Asia from Nearchus, Alexander's Admiral, the narrative of whose voyage was compiled by Arrian some centuries after the event, from the logs of the officers employed in the expedition. Strabo had also access to the same materials, either directly, or through Eratosthenes, and thus often furnishes a valuable commentary on Arrian. It is only indeed by comparing the accounts of these two authors that we get at the true reports of Alexander's officers as to the Persian and Arabian coasts. Nearchus's fleet, after leaving Armozeia (*Bender Abbâss* or old Hormuz), coasted along the island of *Kishm*, to which Arrian, Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny all give the name of Oaracta or Voroctha (modern *Vroct*), and anchored at two points upon the coast, the Persian governor of the district, named Mazenes, coming on board at the first or most easternly station, and taking charge of the pilotage of the expedition from that point as far on as the Pasitigris. The Greeks did not venture into the interior of Voroctha, and what they learnt, therefore, of the geography of the island and its neighbourhood must have come from Mazenes and his companion Mithropastes, Satrap

of Phrygia, who had been exiled to the Persian Gulf by Darius. When Arrian accordingly mentions that the famous tomb of King Erythras, from whom the Erythræan Sea was named, was to be seen in the island of Voroctha, he is evidently mis-quoting Nearchus and Orthagoras; for their statement, preserved by Strabo, was to the effect that Mithropastes had been banished to the island of *Τυρίνη*, where was to be seen the tomb of King Erythras, "on a high mound covered with wild palms"; and they added that Mithropastes, having fled from Ogyris (which is thus shown to be in the same neighbourhood as Tyrine), came to Mazenes at Voroctha, and there sought refuge with the Greeks. Now *Τυρίνη* may be merely the Persian pronunciation of *Τυλίνη* (the Greek informants being Persians), which again may be the same as 𐎲𐎠𐎧𐎺 *Tilun*, the Assyrian name for *Nidukki*, or the larger island of Bahrein; or Tyrine may be an independent name afterwards hardened to *Dirin*. Androsthene, Alexander's surveying officer, who followed down the Arabian coast from Teredon, at the mouth of the Euphrates, 2400 stadia to Gerrha, and then crossed over to Bahrein, names the two islands *Τύρος* and *Ἀραδος*, observing, no doubt, the pronunciation of his Persian pilot; but Ptolemy, who followed the Roman traders, gives the more correct reading of *Τύλος* and *Ἀραθος*. The name of *Tul* or *Til* is now unknown, but it seems to have lasted down almost to the Arab conquest, the Christian Bishop of *Talon*, or *Tilun*, being mentioned, in a Syrian letter dated early in the seventh century, among the ecclesiastics of the province of *Catara*, subordinate to the Metropolitan of Persis.¹ *Arad*, on the other hand, is still

¹ There were five Bishops of the Nestorian Church at this period in the province of *Catara* (mod. قطر), holding the sees of *Dirin*, *Masamig*, *Talon*, *Kkata*, and *Hajur*. Assemani identifies *Talon* with *Τύλος*, or Bahrein, without any hesitation, but on examining the Syriac authorities whom he quotes, I doubt his correctness. I observe that the insular see is always named *Dirin*, which approaches nearer to the *Τυρίνη* of Strabo than does *Talon*. *Dirin* also heads the list, and it was from hence that George the Monk took rich altar cloths back to Assyria, probably imported from India; these several indications pointing to the island of Bahrein rather than to any town in the interior. There may, perhaps, have been two distinct names, *Tila* (as in *Tilmun*, *Τύλος*, etc.) applying to the island, and Tyrine, or *Dirin*, applying to the chief town of the island; whilst *Talon* more probably represented *Thelum* or *Dhelum*, the port at the entrance of the Gerrha bay

known as the name of the principal village on the lesser island of Maharak. In the Arab geographies the name is written *الأرّاة*, *Al-Arrat*, as if the terminal letter were the mere feminine ending, which would broadly distinguish it from the Mediterranean *Arvad*, where the final letter is a radical. But although it is thus quite certain that *Tul* and *Arath* have no connexion with Tsur and Arvad, I see no reason for doubting the testimony of Androsthenes, that the temples on the island were similar to those of the Phœnicians—a fact of which he, an inhabitant of Thasos, which was a Græco-Phœnician colony, must have been a fully competent judge,—nor that the inhabitants preserved a tradition up to that time of their ancestors in remote antiquity having sent forth a colony to the Mediterranean. In the old Arab geographers, Istakhri, Ibn-Howkal, and their followers, three islands only are mentioned in the Persian Gulf, *Kharak*, *Laft*, and *Awál*, or the modern Karak, Kishm, and Bahrein; but the name under which the district of Bahrein, both insular and littoral, was more generally known in later times was *Hajar*, a name that seems at one time to have applied to the capital of the larger island, probably marked by the present ruins of *Bilád-Kadím*.

The inscription on Capt. Durand's black stone found on the island of Bahrein authorizes us to believe that the tribe which was anciently dominant in the island and surrounding district was named *Aqiru*. Here then we have the original of the Greek *Ἄγυρις*, and the modern *'Uqeir*, *عقير*, or vulgarly *Ojair*. Ogyris was the district to which Mithropastes had been banished by Darius, but Tyrine was the particular island residence from whence the chief escaped to join the Greeks at Oaracta.¹ The position of Ogyris or Tyrine, opposite

on the coast opposite. See Asseman. Bib. Orien. vol. iv. p. 736, and passages referred to. Assemani was a great Orientalist, but a poor Geographer, and his identifications are always liable to suspicion. In the present instance he thus supposes *Catara* to represent Socotra, not apparently knowing that the coast south of Bahrein was named *Qatar* or *Gattar*.


¹ For the authorities regarding the position of Tyrine and Ogyris, see Strabo, p. 766, and Cellarius, p. 700. Yacút says of *'Uqeir* that "it is a village on the sea-shore opposite to *Hajar*;" and of *Qatar*, "In the district of Bahrein, on the coast of *Khatt*, *بحر*, between 'Omán and *'Uqeir*, is a village named *Qatar*, from whence came the red-striped cloths, called *Qatariyeh*."

to Gerrha, is fixed with sufficient accuracy by the Greeks, Androstenes giving the distance of 2400 stadia from Teredon, or perhaps from Icarus, while Orthagoras gives a cross measurement of 2000 stadia from the coast of Carmania. It is impossible to say whether Quintus Curtius refers to Ogyris or Oaracta, when, on the authority of Alexander's officers, he placed the tomb of Erythras in an island at a short distance from the continent; but Agatharcides would seem at any rate to allude to the latter, that is, to *Kishm*, which is only separated by a narrow creek from the mainland, when he repeats the fable of a certain Persian named Erythras having followed his horses, which had swum across an arm of the sea to escape from a lioness, and having thus discovered the island. Pliny, followed by Pomponius Mela and Dionysius, seems to have had independent authority for assigning the tomb of Erythras to Ogyris, and if '*Ouryopis*', which occurs in the Palatine copy of Ptolemy, be a genuine reading, that geographer must also have consulted charts very different from those constructed by Androstenes and Orthagoras. Ptolemy, however, makes no allusion to King Erythras or his tomb. The Arab geographers often mention the village of '*Uqeir*' in their notices of the Bahrein coast, but it does not seem to have been a place of much consequence at the time of the Arab conquest, as it is not found in the records of that period, nor, indeed, has the modern name ever regained its old celebrity. Bahrein and the adjoining territory in the time of the Prophet were under the administration of a Persian *Marsabán* or "Lord of the marches," and the inhabitants, principally composed of Arabs of the tribes of Abdul-Keis, Bekir, and Tamím, included also a large number of Magians, Jews, and Christians. A series of expeditions were therefore undertaken during the reigns of the first four Caliphs with a view to the conversion of the inhabitants to Islám or their subjection to the Jeziéh or Poll-tax.¹ The names of a number of cities are thus found in the early Arabic annals, which became classical terms to

¹ Beladheri, in his famous *Futúh*, has a special chapter on the conquest of Bahrein. Edit. de Goeje, p. 79 to 86.

future poets and historians, but few of which survived to later times. In the following list indeed, preserved by *Yacút*, it is only the first four names which were generally known to the geographers. 1. *El-Khatt* الخط; 2. *El Katíf* القطيف; 3. *Al-Arrat* الأرة; 4. *Hajar* هجر; 5. *Binunat* بينونة; 6. *As-Zárat* الزارة; 7. *Jowátha* جواثا; 8. *As-Sabúr* السابور; 9. *Darin* دارين; and 10. *Al-Ghabet* الغابة.¹ 1. *Khatt* was the line of sea-coast opposite to Bahrein, the *Ἀττα* of Ptolemy, and in all probability emigrants from hence colonized the island of Keis, which in Alexander's time was named *Karáia*, and was, like Bahrein, sacred to Mercury and Venus. There was a great trade between this part of the coast and India during the early ages of Islám, insomuch that the spears used throughout Arabia, being formed of Indian bamboos landed on these shores, were known as *Rámah-el-Khattiyyeh*.² 2. *Katíf*, the port of Al-Aḥsa, must always have been an ancient site, but the name affords no clue to its identity. 3. *Al-Arrat*, as I have said before, is the modern *Arad*, on the island of Maharrak, and the ancient Arathus. 4. *Hajar* was a name used almost indifferently with Bahrein both for the district, for the larger island, and for the capital of that island, marked by the ruins of Bilád Kadím. Of the remaining towns, *Sabúr*, or *Sabún* as it is often written, and *Darin*

¹ The capital of Hajar is further said by Yacút, quoting from some anonymous author, to be *As-Safá* and *Mushaḥḥar*, a sort of double city, which is thus described: "*El-Mushaḥḥar* is a very strong fort of the Abd-ul-Ḳais in Bahrein; used by them as a place of defence. They had also another fortress called *As-Safá* in front of the city of Hajar. The *Jāmi* mosque was in *Mushaḥḥar*, and between the two forts there flowed a river which was called *El-'Ain*, and which went to the city of Muhammed Ibn-El-Ghimr, etc." I know nothing of these places, and, in fact, have never met with the names except in Yacút's great Dictionary. Ibn-Howkal gives the names of the cities of Bahrein as *Hajar*, *El-Ḳatif*, *El-'Uqer*, *Bisheh*, and *El-Kharj*, while he describes *Awál* as the name of the Island, belonging to Abu-Sa'id and Suliman Ibn-El-Hassan, the famous Carmathian leaders, who levied an enormous tribute from the ships which traded there.

* Yacút, quoting from Abu-Mansur, says that the coast of 'Omán was throughout called *Al-Khatt*, the chief places on the coast being *El-Katí*, *El-'Uqir*, and *Katar*, and then adds, on his own part, "All these places belong to the sea-coast of Bahrein and 'Omán; they used to bring here bamboo spears from India, which were afterwards exported and sold to the Arabs;" and so in Babylonian times they brought teak-wood from India to *Magan*, and used it in building temples and palaces under the name of . B.M.I. vol. iii. p. 28, l. 38.

or *Dirin*, are noticed in many other authorities, though their precise locality is unknown, but the rest belong, I think, exclusively to the holy war. Of other names in the vicinity, I may notice that the *Zarká* زركا of Mokadassí is evidently the *Σαρκόν* of Ptolemy, while *Qaṭar*, قطر (modern *Gattar*, south of Bahrein), represents his *Kadāpa*.¹ With regard to Gerrha itself, the great mart of commerce between the East and West from the very earliest times to the second or third century of our era, there can be no doubt that it was situated at a short distance inland (Strabo, following Androsthene, says 200 stadia) from the mouth of the creek immediately opposite to Bahrein. Capt. Durand speaks of ruins at that spot, and says that they still retain the name of *Geríyeh*, but I am not aware that the locality has been visited by any traveller in recent times, though it would probably well repay the trouble of examination. I have a strong suspicion myself that, as the emporium of the Indian trade in the Gulf, it represents the Ophir of the Bible, and the *Apirak* or *Milukh* of the Inscriptions, the sister port of *Magan* (the *Μαγυδάνα* of Ptolemy) being either at *D'helam*, or at *Ojair*, or in the immediate vicinity. There is no trace of such names as *Magan* and *Milukh* now remaining, but Gerrha has probably survived in the Arabic *Jer'á* جرعا, which means generally "a sandy desert," but which I find in Ibn-Howkal's account of the wars of the Carmathian heretics applied to a considerable place in the vicinity of *El-Ahsá*.² The Gerrhæans, who monopolized the carrying trade between the Persian Gulf and Syria, and who founded Gerrha for the convenience

¹ Mokadassí (p. 71) says of Hajar or Bahrein, that its capital is *El-Ahsá*, and its chief places *Sabín*, *Az-Zarká*, *El-'Uqeir*, and *Awál*, while *Yamámeh* is a dependency. *El-Ahsá* (mod. *Lhasa*) he describes more particularly as "the capital of Hajar, which is also called Bahrein; a large place with abundance of palms, and very populous, but notorious for heat and drought; about one stage from the sea . . . and the chief place of the Carmathians, etc." Yacút adds that *El-Ahsá* is "a well-known town of Bahrein. It was founded and fortified and made the capital of *Hajar*, by Abu-Tahir El-Hassan, son of Abu-Sa'id, the Carmathian leader, and is still a celebrated and very populous place." Yacút further says that the name of Bahrein comes from "a certain lake (or *Boheireh*) at the gate of the town of *Al-Ahsá*, which is about three miles square, and the water of which is stagnant and salt, and of no use for cultivation. *Al-Ahsá* is about ten farsakhs from the sea."

² Edit. de Goeje, p. 22.

of their traffic, are expressly said by the Greeks to have been Arabian nomades,¹ that is, they were *Jer'ai*, or inhabitants of "the sandy desert," just as the Bedouin or *Bedawi* derive their name from *Badiyeh*, which has pretty well the same signification. It would be a subject of great ethnographical interest to show how and when the Semitic Arabs, to whom these *Jer'ai*, or Gerrhæans, undoubtedly belonged, superseded the early, I will not venture to say the aboriginal, Turanian population along the shores and in the islands of the Persian Gulf. The clue is to be found probably in a close comparison of the ante-Islamic traditions and idolatry of the Arabs with the mythology of the Cuneiform inscriptions; though before any definite results could be obtained, it would be necessary to resolve that mythology into its respective Turanian and Semitic elements,—a labour which has not yet been attempted by even our most advanced Assyriologists, and for which, indeed, it may be doubted if sufficient materials have been as yet obtained.

P.S.—The Trustees of the British Museum, appreciating the value of Captain Durand's researches at Bahrein, allotted last year a sum of £100 for experimental excavations in the island, on behalf of the British Government, and would have augmented the grant if there had been any reasonable prospect of finding further specimens of Cuneiform writing; but when the instructions reached Bushire, Captain Durand had been recalled to India, and the opportunity has not since arisen of deputing another officer to the island to continue the work of opening the tombs; but the search, though suspended, has not been abandoned, and important results may yet be looked for.

¹ Nicand. Alexiph. vers. 244. The route followed by the caravans from Gerrha to Palmyra was probably the same which, in a contrary direction, Mr. Palgrave pursued from Syria by *Hail*, *Riadh*, and *El-Ahsâ* to *Katif*.

ART. VIII.—*Notes on the Locality and Population of the Tribes dwelling between the Brahmaputra and Ningthi Rivers.*

By the late G. H. DAMANT, M.A., M.R.A.S., Political Officer, Nága Hills.

My object in the following paper is to give a brief account of the wild tribes dwelling in the tract of country lying between the Brahmaputra and the Kaiendwen, Namtonai, or Ningthi, as it is indifferently called, the great western branch of the Irrawaddy.

I shall not attempt to give any description of the manners and customs of these tribes, but shall confine myself to indicating the localities which they inhabit, their probable numbers, their principal villages, and the names by which they are known among themselves and to the people of the plains; this last is very important, as many instances have occurred where inquirers working in different parts of the same country have described what is essentially one and the same tribe under different names, and the result has been that people residing at a distance have in more than one instance supposed them to be distinct tribes.

It is important, as a preliminary to deeper inquiries, that these points should be finally settled; until that is done, we must to a great measure be working in the dark, and considerable confusion must arise.

Lastly, I shall attempt to classify the different dialects philologically, as far as is at present possible from our limited knowledge of the subject, noting and giving specimens of the different characters where they exist. I have also given, for the sake of reference, short vocabularies of thirty test words in most of the languages referred to; they have been

collected by myself, except where it is specially mentioned to the contrary.

Within the boundaries indicated above, we find members of the Tibeto-Burman, Tai, and Khási families, the former greatly predominating. The distribution of these numerous tribes into their various sub-families is a matter of great difficulty. Of the Nága alone, there are not less, and probably more, than thirty different tribes, all speaking different languages, and mutually unintelligible one to another. In some instances, perhaps, a few may be reduced to the rank of dialects, but in the majority of cases they are essentially distinct languages, and often no connexion or similarity is to be found between them, as, for instance, Angámi and Lhota are so entirely different, that it is difficult to believe they belong to the same family, while some dialects of Nága, such as Kabui and Maring, I unhesitatingly class with the Kuki languages.

The Nága dialects I have classed under three heads: the western, central, and eastern sub-families. Most of the tribes attached to the western family are fairly well known, with the exception of the Luhupas and cognate tribes, amongst whom some new tribes and languages will doubtless be discovered, when their country has been explored. Of this group, the Angámi is the most important tribe, as they are not only the most numerous, but the most warlike and enterprising of any of the Nága tribes.

The next family, the Central Nága, contains only three tribes of importance: the Lhota, Sema, and Hatigorria.

The Lhota we are fairly well acquainted with, and their country has been thoroughly well explored; but of the Sema and Hatigorria our knowledge is very limited; only a part of their country has been visited by European officers, and of their language we know almost nothing. It is, however, amongst the Eastern Nága, that the greatest confusion exists; there is such a multiplicity of tribes, each speaking a different dialect, and they are so small in numbers, sometimes consisting of only one small village, that, without visiting each village personally, it is almost impossible to

define the limits of each tribe with any approach to accuracy, or even to say precisely how many tribes there are. This immense number of dialects has undoubtedly arisen from the isolation, in which each community is forced to dwell. Every tribe, almost every village, is at war with its neighbour, and no Naga of these parts dare leave the territory of his tribe without the probability, that his life will be the penalty, while the inner tribes look down longingly on the plains of Assam, where they would fain go to trade, but are kept back by a narrow line of villages hostile to them, and which they dare not cross. When, however, these feuds and murders have been effectually stopped by the interference of the British Government, a work which is now in progress, these insignificant dialects must disappear and be replaced either by Assamese or the language of one of the stronger tribes. My classification of the Naga dialects must, therefore, be accepted merely as provisional: there are many tribes of which we really know nothing, and into whose country travellers cannot venture without a strong force, while there is a considerable tract of country lying north of the Sarameti range which is entirely unexplored, and there is not one dialect of which we have any grammar or sufficient vocabulary. Under such circumstances, any classification must be open to modification hereafter, and, as far as this family is concerned, considerable corrections will doubtless be required.

The classification of the Kuki family is probably more correct; their habitat is better known, except the country of the Poi and Sokte, which is still unexplored, and we have grammatical notes and vocabularies of several of the languages. It will be observed that I have included in this division the Manipuri language and several dialects which are generally known as Naga, and I think the classification will be borne out by a careful comparison of the languages.

The oldest form of any of these languages which we possess is to be found in the Manipuri MSS., called the Takhelgnamba and Samjokgnamba, containing accounts of the wars between Manipur and Burma and Tipperah, and the Langlol, or "Snare of Sin," and other religious treatises.

In these writings we find that the language approaches very closely to the modern Kuki, both in grammar and vocabulary. There is, however, as a rule, a marked distinction in dress and manners between the Kuki and Nága, even in cases where their dialects closely resemble each other, and there is only one tribe with which I am acquainted, the Cheroo, dwellers in the hills of Manipúr, which in any way unite the characteristic features of the two; at the same time, the very close resemblance which exists between the Kuki Proper, the Manipúri, and the Kabui, and other tribes of Nága, clearly shows that they must be sprung from the same stock.

The Mikir is a language which is not easy to class; I doubt whether it belongs to the Tibeto-Burman family at all, and should be inclined to class it as a separate family, as it has scarcely any resemblance to any other language with which I am acquainted; for the present, however, I class it as a sub-family of the Tibeto-Burman. The Mikir resemble no other tribe in appearance or customs, and it is extremely doubtful whether they are allied to any of their neighbours.

The group classed under the Kachári sub-family may be accepted as correct. The tribes coming under this head are all well known, and inhabit explored country, while of most of them we have fairly full vocabularies.

The Tai family is but sparsely represented, and needs no further notice here.

About the Khási family, I have no further information to give in addition to what has been printed before. I therefore omit it altogether, merely mentioning it in the list of languages.

THE KACHÁRI-KOCH SUB-FAMILY.

The first family we come to is the Kachári, or Boro, in which I include, besides the Kachári Proper, the Mech, Koch, Gáro, Rabha, and Chutia sub-divisions. Most authorities also include the Tipperah, but, as they are a tribe with which I have no personal acquaintance, and I can find no vocabulary on which reliance can be placed, I hesitate to

their farthest village in that direction. Their country is called in old maps Tularam Senapati's country. Tularam himself, a Hojai, is the last of the Kachári race who had exercised *jura regalia*, except the present Raja of Kuch Behar. The number of Hojai who have fully retained their old customs I estimate at 21,000; besides these, there is a population of over 200,000 Kacháris in the Assam Valley, of whom about one-quarter have adopted the Hindu religion, the remainder preserving their old customs more or less unadulterated.

The Mech dialect is probably derived from the Hojai, which may be accepted as the standard for the Kachári language, properly so-called.

Closely connected with the Hojai Kachári are the Lalong, a tribe which is found in the district of Nowgong, in the lowlands at the foot of the hills, inhabited by the Hojai. They extend in small numbers to Kámrúp, their total population numbers about 35,000 souls. They are partially Hinduized, but retain many of their ancient customs. They have a language of their own, but I have not succeeded in obtaining a specimen of it. Most of them can understand Assamese.

MECH.

This tribe is found in the sál forests in Goálpára, lying along the foot of the Gáro Hills, in the Bhutan Duars and the Darjeeling Terai. In their own dialect they call themselves Boro, and by the Hojai Kachári they are called Rangsa, or Ramsa. They number about 31,000 souls, nearly all in the Goálpára district; they never settle in the hills, but confine themselves to the forests at the foot. A few only use the plough, and a great proportion of them work as wood-cutters.

It will be noticed as a peculiarity in their dialect, that it contains no higher numeral than six.

RABHA.

The Rabha are found in the districts of Goálpára, Kám-

include them without further inquiry. From their position, we should expect them to belong to the Kuki family, and not to the Kacháři family, from the nearest members of which they are separated by a wide tract of country. There is, however, some connexion between them, and for the present they may be attached to the Kacháři-Koch family; they are found in the districts of Sylhet, Hill Tipperah, and Chittagong Hill Tracts, and number about 30,000 souls. This family has been very much Hinduized, so much so, that of some of its sub-divisions, such as the Rabha and Koch, only small remnants are left who have clung to the faith of their fathers, and cultivate after their fashion. The Gáro, on the contrary, are still in their primitive state, and few, if any, traces of Hinduism are to be found among them. It is a peculiarity of nearly the whole of this family, that they are essentially dwellers in the Terai, living, as a rule, neither in the hills nor the plains, but occupying the debatable ground between the two; a tract of country, in which no race but themselves could exist and flourish, so deadly is the malaria which arises from it. All the members of this family burn their dead, and all, with the exception of the Gáro, refuse to eat beef.

The purest type of the family is probably the Hojai Kacháři, who live in the hills of North Kachar and Nowgong, along both banks of the Diyung river. These people are only to a very slight extent Hinduized, and they have preserved the ancient customs of their race almost intact. They belong to the ancient Kacháři kingdoms, whose greatness is attested by the ruins still to be seen at Dimapur, at Maibong, and at Khaspur, the former capitals.

HOJAI, OR PURBUTTIA KACHÁŘI.

These people, who are called in their own dialect "Dimasa" or sons of the water, inhabit the country lying both sides of the Langting and Diyung rivers, extending as far as Mohungdijua. In the plains they extend to the district of Nowgong on the west, and on the east to Semkhor, which is

their farthest village in that direction. Their country is called in old maps Tularam Senapati's country. Tularam himself, a Hojai, is the last of the Kachári race who had exercised *jura regalia*, except the present Raja of Kuch Behar. The number of Hojai who have fully retained their old customs I estimate at 21,000; besides these, there is a population of over 200,000 Kacháris in the Assam Valley, of whom about one-quarter have adopted the Hindu religion, the remainder preserving their old customs more or less unadulterated.

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RABHA.

The Rabha are found in the districts of Goálpára, Kám-

rúp, and Darrang; they number about 60,000 souls. They are divided into four sub-divisions, called Pati, Rangdoniya, Matrai, and Songga. Of these, the Pati Rabha have become to a great extent Hinduized, and have abandoned their own language for Assamese; the remainder still preserve their own customs and language to a greater or less extent. The Matrai Rabha are probably the purest specimens of the race; they bear a close resemblance both to the Gáro and the Bania Koch both in their dialect and their manners and customs. They are a scattered and broken race, having few, if any, villages of their own, but living in small hamlets along with the Mech and Koch.

GÁRO.

The Gáro, Mande as they are called in their own tongue, are the most primitive of all the Kachári family; they cling fondly to their old customs, and have been very little, if at all, infected by Hinduism. The total number of Gáro may be estimated at about 107,000, of whom about 80,000 dwell in the Gáro Hills, and the remainder in the districts of Goálpára, Kámrúp, and Mymensingh. The language is a strong one, and not in the least likely to disappear in favour of Assamese or Bengali, as will doubtless be the fate before long of the other languages belonging to this family.

The Gáro who inhabit the tract of country known as the Gáro Hills are divided into three tribes: the Atong, inhabiting the south-east, the Abengya the south-west, and the remainder are called Achik. The language of all three is essentially the same, but there are slight differences in dialect. The language of the Achik may be looked upon as the standard.

The Gáro differ from the other members of the family inasmuch as they will eat beef, but, like the rest, they burn their dead. The Gáro preserved their independence in a great measure up to 1872, when they were finally subdued, and they are now fairly quiet.

KOCH.

The next member of the family, and the only one which has preserved its independence, is the Koch race. This tribe was formerly most numerous and powerful, and even now we can recognize over a million and a half of people who are descended from it. In describing them, a broad distinction must be drawn between the Koch, who have adopted Hindu customs, and the Bengali or Assamese language, and those who have retained their own customs and language intact. Of the latter, a mere remnant, numbering approximately about 10,000 souls, is still to be found in the valleys along the skirts of the Gáro Hills. They are divided into two principal tribes, known as the Bania or Pani Koch and the Tintikya Koch; the first mentioned is considered superior, but neither of them recognize caste in any way. There are also minor sub-divisions known as Dasgaoniya and Harigao-niya. The specimen of words given was taken from a Dasgaoniya Koch. Hinduized members of this tribe are found in every district of Assam, in Kuch Behar, Dinagepore, Purneah, Rangpur, Jalpaiguri, Bogra, and Mymensingh; they are known as Koch, Rajbanshi, Pali, and Hajong. The Hinduized Koch, so many as have retained their ancient name, are not fully Hinduized, that is to say, they eat pig and drink spirits, and do not pretend to be much bound by caste prejudices. Next come the Pali, part of whom, the Desi Pali, will eat almost any kind of food except beef; while the remainder, known as Sadhu Pali, are strict Hindus, and resemble the Rajbanshi, who have fully adopted Hindu customs. The Rajbanshi, however, are largely recruited from other tribes. Conversions occur every day, and any Mech, Koch, Kachári, or Rabha can become a Rajbanshi on payment of a small sum to the priest, and promising to conform to the rules of the caste.

The Hajong have been classed as Kachári by some writers, but I see no reason for this, and prefer to class them with the Koch, to whom they seem closely allied; they are only found in the districts of Goálpára and Mymensingh.

They number about 30,000 souls; in addition to them the Koch number 405,000, the Pali 378,000, and the Rajbanshi 778,000, making the total numbers of this tribe 1,591,000 souls. The Raja of Kuch Behar and the zemindars of Jalpaiguri and of Panga, in Rangpur, are Koch by race.

CHUTIA.

This tribe has been attached to the Kachári family by most authorities, and I therefore give it a place here. But there is no doubt that the Chutia came into the Assam Valley from the north-east, and the Kachári from the south, while of the language we hardly know enough to form an opinion. It is not improbable that they will eventually be found to be closely allied to the Miri: indeed, there is a tribe of Miri living near the Subansiri river, who call themselves Chutia Miri, and claim to be descended from the Chutia kings, in proof of which they wear their hair long, contrary to the usual custom of their tribe; this they say was the privilege of the royal family. The Chutia are found throughout Upper Assam, where they number about 50,000. They have abandoned their own language and customs, and become Hinduized. A small colony, however, in the Lakhimpur district, called Deori Chutia, have preserved the old language to a certain extent, but whether it is used in conversation, or only as a sacred language, is doubtful; it is also uncertain whether this is the true language of the tribe. This colony is said to be the descendants of the priests of the copper temple near Sadiya known as Tamasuri Mai, at which human sacrifices were offered.

THE MIKIR SUB-FAMILY.

The Mikir, or Arleng as they call themselves, are found in the districts of Nowgong, North Kachár, Jaintiá, Nága Hills, and Kámrup; they number in all about 62,000 souls, of which more than half inhabit the tract of country known as the Mikir Hills, in the district of Nowgong. The lan-

guage of this tribe, as well as their manners and customs, are so different from those of their neighbours, that it is not easy to class them with any other tribe. They inhabit the low hills adjoining the plains, and live entirely by jhúm cultivation. They are pagan, but refuse to eat beef and bury their dead. They have no knowledge of writing in any form. They are a very unwarlike inoffensive race, and in former years suffered severely from the incursions of their turbulent neighbours, the Angámi.

THE KUKI SUB-FAMILY.

The tribes, which I include under this head, are found throughout the hill tracts extending from the plains of Assam on the north, to Burma on the south, and from the Khási Hills on the west, to the country of the Luhupa and Angámi Nága on the east. They are almost entirely independent, and, with the exception of the Manipúri, are in a state of barbarism. Amongst them are some of the fiercest and most warlike tribes with which we come in contact on the north-east frontier, such as the Shindu, Sokte, and Lushai, tribes which are well armed with muskets obtained from Burma, and who know how to use them. Of the arts of reading and writing they are entirely ignorant, except, indeed, the Manipúri, who have a character of their own, derived from the Nágarí, of which a specimen is given. They are a migratory race, living by jhúm cultivation, and preferring the densest forests. War and the chase they look upon as the noblest pursuits of man. They bury their dead, and are pagan, except the Manipúri, who are Hinduized. They are closely allied to the Khyeng of Burma.

THE OLD KUKI.

The old Kuki are found in North Kachár and in Manipúr; in the former district there are four tribes, all closely resembling one another, called Bete, Khelma, Rangkhoh, and Ranglong. They inhabit about twenty-five villages, with a

population of about five thousand. These tribes are now peaceful, and pay a house-tax to the British Government. Contrary to the custom of the majority of the family, they burn their dead. The principal tribes found in Manipúr are Kom, Koireng, Cheru, Chohte, Pooroom, Muntuk, Karum, and Aimole; of these, the Kom are the most numerous, and, indeed, were until lately a rather powerful tribe, their principal village containing some six hundred houses. They have for a long time been at war with the new Kuki, at whose hands they have suffered great loss from time to time. No accurate estimate of their population can be given, but they probably do not exceed six or seven thousand. The Koireng are a small and insignificant tribe, dwelling in eight small villages situate on the hills north of the Valley of Manipúr. They inhabit 120 houses and number about 600.

The Cheru live in the same part of the country as the Koireng, inhabiting adjacent villages; their villages are thirteen in number, with 260 houses and a population of about 1,300. In appearance and dress they somewhat resemble the Kabui Nága, but their language and customs show them to be closely allied to the Kuki; they serve to connect the two.

Of the Chohte, Pooroom, Muntuk, and Aimole tribes, there are mere remnants only existing, and their aggregate population would probably not exceed fifteen hundred; they are found in the hills in and around the valley of Manipúr.

THE NEW KUKI.

The new Kuki are found in the districts of Kachár, Nága Hills, and Manipúr. It is difficult to say with accuracy what their population is, but it may be put down at about ten thousand or a little more. They are divided into four principal clans: Thado, Shingsol, Changsen, and Khlángam, and these again are sub-divided into numerous minor septs or families. The Thado and Shingsol are descended from the same stock, while the Changsen and Khlángam are of a different race. All alike speak the same language, which

they call the "Thadopao," the differences in dialect are very slight. The chief of the Thado is Khutingmang, who traces his descent back some thirty generations to Thado, the progenitor of the tribe. In all questions of genealogy, the Kuki are very particular, and the hereditary succession of their chiefs is strictly preserved. They have preserved their old dialects in the songs called Hlapi, to which they dance; they originally inhabited the tract of country south of Kachár, but have been driven north by their inveterate foes, the Lushai, Sokte, and Poi.

THE SOKTE, LUMYANG, AND ANAL NAMFAU KUKI.

These tribes are probably closely allied to one another; but of the two first mentioned we know very little indeed, and of their language we have no vocabularies at all. They all inhabit the unexplored tract of hill country lying immediately south of Manipúr and east of the Lushai country. The nearest tribe to Manipúr is the Anal Namfau, so called from the names of their two principal villages; they are partially civilized, but pagan, and number only a few hundred. South of them again are the Lumyang Kuki, a powerful and warlike tribe, who are gradually being driven northwards by the constant attacks of their deadly enemies, the Sokte. This tribe claims to be the eldest branch of the whole Kuki family. Of the number of their villages and population we have no accurate information. South of them again are the Sokte, the most powerful of all the Kuki race. They all acknowledge one chief, Yatol, and I was informed by one of their slaves who escaped to Manipúr that they can bring 8,000 fighting men into the field, which would imply a population of not less than 50,000. They are constantly at war with the Poi and Lushai, and are feared by all their neighbours. They keep up a communication with the plains of Burma, whence they obtain a plentiful supply of arms and ammunition.

THE LUSHAI, OR DZO.

The Lushai, or "head-takers" (*lu*, a head, and *sha*, to cut), inhabit the whole tract of country bounded by Kachár on the north, Hill Tipperah on the west, the Chittagong Hill Tracts on the south, and the country of the Sokte and Poi on the east. They are divided into a number of subdivisions, each under a hereditary chief, the principal of whom are Sukpilal, Lalbora, and Lalhi. Their dialects vary only slightly, and are mutually intelligible, so that for practical purposes they may be considered as one tribe. Of their population, it is difficult to give any exact estimate, but they may be put down roughly at between 60,000 and 80,000. Their own name for the whole family is Dzo, Lushai being only the name of a particular clan.

THE SPINDU OR POI.

Of this tribe we know very little indeed. They inhabit the country lying south-east of the Lushai, but we are ignorant how far they extend; they are, however, known to be a numerous and powerful tribe, and are gradually driving the Lushai farther to the north. They are distinguished from their neighbours by their fashion of dressing their hair, which they bind in a knot over the forehead, like a horn. The Kumi and Bunjógi of the Chittagong Hill Tracts are closely allied to them, if not actually of the same tribe.

THE MANIPÚRI.

This tribe is found in the independent State of Manipúr and the districts of Kachár and Sylhet; the total population is probably about 70,000, of which about forty thousand are to be found in Manipúr Proper. They are the most civilized of all the tribes in that part of the country, and have succeeded in subjugating a considerable tract of country inhabited by hill tribes. They use the plough in their cultivation, which is permanent, and fairly skilled artizans are to be found among them. They profess to be strict

Hindus, but at the same time worship many deities and perform many ceremonies which are purely pagan, and snake-worship in a prominent form exists among them. They of course claim to be descendants of Arjun and Chitrangada, the daughter of the Raja of Manipúr, as the story is told in the Mahabharat; but, in truth, there is no trace of Aryan blood to be found in them. They are probably descendants of old tribes called Koomal, Luang, Moirang, and Maithai, which are known to have inhabited the valley of Manipúr at no very distant period. The Manipúri still call themselves Maithai, which tribe appears to have absorbed the rest; they have, however, since their conversion to Hinduism, which took place, as we know from their own records, about 1720 A.D., been largely recruited by converts from the neighbouring Nága and Kuki tribes, any of whom is eligible to put on the sacred thread, and assume with it the rank of a Khetriya, to which caste the Manipúri have attached themselves. Everything goes to show that they are very closely allied both to the Kuki and the Kabui Nága, and I have no hesitation in classifying them accordingly. Their language too, both in grammar and vocabulary, assimilates to the dialects of these tribes. The Manipúri are divided into four families, called Kumal, Luang, Mythauja, and Angong, and persons of the same clan do not marry; the same distinction exists among the Kabui and Maring Nága.

THE LOOE.

This term, which means "slave or dependent," is applied by the Manipúri to three small tribes which inhabit the valley of Manipúr; they are called Sengmai, Undro, and Chairel; all of them speak different dialects, but with a considerable mixture of Manipúri words. Their religion is pagan, tinged by Hinduism. In dress and appearance they are hardly to be distinguished from Manipúri. The Sengmai have three villages, with 120 houses and a population of about 600; the Undro one village only, with 45 houses and a population of about 225. Of the Chairel, I

have no exact statistics, but they have only two or three small villages. They are employed in making pottery and salt, and in distilling, occupations which the Manipúri despise.

THE KABUI NÁGA.

The Kabui are divided into two classes: the Songbu and Poeron; the former inhabit the range of hills which separate Kachár from Manipúr, a tract of country about sixty miles from east to west, and thirty from north to south; their villages are found on both sides of the road, but there are now few to the south of it, as they have lately been driven northwards by the constant attacks of the Lushai. A few villages are also to be found in the valley of Manipúr and plains of Kachár; their principal villages are Nongba, Kalanága, Lilanang, and Lualang Khulel.

The Poeron are not a numerous tribe, and inhabit a few villages to the north-east of the Songbu. The population of the two clans is probably about six or seven thousand.

THE MARING NÁGA.

This tribe, which is generally called Nága, inhabit a few small villages on the Heerok range of hills, which separates Manipúr from Burma. They have 300 houses and a population of about 1,500. They are divided into two branches, known as Saibu and Maring. They are said to have been formerly much more numerous than at present. They have hereditary chiefs, and tie their hair in the same way as the Spindu.

THE WESTERN NÁGA SUB-FAMILY.

In this family, excluding those of the Kuki family, which are found in the same area, I class all the Nága tribes which dwell in the great tract of hill country which lies between Kachár on the west, and the country of the Sema and naked Nága on the east, and the valley of Assam and Manipúr on

the north and south. Among the tribes included in this tract, the Arung, Kutcha, and Quoireng Nága are very closely allied both in customs and language; in fact, I doubt whether their dialects will be found eventually to differ to such an extent, as to entitle them to rank as separate languages. From their appearance, manners, and customs, the Rengma would at first sight appear to be more closely allied to the Lhota and Sema than the tribes with which they had been classed; but their language shows that there is a close affinity; they are the connecting link between the Western and Central Nága. About the classification of the Angámi, there is doubtless considerable difficulty; in manners and customs they do not differ materially from other members of this family, but in their language there is so great a divergence that it is doubtful, whether they should not be classed as a distinct family of themselves. For the present, however, until our knowledge of their and the neighbouring languages has extended sufficiently to admit of a proper analysis being made, it is thought better to group them with the tribes to which they appear most nearly allied both by locality and custom.

THE ARUNG, KUTCHA, AND QUOIRENG, OR LIYANG, NÁGA.

These tribes are very closely allied to each other, both in language and customs; in appearance they can hardly be distinguished. All three tribes call themselves Jemi, or Yemi. There can be no doubt that they are all three members of one and the same stock, the differences in dialect which exist being only such as might be expected to arise among a people like this. They are not very warlike, and, although often fighting among themselves, they are almost entirely subject to the Angámi, to whom they pay tribute or black-mail. A single Angámi will go into their villages and help himself to whatever he pleases.

The Arung Nága, Sengima, as they are called by the Angámi, inhabit the eastern part of North Kachár, where they extend over a tract of country about forty miles from

north to south, and twenty from east to west. They have 56 villages and 1,156 houses, with a population of about 6,000. Their principal villages are Hangrum, Nenglo, and Assaloo. This tribe have, under British influence, given up their raiding propensities, and murders are rare among them; they, however, preserve their manners and customs in their integrity. They pay a house-tax to Government.

The Kutcha Nága are found in the south-west of the Nága Hills district, extending from the country of the Angámi on the east to the boundary of Kachár on the west. Their villages are situate on the slopes of the Burrail range of mountains, and are twenty-three in number, with a population of about 6,500. Their largest villages are Kenoma and Berrima. The Quoireng or Liyang tribe inhabit the country north of Manipúr, lying between the Kutcha and Kabui Nága. I have no accurate information as to their population, but it may probably be about five or six thousand.

THE MAO, MARAM, AND MIYANGKHANG NÁGA.

These tribes are very similar in dress and customs, and inhabit the same tract of country; they have therefore been classed together, although it is true the dialects they speak differ considerably. They inhabit the country lying south of the Angámi, and between that tribe and the valley of Manipúr. The Mao tribe have six large villages, the principal of which is called Sopvomah; their houses number about 2,000, and the population probably reaches 10,000. They are a fierce and warlike people, hardly, if at all, inferior to the Angámi in this respect. South of them again are the Maram, who have only one large village, of perhaps 500 houses, with a population of some 2,500. The Miyangkhang tribe lie again south of these, and inhabit nine small villages; they may number about 5,000, or rather more.

THE RENGMA NÁGA.

The original site of the Rengma or Injang tribe, as they

are called in their own tongue, is a tract of country lying between the Rengmapani and the Doyang rivers, where seven villages inhabited by this tribe are still to be found; they are surrounded by the Angámi, Sema, and Lhota tribes, with whom they are constantly at war. The estimated population of these villages is about 12,500. The largest villages are Themokedima and Teseprima, both of which contain more than 500 houses. Some years ago a number of them were driven out by the constant attacks of the neighbouring tribes, and settled on a range of hills lying between the Mikir Hills in the Nowgong district and the forests of the Dhansiri. They now inhabit thirty small villages or hamlets, and their population numbers about 2,000; this portion of the tribe is fast losing its savage customs, and taking to the habits of the people of the plains to some extent, while the others still retain their primitive simplicity.

THE ANGÁMI NÁGA.

This tribe, the most warlike, and probably the most numerous, of all the Nága tribes with which we are acquainted, occupies the centre of the great range of hills which divides Assam from Manipúr. Their country is about 50 miles long from north to south, and about 80 or 100 from east to west. They are bounded on the west by the Kutcha Nága, on the north by the great uninhabited forest which covers the valleys of the Dhansiri and Doyang rivers, and by the Rengma and Lhota Nága, on the east by the Sema and naked Nága, and on the south by the Mao, Tankhol, and Luhupa Nága. They are generally separated into two divisions, known as Eastern and Western Angámi, the boundary between the two being the Sijju river; they are essentially the same tribe, but there are slight differences in dialect and dress. The Western Angámi hold forty-six villages, containing about 6,400 houses, with a population of about 32,000. Their principal villages are Jotsoma, Kohima, Khonoma, and Mezoma. Of the Eastern Nága we have no accurate statistics, but they have probably not less than

80 villages, with a population of about 70,000. Among themselves, the people who inhabit the central part of their country are known as "Tengima," the remainder being called "Chakroma." They are a fine set of men, very warlike and enterprising, taking freely to trade, and possessing in themselves the material for forming a fine nation; but they are bloodthirsty to a degree, village fighting against village, and clan against clan, and in their fiercer quarrels sparing neither age nor sex.

THE LUHUPA.

This very important and large tribe is found to the north-east of Manipúr. Their country is unexplored, and it is quite uncertain how far they extend to the east. Native report says eight days' journey. They are distinguished from the other tribes by the helmet of cane which they wear in battle, with a brass cymbal in front, whence their name is derived (Manipuri *luhup*, helmet), as well as by their custom of wearing a ring of ivory or ebony over the foreskin, and by their curious way of wearing the hair, which is cut into the shape of a cockscomb, the sides of the head being shaved.

The Tangkhol, Phudang, and Khongoe are merely subdivisions of this tribe. Of the Luhupa and Tangkhol, I have no accurate statistics, but they must number at least 30,000 souls.

The Phudang have only one village of 100 houses, with a population of about 500; and the Khongoe one village of 60 houses, with a population of 300.

The number of dialects among the Luhupa and Tangkhol is said to be very great, almost every village in the interior speaking a distinct dialect.

THE CENTRAL NÁGA FAMILY.

In this family only three tribes are included,—the Lhota, Sema, and Hatigorria Nága, but they are all large and powerful.

This classification is merely tentative, and it is possible

that hereafter one or more of these tribes may be found to be closely connected with some of the Eastern Naga. The language of the Lhota differs very materially from that of its neighbours, but in dress and customs they resemble each other closely. I find in Campbell's specimens of the languages of India a vocabulary of Hatigorría, but I cannot identify it with that of any of the tribes on the Eastern Frontier. In the same work there is a vocabulary of Miklai, which is intended for Lhota, but is full of errors. In Dalton's "Ethnology of Bengal" is a vocabulary of so-called Khari which I cannot identify. There is a village of this name, but it is inhabited by people of the Hatigorría tribe.

THE LHOTA NÁGA.

This tribe, which is also called "Miklai" by the Assamese and "Tiontz" in their own language, occupy the tract of country lying south of the Sema and Rengma, and north of the Jorhát sub-division of Sibságar. On the west they are bounded by the Angámi, and on the east by the Hatigorría. They have about 40 or 50 villages, the chief of which are Wokha, Sanigaon, and Yekom. Their population may be estimated at from 40,000 to 50,000. This tribe, as well as others of this family, is very low in the scale of civilization. They are dirty, badly clothed, small men, a great contrast to the clean, decently-clad Angámi. They are bloodthirsty in the extreme, and constantly at war amongst themselves and with their neighbours; every village contains a sacred tree, to which are nailed the skulls of their victims.

THE SEMA NÁGA.

Immediately south of the Lhota, along both banks of the Doyang river, are the Sema, a very extensive tribe. On the south and west they are bounded by the Rengma and Angámi, but it is impossible to say, how far they extend to the east, as the country in that direction is entirely unexplored. In their manners and customs they closely

resemble the Lhota, and they are equally dirty and blood-thirsty. They are a numerous tribe, but it is impossible to give anything like an accurate estimate of their population ; it may, however, be safely asserted that they are at least 50,000 in number. Their principal villages are Lozma, Teruphima, and Ungoma. In dress they resemble the Lhota, but their men wear tails about eighteen inches long, made of wood, to which bunches of goats' hair are attached. The existence of this tribe was only discovered about six years ago, and it is, so far as I know, not mentioned in any work concerning these tribes.

THE HATIGORRIA.

This large and warlike tribe is found to the east of the Lhota and Sema, but how far they extend it is impossible to say. In their own language they are called Samaina or Nissomeh. Of the number of their villages and population it is difficult to give anything like an exact estimate, but their numbers in all probability do not fall far short of 100,000.

The tribes known as Assiringia, Dupdoria, Dekha Haimong, and Khari, are really part of the Hatigorrria tribe, and included with them ; Dekha Haimong and Khari being merely the names of villages.

MISCELLANEOUS TRIBES.

Under this family it is probable, that some other tribes will be classed hereafter ; but as their existence was only discovered in 1874, we have no knowledge of their language, and therefore are in the dark about them at present. The first tribe consists of the inhabitants of two villages lying north-east of Manipûr, called Mellomi and Sohemi ; the men of this tribe go entirely naked. Other villages may hereafter be found further east. In the neighbourhood of this tribe is another, which inhabits Primi and three adjacent villages ; we know nothing of them, but they are said to dress like the Lhota. The last tribe is the Mezami, who inhabit ten

villages near Primi; they are all under one chief, and in appearance resemble the Rengma and Sema.

THE EASTERN NÁGA SUB-FAMILY.

In this family are included all the tribes found in the tract lying east of the Hatigorra country extending to the Singpho country on the east and bounded on the south by the Patkoi range of hills. Within these limits there are many different tribes, some of them consisting only of a few villages, and all, or nearly all, speaking languages unintelligible the one to the other. Within twenty miles of country five or six different dialects are often to be found. We do not yet possess vocabularies of many of the languages spoken in this area, but, so far as our knowledge extends at present, a considerable affinity appears to exist among them. There is also a great resemblance in the manners and customs of the Nága of this tract; they nearly all expose their dead upon bamboo platforms, leaving the body to rot there, the skull being preserved in the bone-house, which is to be found in nearly every village. Most of the tribes tattoo; the tattoo, *ak*, as it is called, not being given except to men who have killed an enemy. In several of the tribes the women are perfectly naked, in others the men.

Proceeding in an easterly direction from the Hatigorra country, the first tribe we meet are the Tablung Nága, so called from their principal village; they are a tribe of naked Nága inhabiting about thirty villages, with a population of about 25,000. Very little is known of these people.

Next to them come a tribe called Sangloi, the name of their principal village; nothing is known of them, but they are believed to be as numerous as the Tablung Nága.

The next tribe to the east are the Banfera, Joboka, or Abhaypurya tribe; they have about twelve villages, with a population of some 20,000. Joboka and Banfera are names of two of their principal villages. Abhaypurya is a name given them by the people of the plains.

The Mutonia, so called from Muton, their largest village,

are a small tribe with only four villages, and a population of about 4,000.

The Mohongia, who are also called Borduaria and Paniduaria, have a population of about 10,000. I have no information as to the exact number of their villages, but it may be eight or ten.

The Namsangia, or Jaipuria, as they are also called, have probably about thirty villages, with a population of 25,000 or 30,000. They are the last Naga tribe of importance to the east, though there are a few broken tribes still further to the east of them; these are of little note, and are in subjection to the Singpho.

THE TAI FAMILY.

This family is but sparsely represented in the tract of country under discussion, and the only living members of it are the Khampti, Aiton or Shan, and Man, and of these there are very few. These people keep up their own customs and religion, and are visited from time to time by Buddhist priests from Burma. The Ahom also, who are now extinct as a race, belonged to this family, as their language shows. They and the Khampti have each a character of their own.

KHAMPTI.

This tribe is found between Dibrugarh and Sadiya, in the Lakhimpur district; they immigrated about a hundred years ago from the Bor Khampti country lying north of Burma on the sources of the Irrawaddy. They number probably less than 2,000 souls.

Closely connected with them are the Phakial, a small tribe settled on the Dehing river near Jaipur; they seem to have acted as envoys between the Ahom of Assam and the Shan of Burma.

AITON SHANS.

These people are found in the districts of Lakhimpur

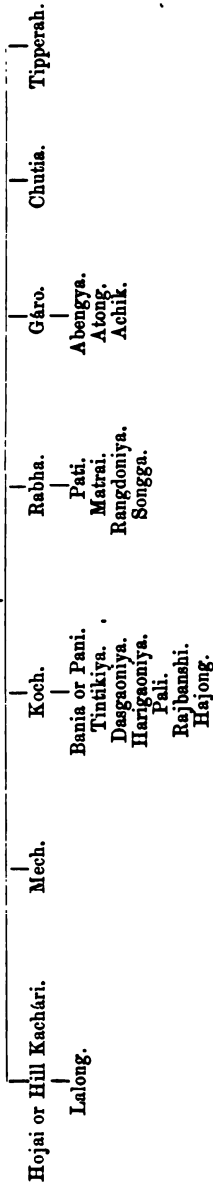
Sibságar, and the Nága hills in small detached villages, generally situated in forest. Their numbers are probably not more than 3,000; they are Buddhists, and have preserved their own language and customs. Intimately related to them are the Man, a small tribe, numbering, perhaps, 2,000, who are found in eight or ten small villages at the foot of the Gáro Hills. They have forgotten their own language, but have preserved their religion. They are said to be descendants of Shan soldiers who accompanied the Burmese when they invaded Assam in 1825; they are great hunters of elephants and rhinoceros, and used formerly to live in a great measure by their skill in the chase; they were also employed to check the incursions of the Gáro.

AHOM.

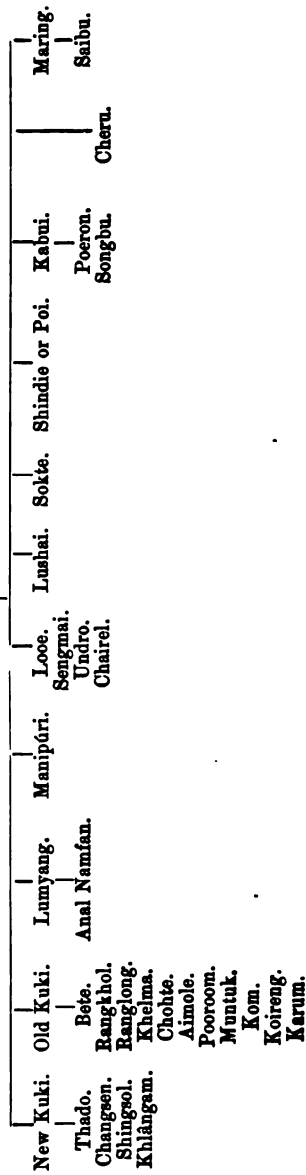
The Ahom are now extinct as a race, having abandoned their language, religion, and customs, and become merged in the Assamese Hindu. I only introduce their name here to complete the list of the Tai family, found within the tract I am describing.

TIBETO-BURMAN FAMILY.

THE KACHÁRI-KOCH SUB-FAMILY.



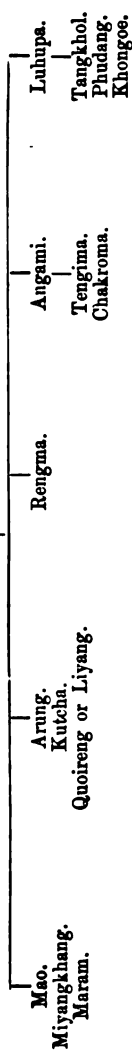
THE KUKI SUB-FAMILY.



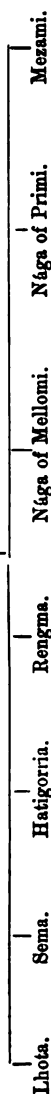
THE MIKIR SUB-FAMILY.

Mikir.

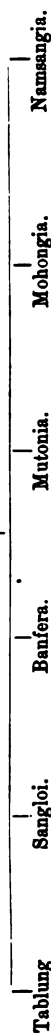
WESTERN NAGA SUB-FAMILY.



THE CENTRAL NAGA SUB-FAMILY.



THE EASTERN NAGA SUB-FAMILY.



THE TAI FAMILY.



THE KACHARI-KOCH SUB-FAMILY.				THE MIKIR SUB-FAMILY.		
				Gáro.	Matral Rabha.	Mikir.
Hill Kachari.				Koch.	Assamese	
One	Shi	Shi	Gasak	Sa	Baba	Jai
Two	Gani	Ni	Awá	Gini	Aya	Ilini
Three	Gatham	Tham	Amma	Githam	Dáda	Khetom
Four	Bri	Bri	Dáda	Bri	Momo	Phili
Five	Bwa	Ba	Nunu	Banga	Bibi	Phungo
Six	Do	Ro	Aza	Dok	Há	Trap
Seven	Shini		Jano	Sini or shini	Ángjong	Throkai
Eight	Jai		Abi	Chet	Ann	Nerkep
Nine	Sku		Abá	Shku	Áh	Serkep
Ten	Ji		Wál	Chiking	Bár	Kop
Father	Babá	Afa	Wál	Apha	Tchika	Po
Mother	Máma	Ái	Tiker	Áma	Rángthang	Pe
Elder brother ..	Dáda	Dáda	Rasan	Ada	Lángre	Áhemari
Younger brother ..	Áng	Agai	Narek	Ángjong	Chiku	Agabi
Elder sister	Bibi	Abó	Dakam	Abi	Phu	Injirpi
Younger sister ..	Áhanau	Agai	Mukún	Ann	Mek	—
Earth	Há	Há	Chák	Áh	Rhi	Pirte
Fire	Wai	Ot	Táeng	Áh	Táeng	Me
Water	Di	Dui	Ná	Wál	Ok	Láng
Sun	Shainroubi	Kándung	Tok	Tchi	Na	Ánu
Moon	Notabiling	Nokabiri	Bátara	Sál	To	Chiku
Head	Koro	Koro	Phai	Jájung	Pántam	Phu
Eye	Mú	Mogon	Lai	Sku	Riba	Mek
Hand	Yau	Hatai	Sá	Mikran	Beng	Rhi
Foot	Nápha	Hating	Lang	Ják	Shá	Keng
Fish	Ná	Ná		Jáá	Ring	Ok
Bird	Dao	Dao		Nátok		Yhu
Deo	Siang	Shiká		Do		Nopák
Phaide	Phaide	Phai		Áte		Wángta
Tháng	Tháng	Tháng		Ribaho		Da
Ja	Ja	Ja		Riangbo		Chota
Lang	Lang	Ja		Chábo		Sokta

THE KUKI SUB-FAMILY.

	New Kuki, or Thado.	Old Kuki (Khelma).	Luchal (Lewin).	Anal Numfan (McCulloch).	Manipuri.	Undro (McCulloch).	Kabul (McCulloch).	Maring (McCulloch).
One	Khat	Ankhat	Pakat	Ato	Ama	Hata	Khat	Kat
Two	Ni	Nik	Pahmit	Au	Ani	Keengha	Kani	Kani
Three	Tum	Inthum	Patum	Athum	Ahum	Shomba	Thum	Kwiyum
Four	Li	Minli	Pali	Pali	Mari	Peeha	Mali	Phili
Five	Gna	Banga	Panga	Panga	Manga	Ngeha	Pang	Phanga
Six	Gup	Urdk	Paruk	Tharuk	Taruk	Kokha	Keruk	Tharuk
Seven	Sagi	Sari	Passari	Takse	Taret	Seeneha	Suri	Ani
Eight	Gyed	Riet	Pariek	Tri	Nipal	Chatha	Karet	Tuchot
Nine	Ko	Ikok	Pakoa	Taku	Mápal	Toohoocha	Kakwa	Tiko
Ten	Som	Som	Tschom	Som	Tara	Shét	Som	Chip
Father	Pa	Pa	Pa	Pa	Pa	Amé	Pa	Pawa
Mother	Nu	Nu	Nu	Nu	Ma	Amé	Nu	Wa
Elder brother	Upa	Upa	Nau	O	Yama	Pahoonasee	Wu	Momo
Younger brother	Na-upa	Naipa	Furnu	Ne	Nau	Nasee	Nau	Chur
Elder sister	Umu	Chanu	U	One	Chem	Ana	Wa	
Younger sister	Na-umu		U	Chal	Chal	Loochul	Sanu	
Earth	Tol	Phil	Lei	Durthi	Laipak	Ka	Taki	Thlaie
Fire	Mei	Mei	Mei	Mhi	Mei	Wal	Mei	Mei
Water	Tui	Tui	Tui	Du	Iaing	Me	Dui	Yui
Sun	Nisha	Nisha	Ni	Ani	Numit	Chameet	Rimik	Numit
Moon	Thla	Tha	Tia	Tha	Tha	Satha	Tha	Tangla
Head	Ju	Lá	Lu	Luche	Kok or lu	Koorung	Tamtong	Lu
Eye	Mit	Mit	Mit	Kamhi	Mit	Meet	Mik	Mit
Hand	Khut	Khut	Kut	Kumating	Khut	Takhoo	Khuyung	Khut
Foot	Kheng	Phai	Kepa	Kubeya	Kong	Taka	Kibaja	Homai
Fish	Gna	Gna	Nghah	Nga	Nga	Tanga	Nga	Tanga
Bird	Va or vácha	Váte	Sáva	Puna	Unek	Oojeekaa	Basa	Wa
Dao	Chem	Chem	Tchem	Kang	Thang	Katang	Chem	Sán
Come	Hongia	Hongrok	Lokul	Anawa	Laku	Leeyek	Hongo	Hunglakallo
Go	Chetan	Sherok	Kul	Wawa	Chatlu	Taié	Siro	Wawa
Eat	Netan	Nekrang	Ei	Avongo	Chau	Shai	Sauo	Chalokallo
Drink	Donin	Nekrang	In	Aneo	Taku	Ootai	Ino	Manglakio

THE WESTERN NÁGA SUB-FAMILY.						
	Maram (McCulloch).	Arung.	Kutchia.	Quileng (McCulloch).	Bengma.	Angami.
One	Hanglini	Kat	Kai	Khat	Kamno	Po
Two	Hangna	Kana	Kenna	Niya	Kenhian	Kenna
Three	Hangtum	Kachom	Kechum	Sun	Keshian	Se
Four	Madai	Madai	Madai	Mandai	Kelhe	Da
Five	Mingu	Mangau	Mengui	Mangya	Pung	Pengu
Six	Sarak	Shuro	Herro	Charuk	Serro	Suru
Seven	Sinna	Sanna	Hessa	China	Seni	Thenna
Eight	Sachat	Desat	Hessa	Tachat	Tasse	Thotha
Nine	Soki	Sukoi	Hekowi	Chakyu	Takka	Thoku
Ten	Kero	Karau	Kerre	Karyu	Serrah	Kerr
Father	Phu	Peo	Pe	Pyu	P'e	Pu
Mother	Pui	Pui	Pui	Pui	Zo	Zo
Elder brother ...	Songkatingpo	Si	Ashi	Chi	Agah	Zorao
Younger brother ...	Teigaropo	Kina	Akina	Sakardba	Sezhing, Ahor or Sezhinge	Sazeo
Elder sister ...	Tipui	Tipui	Kachipui	Chi	Aleki	Fatau
Younger sister ...	Tipoi	Tipui	Achakripui	Tanpui		Kechon
Earth	Rangro	Hedi	Kadoi	Kadi	Kazi	Mee
Fire	Ami	Mi	Mi	Chami	Ma	Mo
Water	Adu	Dui	Dui	Tadwi	Di	Toondoo
Sun	Laimik	Tingaimi	Tingaimi	Nimit	Heka	Deemit
Moon	Siko	Hekeo	Hekeo	Chapyu	Chakagong	Kajaw
Head	Pi	Pe	Po	Chapi	Pi	Ten
Eye	Mek	Mimet	Mih	Mit	Nge	Mhi
Hand	Va	Miba	Bai	Chaben	Ben	Bi
Foot	Pepego	Mipi	Pi	Phidi	Pha	Phi
Fish	Ala	Haka	Hekai	Chakha	Diniusaba	Phetoom
Bird	Saramui	Nurui	Rhina	Thikna	Tega	Khalo
Dao	Kang	Hekai	Heka	Chabeng	Jhen	Wansu
Come	Palo	Palo	Aksuanla	Palo	Rotah, Kulokotta	Walo
Go	Chauwa	Da	Tatilo	Teeo	Gokhegata	Weslop
Kat	Talo	Teslo	Teslo	Teslo	Tutache	Ratlo
Drink	Saklo	Teslo	Salo	Sako	Chinguta	Saklo
					Kralche	

THE CENTRAL NAGA SUB-FAMILY.				THE EASTERN NAGA SUB-FAMILY.			
	Lhota.	Soma.	Hatigorria.	Tablung (Dalton).	Namsang (Butler).	Banfera (Feal).	Muthun (Dalton).
One	Etá	Letchi	Khéh	Cha	Vánthe	Eta	Attá
Two	Ení	Kenie	Kini	Ih	Váni	Ani	Anyi
Three	Eham	Katha	Kathé	Lem	Vánram	Ajam	Azam
Four	Méz	Pedi	Péthí	Pili	Beli	Ali	Ali
Five	Mongoh	Pingd	Pong	Nga	Bánga	Aga	Agá
Six	Türok	Tzogo	Tzákoh	Vok	Irok	Arok	Arok
Seven	Ting	Tzanie	Tzini	Nith	Ingít	Anat	Anath
Eight	Tzázá	Teche	Tácheh	Thath	Isat	Achut	Achet
Nine	Tokhá	Takhu	Tokú	Thu	Ikhu	Aku	Aku
Ten	Thároh	Tjage	Tzakeh	Pan	Ichi	Abau	Ban
Father	Apoh	Pu	Epu	Opah	Va Pa	Apá	Apá
Mother	Aiyo	Zau	Izao	Onu	—	Ann	Annu
Elder brother	Athá	Zuchungo	Emá	—	Ipho	Atai	—
Younger brother	Angoh	Tidzu	Apú	—	Ina	Ana	—
Elder sister	Athá	Chepro ita	Epoh	—	Ingia	—	—
Younger sister	Angoh	Achagorr	Anghá	—	Ha	—	—
Earth	Lokó	Atetzu	Aiyaga	—	Ván	Ha	—
Fire	Omi	Azu	Ami	Ah	Jo	Van	Van
Water	Ot-tz	—	Azz	Riang	San	Ti	Ti
Sun	En	—	Attála	Wanghi	—	—	Rang hán
Moon	Teoroh	—	Akhe	Le	Da	Lenu	Letnu
Head	Korr	Niukabzu	Akatz	Sang	Kho	Khung	Kháng
Eye	Omiyek	Ami	Ani thí	Mik	Mit	Mi	Mik
Hand	Oké	Neku	A-ú	Yak	Dák	Chak	Chak
Foot	Ocho	Nyekopu	Apokphú	Yahlan	Da	Chia	Tehya
Fish	Ongoh	Aka	Akha	—	—	Nya	—
Bird	Woroh	Aghau	Agha-ú	Ouha	Vo	A	O
Dao	Lebuk	Azda	Azha	—	—	—	—
Come	Rowá, vâ	Heugwágilo	Kilagthé	Onkoi	Káro	Panhi	Ráhai
Go	Yá	Pove	Máwó	Angai	Kao or Kálo	Paula	Tong
Eat	Taová	Temechnhe	Máchú	Hánci	Chao	Sale	Sáha
Drink	Yü-á	Saluhe	Aziyeló	—	Joko	Ling	—

THE TAI FAMILY.			
	Shan Aiton.	Khampti (Dalton).	Ahom (Dalton).
One	Lân	Nung	Ling
Two	Shong	Song	Sang
Three	Sâm	Sâm	Sam
Four	Sei	Si	Si
Five	Ha	Ha	Hâ
Six	Ho	Hok	Ruk
Seven	Chit	Tset	Chit
Eight	Pet	Pet	Pet
Nine	Kau	Kau	Kau
Ten	Sipling	Sip	Sip
Father	Po	Po	Po
Mother	Me	Me	Me
Elder brother	Chai	_____	_____
Younger brother	Nong	_____	_____
Elder sister	Pi	_____	_____
Younger sister	Nong	_____	_____
Earth	Din	_____	_____
Fire	Phai	Fai	Fai
Water	Nam	Nam	Nam
Sun	Phadek	Wan	Bân
Moon	Van	Lun	Den
Head	Hu	Ho	Ru
Eye	Hwita	Ta	Tâ
Hand	Ming	Mu	Khâ
Foot	Tin	Tin	Tin
Fish	Pra (high tone)	_____	_____
Bird	Nok	Nok	Nuktô
Dao	Pra (low tone)	_____	Mâ
Come	Ma	Ma	Mâ
Go	Pai	Ka	Kâ
Eat	Chin	Kin	Kin
Drink	Chin	_____	_____

ART. IX.—*On the Saka, Samvat, and Gupta Eras. A Supplement to his Paper on Indian Chronology.* By JAMES FERGUSSON, D.C.L., F.R.S., V.P.R.A.S.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE following notes on Indian Chronology were written in 1874, and were originally intended for the pages of the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society. Before, however, they were printed off, I received a letter from Dr. Bühler, of Bombay, in answer to one I had written to him, on hearing a rumour that he had found Kanishka's name in one of the Puranas. I consequently refrained from publishing them, till it was known what bearing this discovery might have on the questions at issue. In order to ventilate the question, however, I had them printed, and in March, 1875, circulated them among my friends. As nothing has since been heard of Dr. Bühler's discovery, and recent excavations in Afghanistan throw new light on the question, I now submit them for republication where they were originally intended to appear.

During the eleven years that have elapsed since I read to the Society my paper on Indian Chronology,¹ some discoveries have been made and new facts brought to light, which have an important bearing on the subject. It seems it may now, consequently, be expedient to add a postscript or supplement to that paper, indicating how far they confirm or modify the views there put forward. I am the more induced

¹ Published in Vol. IV. n.s. of the Society's *Journal*, pp. 81-137. As that article contains all the references required, it will not be necessary to repeat them all here, but only such as have special reference to the new matter now brought forward.

to attempt this, because I fancy that the mystery that has hung over the institution of the Eras of Vikramāditya and Śālivahana can now be cleared up, though it has hitherto misled and puzzled all Indian archæologists since the days when Wilford wrote his celebrated article on the subject, in the ninth volume of the Asiatic Researches, published in 1807.

Of the new facts directly bearing on this subject, the most important is the discovery by Gen. Cunningham of a number of dated inscriptions, found at Mathura and in the Punjab, containing the name of the great Buddhist King Kanishka and those of his immediate successors.

These were first translated by Professor Dowson some time after my paper was read, and were published in the following volume of the Journal of this Society. They have since then been carefully revised by the General himself, and republished in the third volume of his Archæological Reports, pp. 29 et seqq. Their results have also been given to the world by Mr. Thomas, in his Essay on Ancient Indian Weights, forming the Introduction to Marsden, pp. 46 et seqq.

Practically, the result is the following list of Kings, copied from the last-named authority :

INDO-SCYTHIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

In the Indo-Pāli Alphabet.

Mathurā.	{	KANISHKA.	<i>Mahārāja Kanishka. Samvat 9.</i>
		HUVISHKA.	<i>Mahārāja DEVAPUTRA Huvishka. Samvat 39.</i>
	{		<i>Mahārāja RĀJATIRĀJA DEVAPUTRA Huvishka. Samvat 47.</i>
			<i>Mahārāja Huvishka. Samvat 48.</i>
		VĀSUDEVA.	<i>Mahārāja Rājatirāja DEVAPUTRA Vdsu(deva). Samvat 44.</i>
			<i>Mahārāja Vāsudeva. Samvat 83.</i>
			<i>Mahārāja Rājatirāja, SHĀHI, Vdsudeva. Samvat 87.</i>
			<i>Rāja Vāsudeva. Samvat 98.</i>

In the Baktrian-Pāli Alphabet.

Other localities.	{	Bahāwalpūr.	<i>Maharaja Rajadira DEVAPUTRA Kanishka.</i>
			<i>Samvat 11, on the 28th of the (Greek) month of Diosius.</i>
		Manikyāla Tope.	<i>Maharaja Kaneshka, GUSHANA vasa samvardhaka.</i>
			<i>"Increaser of the dominion of the Gushans" (Kushans). Samvat 18.</i>
		Wardak Vase.	<i>Maharaja rajatiraja Huveshka. Samvat 51, 15th of Artemisius.</i>

In addition to these Baktrian-Pāli inscriptions, we have a record of a king called Moga (Moa ?), on a copper plate from Taxila, wherein the *Satrap Linko Kusuluko* (Kozola ?) speaks of the 78th year of the "great king, the great *Moga*," on the 5th of the month of Panemus.

In addition to the inscriptions bearing these names, Gen. Cunningham quotes a great number of others, with dates in the same Samvat Era, extending from the year 5 to the year 281, but without any kings' names in them. Their purport, however, and the form of the characters used, he considers sufficient to show that they form a connected series dating from one and the same Era, whatever that may be.

Professor Dowson and General Cunningham unhesitatingly adopt the Samvat of Vikramāditya, B.C. 56, as the Era indicated in the inscriptions. Mr. Thomas does not say so expressly in the Introduction above referred to; but in a letter he wrote to the *Academy* in December, 1874, he places them, for reasons there given at length, as all anterior to the Saka Era, A.D. 79. My conviction, on the contrary, is that they all date from the last-named Era, which I believe was, in fact, established by King Kanishka, who himself was a Saka king. It took, apparently, the name by which it is generally known from the fact that it was introduced into India during the reign of Śāta Karni II. of the Andhra dynasty of the Dekhan, and who was consequently chief of the Śātavahana¹ or Śālivahana race. He reigned, as I showed in my last paper (p. 122), A.D. 64 to 120.

In the first place, what we know of Kanishka is that he was not only one of the greatest Kings of the north of India, but that he was one of the most zealous Buddhists. If he was not the introducer, he was certainly the establisher of that religion in the north. He held the third, or, as some call it, the fourth, Convocation of Buddhism, and, with the assistance of Nāgārjuna, spread that religion into Thibet and beyond the Himalayas. To assert that such a King as this would condescend to adopt an Era established by a Brahmanical King of Ujjain from which to date his edicts and inscriptions, is so utterly incredible that it would require the very strongest evidence to induce any one to adopt it. That George III. should have adopted the French Republican

¹ J.B.B.R.A.S. vol. ix. pp. 239, 240.

Era, and dated his coins and Acts in the years 5 or 9 of the "République une et indivisible," is intelligible enough, though unlikely, because in Europe dates from Eras have been so long in use that they are indispensable necessities and must be used. But India in those days had no such user. Every reign was sufficient for itself, and, so far as we know, no Indian inscription or coin had any other date than that of the reign of the king in which it was made, till after the Christian Era. Under these circumstances, the idea of Kanishka adopting the Vikramâditya Samvat is, to say the least of it, most improbable.

The use of the term Samvat or Samvatsara may at first sight look like an argument in favour of the view adopted by Professor Dowson and General Cunningham; but the latter term (of which the former is merely an abbreviation) meaning simply year, it might be applied to any year or era, dating from any event. We find, indeed, Samvatsara continually used with Saka, and in inscriptions recording only the year of the reign of some king. In modern times, it is true, the term Samvat is applied almost exclusively to the Era of Vikramâditya, and, when used without qualification, is always understood to apply to that Era as contradistinguished from Saka or Saka Kâla, which is as generally applied to the Era of Śālivahana. Samvat is equally applied to the Ballabhi¹ Era; and Kâla to that of the Guptas² and other Eras. The two words appear in fact to be used as we employ Era and Epoch, and without some distinctive qualification convey no distinct meaning or date.

This is so clear as to be hardly doubtful, and indeed Gen. Cunningham does not dispute it; but, he argues, "this cannot be the Saka Era of A.D. 79, as we are quite certain that Kanishka flourished long before that date."³ This, no doubt, is the generally-received opinion; but when it is care-

¹ Tod's Rajasthan, vol. i. p. 801, and in all those copperplate grants in J.R.A.S. Vol. I. n.s. p. 250, etc.

² J.B.B.R.A.S. vol. viii. p. 124. Journal Asiatique, 4th series, vol. iv. pp. 282, 285, etc.

³ Archaeological Reports, vol. iii. p. 45.

fully looked into, neither Lassen¹ nor General Cunningham² seem able to adduce any data to establish this on any sound basis of fact. The evidence, such as it is, is purely Numismatic, and this of a more than usually unsatisfactory nature. So long as the investigation is confined to the Baktrian Kings, the sequence is clear, and the dates certain, within very narrow limits, till after Pantaleon or Hermæus, 120 to 130 B.C.³ We then get among a set of barbarian kings, who copied the Greek coins more or less perfectly or intelligently, but in such a manner that neither the sequence nor the dates can be determined with anything like certainty; and during the whole period which elapsed between the fall of the Græco-Baktrian Kingdom and the reign of Kanishka there is not one name, except that of Gondophares, that we ever heard of before, nor one event which can be synchronized with anything known from any other history. The Chinese, it is true, tell us of the invasion of the Yuechi and other Scythian tribes, which during that period pushed the Greek dynasties out of Baktria towards India, and gradually established themselves within the line of the Indus, and founded kingdoms in India itself; but they do not mention a single king or individual whose name can be satisfactorily identified with any name, on any coin, or in any inscription; nor is there any event mentioned by them which corresponds with anything we gather from Indian sources.

As long ago as 1841, Wilson⁴ had recognized more than fifteen Barbarian kings as reigning in the north-west of India between Pantaleon and Kanishka; allowing these only thirteen years apiece, they are sufficient to occupy the 200 years (120+79) that existed between these two kings, on the idea that Kanishka was the founder of the

¹ *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. ii. p. 411 et seqq.

² Cunningham's most recent discussion of this question is in a series of papers in the recent volumes of the *Numismatic Chronicle*; but its details are frequently referred to and enforced in his *Geography of Ancient India and Archaeological Reports*.

³ Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 300.

⁴ *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 300 et seqq.

Saka Era.¹ Many more names have since been added, and to compress the whole within a century, which the Samvat theory involves, is so contrary to all experience, that, without some direct testimony in its favour, this view may safely be rejected.

In this maze of conjectures there is one fact we can rely upon. In a Tope which Kanishka built at Manikyala, he buried, along with many of his own, seven coins of the Roman Consular period.² These have been identified by Raoul Rochette and others, and it has been ascertained that they extend down to A.U.C. 711, or B.C. 43.³ But these foreign coins are so worn with use as to be hardly distinguishable, while his own are fresh. Some considerable time must therefore have elapsed before they reached India in that condition. How long we must allow for this it is impossible to say; but this at least is certain, Kanishka was living and on the throne *after* B.C. 43. But in so far as this evidence goes, it is just as likely he may have been there 100 or 150 years after that time as 10 or 15 years.

No one has yet ventured to suggest any good reason why Kanishka should select seven wretched, worn silver Consular coins of Rome, to bury with his own gold pieces, when he could have selected hundreds of better examples from the Greek and Baktrian mintages at his command. It certainly was not their beauty, or value, nor their rarity, for at that time, after the defeat of Crassus, he might have got Roman coins by the bushel if he wanted them. They evidently had some sacred value independent of any numismatic considerations. They might have been the peculium of some Buddhist apostle who travelled in foreign parts—who went, perhaps, as far as Rome—or who acquired sufficient sanctity to be honoured by a Tope—but that could hardly have been within a century after his death. The case is different with the

¹ Thomas's list, published in his edition of Prinsep, vol. ii p. 178 et seqq., contains 38 names, of which probably 24 may be ascribed to the Græco-Baktrian Kingdom, the remaining 14 are Barbaric Kings; but how many more there may be we do not yet know.

² J.A.S.B. vol. iii. p. 559, pl. xxxiv.

³ Journal des Savans, 1836, p. 74; Thomas's Prinsep, vol. i. p. 148.

Roman gold coins recently found in Afghanistan; they are the best, and most valuable of the age to which they belong, and worthy of being associated, as they are found, with those of Kanishka. Be this, however, as it may, until it can be shown that these Consular denarii were placed in this Tope for some secular purpose, and not because they had become sacred from the use they had been put to, or from having belonged to some person who had become sacred, their value as an indication of the date of the Tope, or of its builder, is nil, and may safely be put on one side, for the present at least.

As hinted above, we find the name of Gondophares among the list of kings who reigned in the north-west of India, certainly subsequent to the fall of the Greek dynasties, and as certainly anterior to Kanishka.¹

Now the name is familiar to us as that of a king to whom St. Thomas is said to have gone, and by whom, according to others, he was murdered. All that is related of his mission to India may probably be mere legendary fables, and which I certainly do not intend to attempt to investigate here. The one point that bears on our argument is that the legend—assuming it to be such—was probably invented in the second or third century after the Christian Era. The traditions are repeated as established facts by Eusebius² and Socrates in the fourth.³ Whether true or not, it seems more than probable that those who related or invented these legends—probably in Babylonia at an early age—must have known who was the king reigning at Taxila at the time St. Thomas is supposed to have visited the East. That certainly was after A.D. 33, probably before A.D. 50.

The one point that interests us here is the inquiry whether those who wrote the history or invented the legend of St. Thomas, had the means of knowing what was the name of the king who ruled the north-west of India between these dates. For more reasons than it is worth while to adduce here, my conviction is, that ample means were available for

¹ Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 340; Thomas's Prinsep, vol. ii. p. 214.

² Hist. Eccles. i. 13, iii.

³ Hist. Eccles. i. 19.

this purpose; and, if this is so, it is inconceivable that they should have neglected them, and attached a wrong name to the legend. If this is so, it is almost impossible that Kanishka could have ascended the throne before A.D. 79, because, if this can be maintained, we have to find room for the whole Kadphises group of Kings between Gondophares and his accession. The difficulty is thus rather the other way, and certainly under no circumstances, if this view of the case be correct, could Kanishka have ascended the throne much before A.D. 79.

Quite recently, Mr. W. Simpson, in excavating the Ahin Posh Tope, near Jellalabad, found in the centre of it a relic chamber, in which were deposited eighteen gold coins lying loose, in excellent preservation, and two more in a small gold reliquary. Of these, ten belonged to Kadphises; six to Kanerki or Kanishka; one of them had an image of Buddha on the reverse, with his name in Greek characters; one was of Oerke or Huvishka, and three were Roman. Of these last one was of Domitian, another of Trajan, and the third of the Empress Sabina, the wife of Hadrian. The last-named, which is very much worn, proves that the Tope could not have been erected before 120 A.D. and may be as late as 140 or even 150.¹

The first inference from this is, that it is, to say the least of it, most extremely improbable that the age of great Kanishka should be so distant from that of this Tope, as the Mathura inscription, above quoted, would make him, if the inscriptions were dated from the Vikramāditya Samvat. 9 and 18 from that Era would place him 47 and 38 B.C., and adding the age of the Tope, as ascertained from the coins, would make the interval 170 to 190 years, which is certainly too great. If, however, the inscriptions are dated from the Saka Era, these numbers would be 88 and 97 A.D., and allowing for the Huviska date, 47-48, equally 126-127 A.D. would accord perfectly with the date arrived at from the Roman coins—130 to 140 A.D.

¹ These particulars are taken from a paper by Dr. Hoernle, supplemented by one by General Cunningham, reported in the proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for March to August, 1879, p. 205, et seqq.

Another excavation, which has recently been made in the same neighbourhood, confirms this view in a most satisfactory manner. While Mr. Simpson was excavating the Ahin Posh Tope, Mr. Beglar was employed by General Cunningham to explore another at Ali Musjid. In this, I learn from a private letter from the General, he found three gold coins of $\text{BAZO } \Delta\text{HO}$, or Vasudeva, to whose age he consequently ascribes its erection. Now if we assume that the Vasudeva inscriptions at Mathura are from the Vikramāditya Samvat, his dates 83 and 93 would correspond with 27 and 42 A.D., and if this was the case, it seems most strange that no coin of his was found in the Ahin Posh Tope. If, on the contrary, however, he used the Saka Era, these dates would be 162 and 177 A.D., which would at once account for their absence there, and give us a reasonable limit in the other direction for the date of that Tope.

At the time General Cunningham sent me this information, he sent me six photographs of the Ali Musjid Tope, and so far as I can form an opinion, from its architecture and the sculptures with which it is adorned, the difficulty is now all the other way. These represent the doctrines of an advanced Mahâyâna school, such as is not found in India in any case before the fourth or fifth centuries, and though it is probable that this form of Buddhism was introduced earlier in Gandhara than in India proper, the difficulty is to understand how this Ali Musjid Tope can be so early as even 177 A.D. If it were in India, any one who has studied the subject would certainly believe it was one or two centuries more modern.

Although these two discoveries of coins may not in themselves be sufficient to prove, absolutely, that all the Mathura dates are from the Saka Era, with the other evidence adduced, they make out so strong a case that it seems almost impossible to doubt its being so. If this is admitted, it follows as a matter of course that the Vikramāditya Samvat was not known till long after the age of the great King of Ujjain, in the sixth century, from whom its name was derived.

One other curious piece of evidence bearing on this subject

has recently been brought to light. In one of the inscriptions copied from the Badami caves by Mr. Burgess, and translated by Prof. Eggeling in the number for November, 1874, of the *Indian Antiquary*, the date is given in the following terms: "Sri Mangaliśvara, who in the 12th year of his reign—500 years having passed since the coronation of the King of the Sakas."¹ Here, therefore, in an inscription which is older than any manuscript we now possess, we have a distinct statement that it was not any defeat of the Sakas, but the inauguration of one of their Kings, that gave rise to the Era—and who was that King? I do not think any one at all familiar with the history of India about this Era would hesitate long in fixing on Kanishka, and with the evidence of his own dates, and that above adduced, the fact seems to me to be established almost beyond dispute; more particularly if it can be shown, as I hope to do presently, that the Vikramāditya Samvat was not invented till long after Kanishka's time.

VIKRAMĀDITYA SAMVAT.

If the above reasoning is sufficient to make out even a *prima facie* case in favour of the institution of the Saka Era by Kanishka, it only tends to make the origin of the Vikramāditya Samvat more and more mysterious. That a conqueror should seek to commemorate his accession to power by the institution of an Era, is an intelligible historical event; but there is in this case no hint of rival kings or rival eras, and nothing that has come to light since I last wrote on the subject now induces me to modify what I then said (pp. 131, 2). No authentic traces then existed of any King bearing the name or title of Vikramāditya having lived in the first century before Christ, and none have since been brought to light; nor has it been possible to point to any event as occurring B.C. 56 which was of sufficient importance to give rise to the institution of an era for its commemoration.

¹ Archaeological Report on the Districts of Belgam and Kuladji, London, 1875, p. 24.

Finding no other plausible suggestion available in 1869, I was induced to adopt the theory proposed by Mr. Justice Newton, to the effect that the Era of 56 B.C. was instituted by Nahapana, the Viceroy of some foreign King called Kshaharâtra,¹ who was all-powerful in the west some time not very distant from the Christian Era before or after. He, at all events, was the first of the line of Sah Kings, so called, of Guzerat, and it certainly is from his Era, or that of his master, that all their coins are dated. Further familiarity with the inscriptions and with the architecture of the western caves appears to me to have rendered this view untenable. The architectural evidence has been developed in my volume on Indian Architecture since published. The historical is mainly based on the celebrated Junaghur inscription of Rudra Dama, which is dated in the year 72 from the same Era from which all the coins of these kings are dated. In it he boasts "that, after twice conquering the Sâta Karni, Lord of Dakshinâpatha, he did not completely destroy him on account of their near connexion, and thus obtained glory." And he boasts of conquering, among other countries, Anupa, Saurâshtra, Asva Kutchâ, Kukura, Aparanta,* etc.²

A little further on in our history, Gotamiputra, in whose reign the Era was established which was afterwards adopted by the Guptas and Ballabhis, boasts, in an inscription in a cave at Nassick, that he had conquered among others all the countries above enumerated, and as having re-established the glory of the Sâtavahana dynasty, and destroyed the race of Khagarata.³ All this reveals a state of matters that will not accord with the Vikramâditya Era, but does perfectly agree with that of Sâlivahana.

Assuming that the Sâta Karni dynasty is correctly represented in the Puranas, as enumerated by me in my previous essay at p. 122, and which I see no reason for doubting, Rudra Dama would, on the assumption that the dates were Vikramâditya Samvat, have been reigning A.D. 16 (72—56),

¹ J.B.B.R.A.S. vol. v. p. 53.

² J.B.B.R.A.S. vol. viii. p. 119.

³ J.B.B.R.A.S. vol. ix. p. 238. See also Bhandarkar, MS. translation.

immediately after the establishment of the dynasty, and before the long and prosperous reign of Sâta Karni II., which could hardly have taken place had his family been smitten so early in their career. But if we assume that it was in 151 A.D. (79+72), it would coincide with the reign of the third king of that name, and at a time when, so far as we can judge from the length of the reigns, and the careless way they are enumerated in the Puranas, the fortunes of the family were considerably depressed; and it is little more than a century and a half after this time that Gotamiputra restored the fortunes of his family. Had three hundred years elapsed between these two events, the family could never have attained the position it did.

Another point of more importance is that the dates on the Sah coins—from whatever era they are calculated—extend only to 270-71, or very doubtfully to 292.¹ If these are from the Vikramâditya Samvat, they must have ceased to reign in A.D. 214, or at the latest 236, and there would have been no Khagaratas for Gotamiputra to humble after 312. On the other hand, if calculated from A.D. 79, their final extinction would have been in 349, or at latest 371. So that, though humbled by Gotamiputra, they overlap the Gupta Era to some extent, which it seems is almost indispensable to account for the mode in which the Sah coins overlap and run into those of the Gupta series, on which Mr. Thomas so strongly, and, it appears to me, so correctly insists.²

This substitution of the Saka Era for the Samvat brings what we know of the history, with what we learn from the inscriptions, and gather from the coins, so completely into accordance, that I can hardly doubt now that it is the correct view of the matter, and certainly more in accordance with the facts than that I previously adopted.

Before leaving this branch of the subject, it may be as well to point out that the new Samvat or Era, A.D. 319, which was established in the reign of Gotamiputra, and from which the

¹ J.R.B.R.A.S. vol. viii. p. 28.

² Essay on the Sah Kings of Saurashtra, J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. p. 16; and J.A.S.B. vol. xxiv. p. 503; see also Thomas's Prinsep, vol. ii. p. 95.

Guptas and Ballabhis afterwards dated their inscriptions, does not at all necessarily date from the accession of the king, nor his demise, nor from any event that took place during his reign. It seems simply to have been four cycles, of 60 years each, after Saka— $79 + 60 \times 4$. That the people who then ruled Western India were Yavanas, Sakas, Turushcas, and other tribes of Scythian origin, is abundantly clear from history, as well as from all the ethnological and religious data we can gather; and the cycle of 60 years is, and always was, the favourite and general mode of reckoning with them.¹ To enable the dates in the new era to be easily convertible into those of the old, it was necessary some even number should be adopted, and that is what was apparently done on this occasion.

If this last prop is knocked away, I am not aware of any direct evidence for the existence of a Vikramāditya Era in the first century B.C., nor for so long a time afterwards, so long indeed that it seems impossible to connect the two. Bhau Daji, for instance, says he knows of no inscription dated in this Samvat before the eleventh century of the Christian Era;² and, whatever may be said of his deficiencies in other branches of the subject, few men were so familiar with the data and more capable of giving an opinion on this subject. General Cunningham goes nearly as far. He says the Samvat of Vikramāditya was not used as early as 826;³ though, somewhat inconsistently, he says in the same volume, that the earliest inscription he knows dated in the

¹ "Le mot *samvatsara* signifie *année*; c'est comme, si on disait *révolutions annuelles*. Ce *samvatsara* est fondé sur la marche de Jupiter et du Soleil. . . . Sa révolution est de soixante ans, voilà pourquoi on le nomme *Schadabda* (it should be *Shashtyabda*, from *Shashti* 'sixty,' and *Abda* 'year'), d'un mot qui signifie soixante ans." To this M. Reinaud adds in a note:—"Il me semble résulter de l'ensemble du passage que le cycle sexagesimal non seulement étoit propre à une certaine partie de l'Inde, mais qu'il étoit d'une institution récente. Le calcul présenté par Albyrouny me fait croire qu'il commença seulement l'an 959 de notre ère. C'est en Chine que ce cycle a pris naissance; il y est d'un usage immémorial."—*Journal Asiatique*, series iv. vol. iv. pp. 281-2. In this conjecture M. Reinaud seems certainly to be mistaken. 959 may be the year of its application to the Samvat of Vikramāditya, as we hope to show presently; but it was applied to the Gupta Samvat in 319 A.D.

² J.B.B.R.A.S. vol. ix. p. 242.

³ *Archæological Reports*, vol. ii. p. 266.

Vikramā Era is 811 or A.D. 754.¹ As he does not say, however, what inscription he refers to, we may suspect his first assertion is the more correct one, till proof to the contrary is adduced. So far as I know, no inscription of so early a date has yet been published; and, if this is so, it is almost inconceivable that an era established before the birth of Christ could have lain so long dormant, and then have been so curiously revived, and so generally adopted.

Assuming, for the nonce, that what was said above is sufficient to explain, at least provisionally, the origin of the Saka Era, the solution of the difficulties regarding the rival Era will, I believe, be found in the correct interpretation of two passages in the Raja-Tarangini, combined with one in Albiruni.

The first in the Kashmir history, when narrating the events of the Aditya dynasty, which certainly did not commence before the middle of the fourth century, it is said, "Ayant fait venir ensuite, d'un autre pays, Pratâpâditya parent du roi Vicramâditya, ils le sacrèrent souverain de l'Empire.

"D'autres induites en erreur ont écrit que ce Vicramâditya fut le même que combattit les Çakas; mais cette version est rejetée."²

Some way further on, under the following dynasty, or that of the Gonerdyā line restored, we have: "Dans le même temps — the death of Hiranya — l'heureux Vicramâditya, appelé d'une autre nom Harcha, réunit comme Empereur a Udjdjayinî l'empire de l'Inde sous un seul parasol. . . .

"Employant la fortune comme moyen d'utilité il fit fleurir les talents, c'est ainsi qu'encore aujourd'hui les hommes de talent se trouvent la tête haute au milieu des riches.

"Ayant d'abord détruit les Çakas, il rendit léger le fardeau

¹ Arch. Reports, vol. ii. p. 68.

² Troyer's translation of the Raja Tarangini, vol. ii. p. 43. In Wilson's translation it is said, "A different monarch from the Saccâri Vicramâditya, though sometimes erroneously identified with that prince."—*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 32.

de l'œuvre de Hari, qui doit descendre sur la terre pour exterminer les Mlêchhas."¹

Before going further, it may be as well to point out what appears to be a fair inference from the above. That the first Vikramāditya, the friend of Pratâpāditya, was so near in date the second—he, in fact, appears to have been his grandfather—as to be confounded with him, and to have the name of Sakari applied to him, which in fact belonged to his grandson, the real destroyer of the Sakas.

The passage in Albiruni is to the following effect: "L'ère de Saca, nommée par les Indiens Sacakâla, est postérieure à celle de Vicramāditya de 135 ans. Saca est le nom d'un prince qui a régné sur les contrées situées entre l'Indus et la mer (le Golf du Bengale). Sa résidence était placée au centre de l'Empire (Muttra?), dans la contrée nommée Aryavartha. Les Indiens le font naître dans une classe autre que celle des (Kchatrias?) quelques-uns prétendent qu'il était Soudra et originaire de la ville de Mansoura. Il y en a même qui disent qu'il n'était pas de race Indienne, et qu'il tirait son origine des régions occidentales. Les peuples eurent beaucoup à souffrir de son despotisme, jusqu'à ce qu'il leur vint du secours de l'Orient. Vicramāditya marcha contre lui, mit son armée en déroute, et le tua sur le territoire de Korour, situé entre Moultan et le Château de Louny. Cette époque devint célèbre, à cause de la joie, que les peuples ressentirent de la mort de Saca, et on la choisit pour ère, principalement chez les astronomes."²

He then goes on to point out that, because of the distance of time between the Saka and Samvat Eras (135 years), this could not be the celebrated Vikramāditya, and, according to the system in vogue in his time, it was of course impossible to reconcile the date with the facts. I do not, think, however, that any one who is even moderately acquainted with the

¹ *Loc. cit.* p. 76.

² Re naud. Extraits d'Albiruni, Journal Asiatique, 4th série, tom. iv. p. 282. The principal passages bearing on the subject have already been printed in this Journal by Mr. Thomas, Vol. XII. pp. 14 and 44; so that it will not be necessary to repeat them here; but the whole chapter ought to be read by every one who wishes to understand how confused and artificial the whole system of eras was among the Hindus in Albiruni's time.

mediæval history of India, and the part the Sakas played after the time of the Andhras,¹ can doubt that these two accounts refer to the same events. The first question, therefore, is to ascertain their real date, the second to find out when and why it was altered.

In my previous essay (p. 100) I set down the date of Vikramāditya's death as occurring A.D. 530. To this I shall return presently; but, meanwhile, in order to make clear what follows, it may be expedient to assume that this was erroneous to the extent of, say 20 years, and that that event took place A.D. 550, or thereabouts. The battle of Korûr and the extermination of the Sakas may, therefore, have occurred 544, when Sri Harsha Vikramāditya was in the plenitude of his power, as evidenced by his having in that year established his servant Matri Gupta on the throne of Kashmir.

Assuming this for the nonce, what appears to have happened is this. About or before the year A.D. 1000 the struggle with the Buddhists was over, and a new era was opening for the Hindu religion, and a revival among the Hindu dynasties;² and it was then determined to reform the Calendar in a sense favourable to the new state of affairs. The Era then most in use was that of Saka, established, as I believe, by the Buddhist Kanishka, and certainly generally used by Buddhists in all their inscriptions. It was consequently deemed necessary to institute some new era to supersede it. That of 319 had also been employed by Buddhists, but the Guptas had at that time passed away, and so had the Ballabhis, and both were insignificant and of doubtful orthodoxy. Their Era would not therefore suit. The old Eras—the Kali Yug, Mahabharata, etc.—as Albiruni says, involved such lengthened periods, “qu'on avait renoncé à en faire usage.”³ In consequence of this, in looking back through their history for some name worthy to dignify the Era, and some event of sufficient importance to

¹ Wilson's translation of Vishnu Purana, p. 477.

² See Walter Elliot, J.R.A.S. Vol. IV. p. 10 *et seqq.*

³ Journal Asiatique, *loc. cit.* p. 280.

mark its commencement, they hit on the name of Vikramâditya as the most illustrious known, and his victory of Korûr as the most important event of his reign.

The date, however, of that battle (A.D. 544) was too recent for their purpose. There were numberless events anterior to that time, which had not been forgotten, and required to be dated, and if they adopted it literally, they must have counted backwards from it, as well as forwards, as we do from the Christian Era; and no chronologer in his senses would do this if he could help it.¹ They consequently established two new Eras. First by adding 10 cycles of 60, or 600 years to the date of 544, establishing one dignified by the name of Vikramâditya 56 years B.C. They then introduced another 10 centuries, or 1000 years, before the same date, or 456 B.C., and called it that of Harsha, from the other half of his name. The latter never came much into use, and we only know of its existence from Albiruni. The former eventually superseded all others in Hindu chronology.

The following two passages extracted from Albiruni's celebrated work are sufficient to show how absolute the confusion was in the Hindu mind with regard to eras and epochal dates, at the time he wrote (A.D. 1032). He does not profess to understand them himself, and it is consequently only from extraneous information that we can now make anything of them; but properly used they do seem to throw very considerable light on several vexed questions of Indian chronology. The first is as follows:

"On emploi ordinairement les ères de Sri Harscha, de Vicramaditya, de Saca, de Ballabha, et des Gouptas."—p. 280.
 "D'après cela en s'en tenant à l'an 400 de l'an de Yezderdjed, on se trouve sous l'année 1488 de l'ère de Sri Harscha—l'an 1088 de l'ère de Vicramaditya—l'an 953 de l'ère de Saca—

¹ In order to illustrate what is meant by this, I may mention that when investigating chronological questions, before writing my work on the "True Principles of Beauty in Art," I found the inconvenience so great, that I was induced to propose the introduction of a Decimal Era, 10,000 years B.C. The first year of Christ was consequently 10,001. The present year 11,880. In other words, by adding one digit to the left, the whole was reduced to a consecutive series from before the oldest date known to the present date. A simplification, the advantage of which it is not easy to overestimate.

l'an 712 de l'ère de Ballabha, et de celle des Gouptas."—*Journal Asiatique*, series iv. vol. iv. p. 286.

Then follows:

"Déjà je me suis excusé sur l'imperfection de ce qui est dit ici et j'ai averti que les résultats que je présente offrait quelque incertitude, vu les nombres qui excèdent celui de cent. Je ferai remarquer de plus que j'ai vu les Indiens lorsqu'ils veulent remarquer la prise de Soumenat (par Mahmoud le Ghaznévide) événement qui en lieu l'an 416 de l'hégire (Janvier, 1026 de J.C.) et l'an 947 de l'ère de Saka. Je les ai vus écrire 242 puis au dessous 606 puis encore 99 enfin additionner le tout ensemble; ce qui donne l'ère de Saka. On peut entendre de là, que le nombre 242 indique les années qui précèdent l'époque où les Indiens commencèrent à se servir, d'un cycle de cent et que cet usage commença avec l'ère des Gouptas. D'après cela le nombre 606 indiquerait les Samvatsaras de cent complets, ce qui porterait chaque Samvatsara à 101. Quant au nombre 99 ce seraient les années qui ne sont écoulées du Samvatsara non encore révolu."—*Journal Asiatique*, 4 série, tom. iv.

In all this mass of confusion there seem to be only two facts that come out with any clearness. The first, as mentioned above, is that the 240 years, or with the Lokakala 242—was 4 cycles of 60 years added arbitrarily to the Saka Era without any special reference to any historical event, by a Scythic or Turanian people who were in the habit of using that cycle, and thus most appropriate to the Buddhists. The 600 years, or 606 with the Lokakala, was a most ingenious invention of the Aryan Brahmans in order to combine their own cycle of 100 years with the Buddhist cycle of sixty, and the only question is, when it was invented, and when it commenced. It could hardly have been from 319, as Albiruni seems to have supposed, for, if General Cunningham is correct, we have dates in this Samvat before 919, or with the Lokakala 927, which, according to this theory, would be the earliest possible date for its establishment ($319 + 600 = 919$). Besides, there seems no reason for supposing that the Brahmans ever adopted the Saka Era or its sub-

ordinate Gupta Samvat to date from. It is very much more probable that they would employ the 600 years in fixing an era 135 years earlier than the Buddhist Saka, and 600 years before the most notable event in the reign of the great Vikramāditya—the Battle of Korûr, which happened in 544 A.D. This probability arises almost to a certainty, when we find the Brahmans employing ten of their own cycles of 100 years each, to found a second era 1000 years before the same date of 544, or in 456 B.C., and calling it also by the first part of the name of that king or Śrī Harsha.

No one pretends that any such era existed in the fifth century B.C., and the fact that one of these two eras was exactly 600 years, and the other one exactly 1000 years, before 544 A.D.; and that both were called by the names of the great king of Ujjain; are coincidences so remarkable that it seems impossible to account for them, except in some such manner as I have suggested.

The advantage gained by fixing on an earlier date than any of the eras currently in use, was evident enough. By simply adding 135 to any Saka date, the corresponding Samvat date could be obtained; and by the reverse process of deducting 135 years, Samvat dates could be converted into those of Saka. So, too, by adding or subtracting 375, Gupta or Ballabhi dates could be converted into those of the new era. Had the new starting-point been subsequent to either of these then fashionable eras, a complication would have been introduced which would have been most perplexing.

If the celebrated Bhoja of Dhar, who is said to have ascended the throne about A.D. 1035,¹ had been a little earlier, I would have been inclined to ascribe the introduction of the new era to him. He is fabled to have found and dug up the celebrated but long-buried throne of the great Vikramāditya,² which I cannot but consider as a metaphorical allusion to some such event; and he was certainly one of the most prominent characters in this eleventh century revival. But I fear his date is too near the time when Albiruni was

¹ Tod's Annals of Rajasthan, vol. i. p. 800.

² Asiatic Researches, vol. ix. p. 177; Journ. Asiatique, 1844, p. 250.

writing his book, for our purposes, and that we must look for some earlier king as the originator of the new system.

In so far as the main argument is concerned, it is of comparatively little consequence by whom, or at what time this new era was instituted; meanwhile, however, we get a hint of what was going on from Sir Walter Elliot's paper in our 4th vol. (p. 14). In Saka 998, A.D. 1076, "Kali Vikram, with the title of Tribuvana Malla, usurped the kingdom. Having set aside the ancient Saka, he established the Vikram Saka in his own name." In another inscription he is described "as rubbing out the Saka and instituting the Vikram Era in its stead;" and this seems at that time to have been going on everywhere. It may, however, have been changed earlier by others, but it certainly was about this time that the permanent change was effected.

The most tangible objection to this view of the matter—but it is much less serious than it at first sight appears—is the difficulty of reconciling the date of the Battle of Korûr (544) with what we know is Vikramāditya's date. In my previous paper it was fixed, principally on two statements of Hiouen-Tsang. Speaking in 640, he says: "Suivant la tradition, le trône était occupé, il y a soixante ans, par un roi nommé Siladitya." And on the next page he speaks of the "cinquante ans qu'il resta sur le trône."¹ He was the son of the celebrated Vikramāditya, and, according to this account, 90 years elapsed between his accession to the throne and the time when the pilgrim was noting the events. The time is long, and Hiouen-Tsang is generally so careless about his dates, that we might, if necessary, cut 20 years off this period, were it not that the Hindus under the name of Chandra Sena give him exactly the same length of years,² and place his father's death—though it may be only an accidental coincidence—in 541.³ For these and other reasons assigned in my previous paper, I would willingly let the date remain

¹ Vie de Hiouen-Tsang, vol. i. pp. 204-5.

² He is called Boja by Ferishtah and other Persian historians, who assign to him the same length of reign, 50 years.—Dow's translation, vol. i. p. 13.

³ Asiatic Researches, vol. ix. p. 175.

as I then placed it, till the necessity for its readjustment is more clearly shown than it is at present.¹

Even if we adopted this summary process with regard to Hiouen-Thsang, the synchronism with the Kashmir dynasties would present difficulties not easily overcome. Of course, by allowing the Kings of the Gonerdiya dynasty, from Meghavahana to Matrigupta, the full length of reigns assigned to them, and shortening those that come after, to the accession of Durlabhaverddhana,² to a proportional extent, a synchronism might be established, even if the twenty years were retrenched, and it is possible this might represent the facts, though it looks improbable. On the whole, I prefer assuming that those who set to work to adjust the chronology in the tenth or eleventh century did not know the date of the Battle of Korûr within 20 years, and placed it in 544, instead of 524, which appears to be the true date.³

In whatever manner this little discrepancy of 20 years may be accounted for, the great fact still remains, that Sri Harsha Vikramāditya Sakari lived and defeated the Sakas at the Battle of Korûr, in the first half of the sixth century of our Era; and the Hindus, for the sake of adjusting their Eras, placed these events in the first century before Christ. This is all I care to contend for at present; for, if it is admitted, it gets rid of an immense mass of rubbish which has perplexed every inquirer, from the time when Wilford wrote his celebrated essay on the same subject, to the present day. So long as such a monstrous perversion of truth remains unex-

¹ The Ayeen Akbary, vol. ii. p. 49, places Bhowj's accession 485 A.D. or 541-56. Bhoja is the name the Persians give to Vikramāditya's son, and often confound the acts of the one with those of the other.—Ferishtah, Dow's translation, vol. i. p. 13.

² A.D. 627, instead of 645, as stated in my former paper. For this correction I am indebted to Gen. Cunningham's Geography of Ancient India, p. 91.

³ In order to illustrate how this might happen, let us suppose the non-Christian inhabitants of this island, in the time of King Arthur, had wished to establish an Era of their own, independently of the Christian Era. If the Pagan Danes had conquered and been unconverted, they certainly would have made the attempt. Supposing they had selected the Departure of the Romans, the Battle of Badon Hill, or any great national event, at about that distance of time, to start from,—could they have fixed it certainly within 20 years? I fancy not; and having the Christian Era to guide them, they ought to have done it much more easily than the Indians, who were always careless and uncritical as to dates or eras.

posed, Hindu Chronology is impossible; if it is abolished, there is very little difficulty remaining.

One of the first effects of this clearance of the way, will be that a number of small problems that puzzled Albiruni and other chronologers will become easily explicable. Take, for instance, the *Loka Kala*. This is described by Albiruni as a mode of reckoning among the vulgar, "*comput du vulgaire*," as distinguished from that of educated people, and consisted in adding one to the hundreds, as Easterns generally do to thousands, in order to prevent the last figure being altered,—as in the famous instance of the 1001 nights of Arabia—and in this instance stopping the calculation at 101,¹ as if the common people did not require to look beyond that. The confusion it introduced is easily understood, and shows how careless and unscientific the Indians were in these matters. He quotes two instances: one, the distance between the Saka Era and that of the Guptas, which we know was 240, 60×4 , neither more nor less; but according to this absurd mode of calculation is made 242. The other instance is an epoch of 600 years, which Albiruni does not know where to apply, but is evidently the 60×10 which was used to adjust the *Vikramāditya Samvat* to the date of the Battle of Korûr, but is here called 606, and fits to nothing. His quoting these two illustrations, however, is a satisfactory confirmation of what has been above advanced. They are just the two figures required to prove the correctness of the theory here advocated.

It is the same, I believe, with half the figures scattered through the pages of Wilford. They may all be true figures, but in nine cases out of ten misapplied or misunderstood; but, if any one would take the pains now to readjust them, I hardly doubt but that their true application and meaning could be found out. But that, I am certainly not going to attempt here, though I wish to point it out as a source of information available for others.

The truth of the matter appears to be, Albiruni, like Wilford, collected together a vast mass of facts and dates connected with Indian Chronology; but neither of them had

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, series iv. vol. iv. pp. 287-289.

any such knowledge of the real history of the country as would enable them to ascertain their real value or sequence. We have now access to Wilford's authorities, and can judge how far he was right or wrong. But Albiruni, apparently, had access to documents now lost; and his work, when published in extenso, may afford us much additional information; but so far as I can judge from what has been already published, there is not one single fact that can be accepted at once, without careful examination, nor is there one that is of much value, unless supported by corroborative evidence.

GUPTA KALA.

There is one other point of some, though not very great, importance, which information obtained since 1869 has set at rest. When writing that essay, I was obliged to leave it undetermined (pp. 103, 107) whether the two inscriptions of 82 and 93 of the Gupta Kala belonged to the first or second Chandra Gupta. A paper written by Major Watson, and published in the *Indian Antiquary* for November, 1873, clears up that difficulty. We there learn that Chandra Gupta II. reigned 23 years after the conquest of Saurâshtra by his son; that Kumara Pal Gupta reigned 20 years; and that Skanda Gupta succeeded him, but lost Saurâshtra by the rebellion of his Senâpati Bhattaraka, the founder of the Ballabhi family. Two years after this event Skanda Gupta died, and, as we are informed, "at this time the Gupta race were dethroned by foreign invaders."¹ From this it appears, undoubtedly, that the second arrangement I then proposed is the correct one, and that the above dates belong to Chandra Gupta II.; all those of the later kings are consequently now known within a year or two.

The Era from which these dates are taken never appeared to me doubtful; and this confirms me more and more in the conviction that it was from the Era that bears their name, A.D. 319. It could not be from the Saka Era, as has generally

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, vol. ii. p. 312.

been assumed, from the fact that Albiruni asserts that the Era that bears their name was "apparently" that of their destruction,¹ because in that case Skanda Gupta must have lived and reigned for 94 years in addition to the 16 we already know, from inscriptions, he occupied the throne. A reign of 110 years seems impossible; and, if it is not so, it seems certain, for the reasons stated in my previous paper, that the Gupta Era, 319, is that from which their coins and inscriptions are dated.

Besides this, the 146² years from 319, which we know from their dated inscriptions that they reigned, is just the interval that is required to fill up the gap between the Ballabhis and their Era which they adopted on usurping the inheritance of the Guptas, two years before Skanda Gupta's death.³

One other point of considerable importance to Indian history which arises from the fixation of this date (A.D. 465-70) for the destruction of the Guptas is, that it was almost certainly the White Huns who were the "foreign invaders" that struck the blow that stopped their career. At least, we learn from Cosmas Indicopleustes, writing 70 years after this time, that the Huns were a powerful nation in the north of India in his day, and, we may infer from what he says of them, had been settled there some time.⁴

On the Bhitari Lât, Bhau Daji reads—somewhat doubtfully, it must be confessed—the fact that Skanda Gupta had fought, apparently with success, against the Hunas.⁵ But the great point is that it was just about this time that the White Huns broke loose and extended their incursions east and west, so that there is not only no improbability of their being the "foreign invaders" alluded to, but every likelihood they were so. No one, indeed, can, I believe, with the knowledge we now possess, read De Guignes' chapter on the White

¹ Journal Asiatique, series iv. vol. iv. p. 285.

² This date is from an unpublished copper-plate grant, in the possession of Gen. Cunningham, and is in addition to the three others of the same reign quoted in my previous paper, p. 112.

³ Indian Antiquary, vol. ii. p. 312; see also vol. iii. p. 344.

⁴ Topographia Christiana, lib. xi. p. 338, edit. Paris, 1707.

⁵ J.B.B.K.A.S. vol. x. p. 60.

Huns,¹ without perceiving that it contains the key to the solution of many mysterious passages in Indian history. It is true India is not mentioned there; but from the time of Bahram Gaur in 420, till the defeat of Firoze in 475, the Persians were waging an internecine war with these Huns, and nothing can be more likely than that the varying fortunes of that struggle should force them to seek the alliance of the then powerful Guptas, to assist them against their common foe.

Precisely the same impression is conveyed by what is said by Ferishtah and the Persian historians² of the history of that time. Nothing can now, however, be more easily intelligible than the visit of Bahram Gaur to India when first attacked by the White Huns. His marriage with an Indian (? Gupta) Princess of Canouge; the tribute or assistance claimed by Firoze and his successors on the Persian throne, are all easily explicable, on the assumption that the two nations were at that time engaged in a struggle against a common enemy. This, too, explains the mention of the "Shah in Shahi" on Kumara Gupta's Allahabad inscription.³ Hence, too, the decided Persian influence on the gold coinage of the Canouge Guptas,⁴ and the innumerable Sassanian coins of that period found in all parts of the north of India.⁵ In all this the Sassanians seem inseparably mixed with the Guptas. The Persians, however, came eventually victorious out of the war. The great Guptas were struck down at some date between 465-70, or very shortly afterwards. The struggle, however, was apparently continued for some time longer by a subordinate branch of their successors; inasmuch as we learn from an inscription found at Apsar in Behar,⁶ that the fourth of

¹ Vol. i. part ii. lib. iv. pp. 325 *et seqq.*

² Malcolm's Persia, vol. i. p. 118; Briggs's translation of Ferishtah, intro. lxxvii. *et seqq.*; Dow's translation, p. 13.

³ Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal, vol. vi. 1837, p. 963; also Thomas's Prinsep, vol. i. p. 234.

⁴ Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal, vol. v. plates xxxvi. and xxxvii.; also Thomas's Prinsep, vol. i. p. 277, plate xxiii.

⁵ Thomas's Prinsep, vol. i. p. 407, *et passim*.

⁶ Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal, 1866, p. 273. See also Cunningham's Archaeological Reports, vol. iii. p. 136.

that dynasty, Damodara Gupta, "successfully encountered, at the Battle of Maushari, the fierce army of the Western Hunas." This event may have stopped the career of the Huns in India, in which case it could not well have taken place before the year 535, when Cosmas Indicopleustes is supposed to have written his *Topographia Christiana*; but it is by no means clear that he was not describing events that took place when he was himself in India some time previously. But be this as it may, it brings us back to the time when the Battles of Korūr and Maushari freed India from the Sakas and Hunas, who had long held her in hated subjection. That these two battles were fought between 524 and 544 appears to me hardly doubtful; and they thus fix one of the most important epochs in Mediæval Indian history. Indeed, so near each other are these two events in date, that I sometimes feel almost inclined to fancy they may be only different names for the same battle. At all events, they almost certainly represent parts of the same campaign which freed India in that age from the Yavanas; and that it was to commemorate the glories of these struggles that the Vikramāditya Samvat was afterwards instituted. This expulsion of the Yavanas was, too, the first serious blow that was struck at Buddhist supremacy, and from the effects of which it never afterwards completely recovered.

To make all this as clear to others as it is to myself, would require much more careful and elaborate working out than can be attempted in this place. But I feel convinced that if any one who had access to the same sources of information as De Guignes and Ferishtah, would re-write this chapter with special reference to India, availing himself of all the recent sources of information in that country, and combining it with what we learn from the Byzantine historians, he could easily restore to history one of the most interesting, and at the same time one of the most romantic, chapters in the history of India.

Nothing but a mistaken system of Chronology could have prevented all this being seen long ago, and now that these difficulties are being cleared away, we may hope that before

long this part of Indian history will be placed on a satisfactory basis.

My impression is, that this view of the Gupta Era would never have been considered doubtful, had it not been that the Chronology of that period has hitherto been based almost exclusively on Numismatic researches; and as it happens that the Andhras, or Sâtavahanas, being a native race, hardly coined money at all, they have been overlooked and their places filled by others. The wealth of ancient coins we find in India belongs almost exclusively to intruding foreigners, who came from or through Baktria, where they learnt the art of coining from the Greeks or their successors; and it was only at the time of the Guptas themselves that the indigenous races took extensively to coining, and the use of money. If the Andhras, however, did not coin money, they did better. They dug caves in the rocks, and covered them with inscriptions; and when these are read and their surroundings studied, they may regain their place in Indian history with a certainty that cannot be disturbed. The dates, however, of the Andhras or Andhrabhṛityas, as they are usually called, are the only ones regarding which any uncertainty at present prevails, and till these inscriptions are more carefully examined than hitherto has been the case, they cannot be regarded with the same confidence as others referred to in the preceding pages.

ART. X.—*The Megha-Sūtra*. By CECIL BENDALL, Fellow of
Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

THE following article was originally suggested by a notice in Beal's¹ "*Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*." The sūtra is there selected as a type of the latest phase of Buddhist literature, not only on account of its own peculiarities, but owing to its religious importance among the Chinese, which caused the imperial rescript for its translation and general promulgation, of which an English version is there given. The two parts of which this sūtra is composed are mentioned as Nos. 15 and 16 of vol. 14 of the Tibetan "*Gyut*," by Csoma Körösi in *As. Res.* xx. p. 529; the names of the translators fix its date as earlier than the ninth century. Finding that the Sanskrit original existed in the great, and hitherto unworked, mine of Northern Buddhist literature, the Wright Collection of Nepalese Sanskrit MSS. in the University Library of Cambridge, it was suggested to me by Prof. Cowell, to whose assistance I have been throughout deeply indebted, that it might prove generally interesting if an edition of the sūtra were prepared. A perusal, however, of the work showed such a preponderance of the objectionable peculiarities of this branch of Tantric literature, endless repetitions of words and thought, huge and meaningless congestions of epithets and titles, vast catalogues² of names, and in fact such an entire absence of literary merit of any kind, that the project of preparing a complete edition was abandoned, and the following annotated abridgment drawn

¹ See also FERGUSON, "*Tree and Snake Worship*," p. 55, where some further account of the Chinese version is given, and one of its illustrations reproduced: the observations as to the date may be corrected, however, by a reference to Csoma (as presently quoted).

² e.g. the list of 177 snakes at the beginning.

up. The text of these extracts is based on the Cambridge MS., of which I have made a nearly complete transcript, and which I call A, and the MS. in the Hodgson Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society (B), which I have collated for this article.

A few preliminary remarks on these MSS. may be not superfluous.

A, is a palm-leaf, 16 inches by 2 inches, 5 lines on each page, dated N.S. 494=A.D. 1374. It is written in the peculiar and often very difficult handwriting of the Nepalese of the period; and abounds in errors such as the confusion of ऋ and ॠ and of ऌ and ॡ, which seem to show the scribe's knowledge of Sanskrit to have been very small indeed.

B, on the other hand, though a modern¹ paper transcript, is a fairly careful copy of a good original, and clearly has independent authority. Conjectural emendations of my own of the readings of A have been in very many cases confirmed. I am also indebted to the courtesy of Prof. Beal for help derived from a comparison of the Chinese transliterations of the mystic names of charms on page 297.

The following extracts, then, contain all the significant parts of the sūtra, the nature of the omitted portions being everywhere indicated.² The text is founded on a comparison of the MSS., obvious blunders and vernacular barbarisms in either being passed by unnoticed, and the genuine differences of reading only being noted. Only the flagrant errors of Sandhi, so common in Buddhist MSS., have been, as a rule, corrected.

(References to the Divyāvadāna in the notes are to the pages of the edition by Prof. Cowell and Mr. Neil, now in the press.)

¹ It bears date on the cover, N.S. 888=A.D. 1768.

² In the case of repeated epithets, etc., *e.g.* p. 292, ll. 8, 17; p. 294, 3 (=p. 293, ll. 10, 27; 295, 4) the first words only are printed again. Cf. also pp. 306, 307.

TEXT.

नमोऽचिन्त्यसागरेभ्यः सर्वसम्यक्संबुद्धेभ्यः¹ ॥

एवं मया श्रुतमेकस्मिन्² समये भगवान् नन्दोपनन्दनागराजभवने विहरति स्म । श्रीमणिरत्नगर्भमहामेघमण्डलकूटागारे महता भिक्षुसंघेन सार्धं महता च बोधिसत्त्वसंघेन सार्धं महता च राजगणेन सार्धं तद्यथा नन्देन च नागराजेन उपनन्देन च नागराजेन सागरेण च अनवतप्तेन च मनस्विना च वरुणेन च तक्षकेन च धृतराष्ट्रेण च वासुकिना च मुचिलिन्देन च नागराजेन etc., etc. (Here follows a list of about 200 snakes cf. Mahābhār. Ādi-P. 1551, sqq.)

एवममुखिः सर्वनागराजपूर्वङ्गमैश्वरशीत्या नागकोटीनियुतशतसहस्रैः सन्निपतितैः सन्निषण्णैः । तेन खलु पुनः समयेन सर्वे ते नागराजाः³ सपरिवारा उत्थायासनेभ्य एकांसमुत्तरासङ्गानि कृत्वा⁴ दक्षिणानि जानुमण्डलानि पृथिव्यां प्रतिष्ठाप्य येन⁵ भगवांस्तेनाञ्जलिं प्रणम्याप्रमेयासङ्क्षोभैः परमविविधरुचिरैः पुष्पधूपगन्धमाल्यविलेपनचूर्णचीवरच्छचध्वजपताकापट्टदामवाद्यतूर्यताडावचरसङ्गीतिरत्नकुसुमरत्नदाममुक्ताहारनागपुष्पमुक्ताजालैर्गर्जन्तो गुडुगुडायमाना⁷ महावातं प्रवायन्तो महानादं नदन्तो रमणीयांश्च धर्मनादान्नदन्तः⁹ महतागुरुगोरवचिचीकारेण भगवन्तमभिच्छादयन्तः प्रदक्षिणीकुर्वन्ति स्म ।

¹ सर्वबुद्धबोधिसत्त्वेभ्यः B.

³ नागराजानः A.

⁷ गुडुगुडयन्तो A.

⁹ धर्मनादान्नदन्तः A. ; धमनादनदन्तः B.

TRANSLATION.

Worship to the inconceivable oceans, to the all-enlightened.

Thus was it heard by me; ² on one occasion the Venerable one dwelt in the palace of the Snake-Kings Nanda and Upananda, in the summer pavilion of the circle of mighty clouds filled with precious gems and jewels accompanied by a mighty assemblage of bhikshus, and by a mighty assemblage of bodhisatvas, and a mighty host of kings, to wit, Nanda the Snake King, and Upananda etc. attended, I say, by 84 hundreds of thousands of millions of krores of snakes assembled and seated together.

Now at that time all these snake-kings with their retinue, rising from their seats, placing their upper robes on one shoulder, putting their right knees on the ground, bending their clasped hands towards the Venerable One, with immeasurable and innumerable, and with infinitely various and resplendent flowers, incense, odours, garlands, unguents, sandal, monks' robes, shades, banners, canopies, silks, wreaths, instruments, motions⁸ to the beat of drums; symphonies; jewel-flowers, jewel-strings, pearl-chains, snake-flowers, and pearl-nets, rustling, murmuring, emitting a mighty blast, sounding a mighty sound, and sounding delightful sounds of the Law, overshadowing the Venerable One with a great marvellous store of aloes and saffron, made the pradakshinā.

² The usual, and till lately regarded as the invariable, commencement of Buddhist works.

⁴ Cf. the common Pāli phr. *ekaṃsaṃ uttarāsaṅgaṃ karitvā*, i.e. baring one shoulder in token of respect.

⁵ येन, तेन another constr. and phr. common to Pāli and Buddhist Skt., cf. Childers, s.v. yo.

⁶ नागपुष्प might also be taken as the nomen proprium of several flowers.

⁷ गुडगुडायनः is a *āpi. λ.* in Suçr. 2, 461, 16, so that this form is the partic. of a nom. vb. from the same onomatop. base.

⁸ अवचर seems to be noun there, though it has only been found as an adj. hitherto.

प्रदक्षिणीकृतिकानो तक्षुः । एकात्मस्थिताः प्रविधानानि कुर्वन्ति च ।
 सर्वलोकधातुसमुद्रपरमाक्षुरजःसमैः कायसमुद्रैः सर्ववृक्षबोधिसत्वपर्य-
 ऋण्डसमुद्रेषु^१ । सर्वलोकधातुप्रसरसमुद्रेषु । सर्वपुष्पिन्नेजोवायुपर-
 माक्षुरजःसर्वरूपावभाससमपरमाक्षुरजःसु एकैकस्मिन्परमाक्षुरजसि ।
 सर्वगणनासमुद्रसमतिक्रादीरसङ्क्षेयाप्रमेयाचिन्वातुष्णामाप्सानभिज्ञा-
 प्यसमतिक्रादीः कायमेघसमुद्रैः एकैकस्मिन्कायेऽप्रमेयासङ्क्षेयान्^२ समु-
 द्रमेघानधिष्ठाय समन्तदिक्त्रोतोऽभिमुखादेकैकस्यात्परमाक्षुरजोभा-
 गात् समन्तदिक्कुलस्फरयैरसन्निभिः सर्वपूजामेघसमुद्रैः सर्ववृक्षबोधिस-
 त्वसमुद्रान् सत्कुर्यामो^३ गुरुकुर्यामो मानयेमः पूजयेमः । यदुतोप्रमे-
 यासङ्क्षेयाचिन्वातुष्णामाप्सापरिमासानभिज्ञाधिरसन्निभिः समन्तभद्र-
 चर्याप्रभावसमुद्रमेघैः^४ सञ्छन्नं नगनतसमधिष्ठाय यथायथा बोधिस-
 त्वात्मभावसमुद्रमेघैः । एवं सर्वरत्नवर्षररिमघनसर्वसूर्यचन्द्रात्मभाव-
 मण्डलसमुद्रमेघैः । सर्वरत्नहारकुसुमसमुद्रमेघैः । सर्वरत्नावभासनर्मकू-
 टागारसमुद्रमेघैः । सर्वचूर्णवृषकोशसमुद्रमेघैः । सर्वगन्धधूपसर्वरूपस-
 न्दर्शनसमुद्रमेघैः । सर्ववृक्षतनिर्गर्जितवायुसमुद्रमेघैः । सर्वगन्धवृक्षसमुद्र-
 मेघैः । सञ्छन्नं नगनतसमधिष्ठाय । एवमस्मृष्टैरप्रमेयासङ्क्षेयाचिन्वातु-

^१ परषत्त० MSS.

^२ ०यनि MSS.

^३ Sic codd. ambo; scilicet haec forma in tempore "līh" apud codices Buddhisticos haud rara.

After this salutation they stood on one side; standing on one side they made supplications.

"Let us worship, let us reverence, esteem, honour the samudras¹ of Bodhisatvas with [their] samudras of bodies equal [in number] to the dust of the infinitesimal atoms of the elements of the universe, in the samudras of the assemblies of Bodhisatvas, in the samudras of the extension of elements of the universe, in the atoms of all earth, water, fire, wind, and in the atoms of the manifestations of all forms, as well as in each several atom, riding upon the sea-clouds, immeasurable and innumerable, with samudras of cloud-bodies exceeding the samudras of all computation, and exceeding the innumerable, the immeasurable, the inconceivable, the unequalled, and the unmeted, the unknowable, yet (each) in their own several body, [coming] from the direction of the streams of every quarter, and from every portion of each atom, with samudras of bodies which are the adoration of all, and which spread through the shores of all quarters in unbroken stream.

To wit, occupying the expanse of firmament which is covered with infinite, innumerable, inconceivable, unequalled, immeasurable, unterminable, incomprehensible, and undivided sea-clouds, taking their origin from full religious purity successively,⁶ with sea-clouds which are the shapes of Bodhisatvas, likewise with sea-clouds in circles of shapes of every sun and moon compacted of the rays of the colour of every gem; with sea-clouds of pavilions filled with the radiance of every gem, with sea-clouds of the buds of every sandal-tree, with sea-clouds having the appearance of all forms and all odours and fragrance, with sea-clouds of instruments resounding with all noises, with sea-clouds of all trees of fragrance, mounting the expanse of heaven (thus) over-

¹ *Samudra* seems to be employed in this and similar passages with reference to its meaning of "an infinite number."

² यदुत, cf. किमुत, hitherto unnoticed, occurs in *Divyāvadāna*, p. 49 = "scilicet."

⁶ Cf. *Manu*, 3, 76.

ख्यामायापरिमाणीयानभिन्नाधिरसस्मिन्निः सर्वपूजामेघसमुद्रैः । सर्वबु-
द्धवोधिसत्वान् सत्कुर्यामो गुरुकुर्यामो मानयेमः पूजयेमः ॥ (and so
on for half a dozen pages, enumerating the various orna-
ments, each compounded with समुद्रमेघैः constructed with the
same four potentials).

एवंरूपं प्रणिधानं कृत्वा ते नागराजानः पुनरपि भगवन्तं विः प्रद-
क्षिणीकृत्य पादाभिवान्दनाच्च कृत्वा । भगवतानुज्ञाताः स्वेषु स्वेष्वसनेषु
न्यषीदन्¹ । तेन खलु पुनः समयेनानन्तपरिकरसागरमेघव्यूहतेजोम-
ण्डलच्छाकाकारराजस्त्रिसाहस्रमहासाहस्रिको महानागाधिपतिः । उ-
त्थायासनाद् एकांसं उत्तरासंगं कृत्वा दक्षिणं जानुमण्डलं पृथिव्यां
प्रतिष्ठाप्य येन भगवांस्तेनाञ्जलिं प्रणम्य भगवन्तमेतद्वोचत् ।

पृच्छेयमहं भगवन्तं तथागतमर्हन्तं सम्यक्सम्बुद्धं किञ्चिदेव प्रदेशप्रश्नं,²
सचेन्ने³ भगवानवकाशं कुर्यात् पृष्ठः प्रश्नव्याकरणाय ।

एवमुक्ते भगवाननन्तपरिकरसागरमेघव्यूहतेजोमण्डलच्छाकाकारराजं
नागाधिपतिमेतद्वोचत् । पृच्छ त्वं भुजङ्गाधिपते यद्यदेवाकाङ्क्षस्वहं ते
तस्य तस्यैव प्रश्नव्याकरणेन चित्तमाराधयिष्ये ।

एवमुक्तेऽनन्तपरिकर^० च्छाकाकारराजस्त्रिसाहस्रमहासाहस्रिको महा-
नागाधिपतिर्भगवन्तमेतद्वोचत् ।

कथं, भगवन्, सर्वनागानां सर्वनागदुःखानि प्रतिप्रश्नयेयुः⁴ प्रहर्षिताः
सुखसमन्विताश्चेह जम्बुद्वीपकालानुकालं वर्षधारा उत्सृजेयुः । सर्वतृण-

¹ न्यषीदत् A.; न्यदीदन् (vocem nihili) B.

² प्रदेशप्रश्न A.

⁴ Another striking instance of colloquial influence; the compound *paṭippasambhāti* being common in that language but apparently hitherto unknown in Sanskrit.

shadowed with samudras of clouds of all worship, of which the chief are such (as described), immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, unequalled, unmeted, incommensurable, unknowable, moreover in unbroken series, [with all these], let us worship, reverence, esteem and honour all the Buddhas and Bodhisatvas."

Thus having made supplication, the Snake-Kings again thrice made the pradakṣiṇa to the Venerable One and did salutation to his feet; then at the command of the Venerable sat down on their own several seats: moreover, on that occasion the great supreme King of Snakes, with three thousand mighty thousands, whose kingly shade was the circle of glory of a mass of clouds and endless retinue, rising from his seat, and putting his upper robe on one shoulder, placed his right knee on the ground, and bending the añjali of homage towards the Venerable, addressed him as follows:—

"I would ask the Venerable, the Tathāgata, the fully enlightened Arhat somewhat, as a question for decision, if the Venerable One has leisure, being asked, for the explanation of my question."

At these words, the Venerable One thus addressed the snake-sovereign whose form was most regal through the pavilion of the circle of radiance of the mass of clouds, his boundless ocean of followers, "Ask, Snake-monarch, whatsoever thing thou desirest, by the solution of thy question concerning even that will I appease thy mind." At these words the Serpent-King, with three thousand thus bespake the Venerable One, "How, O Venerable One, may all the troubles of all the snakes subside; (and how) may

³ सचेत्. This is an interesting case of the intrusion of the colloquial speech, whose typical development is, of course, Pālī; सचेद् being hitherto unnoticed in Skt. See Childers, s.v. sace, who quotes (s.v. okasam) Sace me Bhagavā okāsam karotī pañhassa veyyākaranāya which corresponds almost word for word to the text. It is, however, really frequent in the Lalita-Vist., but has escaped notice owing to the defective editorial care shown in the printed edition.

गुल्फोषधिवनस्यतीन् विरोहयेयुः । सर्वशस्यान्मुत्पादयेयुः । सर्वरसान् संजनयेयुः । येन जाम्बुदीपका मनुष्याः¹ सुखसमर्पिता भवेयुः ॥

एवमुक्ते भगवाननन्तपरिकर^{००} राजं विसाह^० महानागाधिपतिमे- तदवोचत् । साधु साधु भुजङ्गाधिपते यत्त्वं सर्वसत्वानां हितमुखाय² प्रतिपन्नः³ तथागतमेतदर्थं³ परिप्रष्टव्यं मन्यसे ।

तेन हि भुजङ्गाधिपते शृणु साधु च सुष्ठु च मनसिकुरु⁴ । भाषिष्येऽहं ते । एकधर्मेण भुजङ्गाधिपते समन्वागतानां सर्वनागानां सर्वदुःखानि प्रश्रभेयुः । सुखसमर्पिताश्च भवेयुः ।

कतमेनैकधर्मेण । यदुत मैत्र्या तत्र भुजङ्गाधिपते मैत्रीविहारिणो देवमनुष्याः । अग्निना न दह्यन्ते । शस्त्रेण न चण्ड्यन्ते । उदकेन नोह्यन्ते । विषेण न हन्यन्ते । परचक्रेण नाभिभूयन्ते । सुखं स्वप्यन्ति । सुखं च प्रतिबुध्यन्ते⁵ स्वपुण्यरचिताश्च⁷ भवन्ति । महापुण्यतेजोजिताः⁸ । अन- वमर्दनीयाश्च भवन्ति सदेवकेन⁹ लोकेन प्रासादिकाश्च भवन्ति । प्रिय- दर्शनाः सर्वत्राप्रतिहतगतयश्च भवन्ति सर्वदुःखप्रतिप्रश्रव्याः सम्प्रहर्षि- ताश्च भवन्ति सर्वसुखसमर्पिताः ॥

उत्तरे च मनुष्यधर्मप्रतिविध्यकायस्य भेदाद्¹⁰ ब्रह्मलोके मैत्रेण मन- स्तर्म्मणोपपद्यन्ते भुजङ्गाधिपते । एते भुजङ्गाधिपते अनुशंसा¹¹ मैत्रीवि- हारिणां देवमनुष्याणां ।

तस्मात्तर्हि भुजङ्गाधिपते मैत्रेण कायकर्मणा मैत्रेण वाक्कर्मणा मै- त्रेण मनस्तर्म्मणा विहर्तव्यं । पुनरपरं भुजगाधिपते सर्वसुखं ददा नाम¹² धारणी प्रवर्त्तयितव्या । सा सर्वनागानां सर्वनागदुःखानि प्रतिप्रश्रम्भ

¹ मनुष्यकाः B.

² हिताय सुखाय B.

³ एतमर्थं B.

⁴ प्रतिबुध्यन्ते A. quam vocem apud lexica non reperio.

⁵ सुपुण्यरचिताः A.

⁶ तेजोभोजिताः B.

⁷ सदेवलोक^० B.

¹² Om. सर्व A.; sed cf. infra.

they (thus) gladdened and blessed, send forth rain-torrents here, seasonably for Jambūdvīpa; make all grasses, bushes, herbs, forest-trees to grow; produce all corn; give rise to all juices, whereby the men of Jambūdvīpa may become blessed?"

At these words the Venerable One thus addressed the Snake-monarch, with three thousand . . . etc.: "Excellent! excellent! O Serpent-monarch, in that thou, acting⁴ for the good pleasure of all creatures, dost think fit to inquire of the Venerable with such an object.

Therefore, snake-king, hearken, and ponder it well and carefully in thy mind; I will tell thee. By the One Law, O snake-king, may all the troubles of the snakes subside, and they may become endowed with bliss.

By which 'One-Law'? Even by charity; therein devas and men, snake-king, living in charity, are not burned by fire, nor hurt by weapons, nor carried away by water, nor slain by poison, nor overcome by a neighbour's host; they shall slumber sweetly, and sweetly they awake and are guarded by their own holiness, being glorified by the glory of great holiness, and are indestructible by this world with the world of devas, and gracious, and fair of countenance, and everywhere unhindered in their goings, with all griefs subsided, gladdened and endowed with all bliss.

And hereafter, after the dissolution of the body, pervaded by human attributes, they are born in the Brahma-world, through the exercise of charity, O king. These, O king, are the praises of devas and men who live in charity.

Now therefore, snake-king, ye must live with benevolent action of body, speech and mind. Again, further, snake-king, a dhāraṇī called 'Sarvasukhandadā' must be put in action. That is destined to put to rest all serpents' woes, and to give all blessings: because here in Jambūdvīpa in

⁴ Cf. Pāli parahitāya paṭipanno, Childers, s.v. paṭipajjati.

⁵ I follow Burnouf in treating this as a single verb (see his note, 'Lotus,' p. 413), cf. Pāṇ. i. 4, 75.

¹⁰ Cf. kayassa bheda, Dhammapada 129.

¹¹ *Anuṣaṃsa* (subst.) seems hitherto unknown both to Skt. and Pāli; though the vb. अनुशंस् is common esp. in the earlier language.

यति¹ सर्वसुखानि च ददाति । येनेह जम्बुद्वीपे कालेन कालं वर्षधारा उत्सृजति । सर्वतृणगुल्मीषधिवनस्पतिशृङ्गानि च विरोहयति² । तच्च भुजगाधिपते कतमा सा सर्वसुखन्ददा नाम धारणी तद्यथा । धरणि धारणि³ । उत्तारणि सम्प्रतिष्ठिता विजय वर्णसत्य प्रतिज्ञा साहाय्या-
नवति उत्पादनि विनाशनि । अभिषेचणि । अभिव्याहारशुभावति ।
अजामतामहि । कुम्बालनिवाहा । हर⁴ क्लेशान् । धुनु पापं । शोधया¹²
मार्गाणि । रीहका धर्मतासु पदानीति ॥

पुनरपरं भुजगाधिपते । मेघकुलसम्भवाधिष्ठानव्यूहतेजोगर्भनिर्माणा-
वभासनञ्चानकेत्वम्बुध⁴-राचमण्डलश्रीकरणकाशु⁶-वैरोचनैकवालाय-
कोटीनिर्जातवंशगोत्राणां तथागतानां नामधेयानि धारयितव्यानि ।
मनसिकर्त्तव्यानि । तानि सर्वनागानां सर्वनागकुलानां सर्वनागगोत्राणां
सर्वनागसम्भवानां सर्वनागयोनीनां सर्वनागराजानां सर्वनागकुलोद्भ-
वमेघविराजितकन्यानां⁹ सर्वनागपरिवाराणां¹⁰ सर्वनागदुःखानि प्रति-
प्रश्रम्भयन्ति¹¹ । सर्वसुखोपधानान्युपसंहरन्ति । तच्च भुजगाधिपते कत-
मानि तानि तथागतनामानि । यदुत नमो भगवते वैरोचनगर्भमहा-
मेघाय तथागताय । नमो भगवते नागकुलोद्भवमेघविराजिताय ॥

¹ Barbare codd. ambo ; प्रतिप्रसम्भवति A. ; प्रतिप्रसम्भवति.

² विरोहति A.

⁴ Syllabam ह om. A.

⁶ म्बुद्ध codd.

⁶ करतकाशु B. ; करणकासु A.

⁹ सर्वनागकन्यानां B.

¹⁰ सर्वनागपरिवाराणां A.

¹² Sic codd. ; de uocali producta cf. formas Vedicas.

season and for a season it produces clouds, and causes to arise all grass, shrubs, herbage, forest-trees, and corn. Now, O snake, which is that Dhāraṇi called Sukhandadā? It is as follows:—Dharaṇi, Dhāraṇi Uttāraṇi, Sampratishṭhitā, Vijaya, Varṇasatya, Pratijñā, Sāhājñānavati, Utpādani, Vināṇaṇi, Abhishechaṇi, Abhivyābhāraṇubhāvati, Ajāmatāmahi, Kumbalanivāhā, 'Take away troubles!' 'Shake off sin!' 'Cleanse the paths!' Rīhakā, Dharmatāsu;—such are the words.

Again, snake-king, the names are to be repeated of the Tathāgatas, whose families and races are sprung from the one hair-tip of Vairochana, speedy producers⁷ of happiness [consisting of] a circle here⁸ of clouds, which are the banner of their illumining knowledge, having their production and origin from the splendour of the mass which is the site of the source of cloud-gatherings.

These put to rest all the woes of all the snakes, of all the families of snakes, the races of snakes, births and productions of snakes, of all snake-kings, of all snake-descended cloud-illumined virgins of all snake-retinues; they bring together all supplies of blessings. Herein, O King, what are

³ The following Chinese phonetic equivalents (kindly communicated to me by Prof. Beal) may be interesting to compare:—To-lo-ni To'-lo-ni; Yan-to-lo-ni, Sam-po-lo-ti-sse-ta Pi-tche ye P'o-lan-na-sa-ti-ye Po-lo-ti-nya, Po-lo-ho-jūa-na-po-ti (perh. from a v.l. Parājūāna vati) Yan-to-p'o-ta-ni, Pi-na-ch'ang-ni, Ho-pi-si-che-ni; Ho-pi-pi-ya-ho-lo-shu-po-po-ti; O-c'he-ma-to mu-chi, Kung-po-lo-heu-chi-po-ho, Ma-lo-ki-le-she (= Pali *māra kilesa*), Ta-na-po-hom Shu-to-ye, Ma-kia-ni, Li-ho-ka, Ta-mo-to-shu-to (and others not in the Skt.).

⁷ The position of अशु is very doubtful: especially as the word has no representative in the Chinese version, as given me by Prof. Beal: the whole passage is corrupt.

⁸ अत्र again is very suspicious; perh. (cf. crit. note) we should read अशुद्रात्र: where रात्र would give the sense of 'dark cloud,'—but this seems contradictory to अवभासन, etc.

¹¹ *Pratipracrambā* has been hitherto unnoticed by Skt. Lexicography; though its Pāli equiv. is well known.

(Here ensue several pages of names of Tathāgatas).

एभिर्भुजगाधिपते तथागतनामभिः प्रवर्त्तितैः सर्वनागानां सर्वदुःखानि प्रतिप्रश्रब्धानि सर्वदुःखसमर्पिताश्च^१ कालेन कालमिह जम्बुद्वीपे वर्षधारा उत्सृजन्ति सर्वतृणगुल्मीशधीवनस्पतिशस्यानि च विरोहन्ति ॥

अथ खल्वनन्तपरिकर° नागाधिपतिर्भगवन्तमध्येषते^२ स्म । भाषतु भगवांस्तादृशानि धारणीमन्त्रपदानि धैरिह जम्बुद्वीपे पश्चिमे काले पश्चिमे समयेऽनावृष्टावुदीरितैर्महावर्षधाराः प्रवर्षेयुः । दारुणकालसमये कान्तारकालसमयेऽधार्मिकजनपदकलिकलहकालसमये ईत्युपद्रवकालसमये रोगमरणकालसमये विषमनचचसंस्थानकालसमये । सर्वैत्युपद्रवपीडाप्रशमनं कुर्याद्बुद्धाधिष्ठानेनाधितिष्ठतु । भगवान् परमकारुणिकः । सर्वसत्त्वानुकम्पकः^३ तथारूपाणि धारणीमन्त्रपदानि भाषतां यानि सर्वनागान् सञ्चोदयेयुः । सर्वदेवान् प्रहर्षयेयुः । सर्वमारान् विध्वंशयेयुः । सर्वसत्त्वानां सर्वघातनाः सत्वभयोपद्रवपीडाश्च निवारयेयुः शान्तिस्वस्थयनं च कुर्युः विषमनचचकृतं च प्रशमयेयुः । यच्च वर्षान्तरायानि यानि^४ भगवतोक्तानि सर्वाणि विष्कम्भयेयुः । सम्यग् वर्षधारा इह जम्बुद्वीपे उत्सृजेयुरिति । अहं भगवन्तं तथागतमध्येषयामि । एवमुक्ते भगवाननन्तपरिकर° नागाधिपतिमेतद् अवोचत् । साधु साधु भुजगोधिपते यत्त्वं तथागतमध्येषसि सर्वसत्त्वानामर्थाय हिताय सुखाय । तेन हि भुजगाधिपते शृणु साधु च सुष्ठु च मनसि कुरु भाषिष्येऽहं ते । महाकरुणोद्भवमहामेघनिर्घ्नाद्विजृम्भितसूरकेतुनाम धारणी सर्वबुद्धभाषिताधिष्ठितानुमोदिता सर्वसत्त्वानामर्थाय सुखाय । यानावृष्टौ वर्षयति^५ । अतिवृष्टिं धारयति^६ । मरण-

^१ अध्ये भाषते स्म B.

^२ सत्त्वानु° A.

^३ Om. A.

^४ °वृष्टि वारयति B.

^५ अ° ध° om. B. ; भारयता A.

those names of Tathāgatas? I name them by saying¹ 'Homage to the Tathāgata Vairochanagarbhamahāmegha . . .'

By the utterance of these names of Tathāgatas, O snake-king, all woes of all snakes are set at rest, and [though] fraught² with ills they create here in Jambudvīpa showers in season and for a season, and make all grass, shrubs, herbs, forest-trees, and corn, to grow." Then the snake-king with endless thus entreated the Venerable One, "Let the Venerable One speak such words of charms that through their utterance here in Jambudvīpa, in the latter season and time, in drought, mighty showers may give rains in time of calamity, in time of difficulty, in times of turmoil in the iron age of a lawless people, in time of accident and misfortune, of disease and death, of the conjunction of adverse planets, let Him work the assuagement of all calamities, accidents and pains. Let the Venerable One, of his supreme pitifulness and mercy toward all beings, speak words of spells so formed as to invoke all snakes, destroy all Māras, shield off all injuries of all beings and their pains and afflictions and fears, and cause peace and salvation, and mitigate the effects of adverse stars; moreover, let them stop all the hindrances to rain that have been foretold by the Venerable One, and fully create showers here in Jambudvīpa. I supplicate the Venerable Tathāgata."

On this being said, the Venerable thus bespake the snake-king with endless "Excellent! excellent! serpent-king, that thou shouldst supplicate the Tathāgata for the wealth, goodness, and bliss of all creatures. Therefore, snake-king, hearken well, and fully ponder in thine heart, I will declare unto thee.

The Dhāraṇī is called Mahākaruṇodbhava, etc., spoken, appointed, and approved by all the Buddhas for the weal

¹ यदुत literally = "scilicet," "to wit," as often in the Divyāvadāna, and Lalita-vistara.

² Both MSS. read °दुःख°, but sense and construction would gain by correcting to सुख°.

³ Cf. Pāli *ajjhesati*.

कान्तारं प्रशमयति । सर्वनागान् सखीदयति । सर्वदेवान् प्रह्लादयति ।
सर्वमारान् विध्वंसयति सर्वसत्त्वान् सर्वसुखसमर्पितान् करोति ।
तद्यथा ।

महाश्चानावभासनि श्रीतेजोलक्ष्मीवृढविक्रमवत्संहनने परमविरज-
निर्मलगुणकेतुसूर्यप्रभे^१ विमलाङ्गयष्टि भर भर संभर २, etc.

* * * * *

Here follow several pages of gibberish and mysticism, of which some specimens are subjoined :—

सर सर सिरे २ सु २ नागानां । जव २ जिवि २ जु २ महानावा
आगच्छत . . . जम्बुद्वीपे प्रवर्षध्वं^१

* * * * *

After this, commences a long series of invocations to the nāgas for rain by aid of various personages, thus :—

भो महानागा वर्षधारा उत्सृजतेह जम्बुद्वीपे सर्वदेवसत्त्वा-
धिष्ठानेन . . . स्वाहा । बह्मसत्त्वाधिष्ठानेन प्रवर्षतेह जम्बुद्वीपे स्वाहा ।
शक्रसत्त्वेन^२ प्र० ह० ज० ज० स्वाहा । चतुर्महाराजसत्त्वेन^३ प्र० ।
अष्टाङ्गकसत्त्वेन^४ . . . । श्रीतापन्नसत्त्वेन^५ . . . । सङ्गदानामिस०^६ . . . ।
अनागामिस०^७ . . . । अर्हत्सत्त्वेन^८ . . . । प्रत्येकजुष्ट०^९ . . . ।

After returning to devas, and Tathāgatas in general, we find similar invocations to mythical beings, borrowed from Brahmanism, viz. the Yakshas, Gandharvas, Asuras, Garuḍas, Kinnaras. To this succeed pages more of mysticism, with gibberish everywhere interspersed ; then many of the Nāga-rājas are invoked or re-invoked by name, and the charm ends with the words—

and bliss of all beings ; which causes rain in time of drought, and checks excessive rain, alleviates death and pain, invokes all the snakes, gladdens all devas, destroys all Māras, and makes all beings endowed with all bliss ; to wit :
 “O thou who shinest with mighty knowledge, the mass of whose thunderbolts have their might firm through the beauty and glory of Çrī, radiant as the Sun, with the banner of holiness, and supremely bright and spotless, with thy slender and pure form.

* * * * *

O mighty snakes, bring rain here by the appointment of the truth of all Devas, hail ! By the appointment of the truth of Brahma, rain here in Jambudvīpa, hail !

By that of Çakra,³ . . . By that of the four mahārājas,⁴ . . . of the eight good qualities,⁵ . . . of the Çrotāpanna,⁶ . . . the Sakṛdāgāmi,⁶ . . . the Anāgāmi,⁶ . . . the Arhat,⁶ . . . the Pratyekabuddha.⁷

¹ Cf. *ज्ञानकेतु* supra.

² Compare the Kāraṇḍa-vyūha, and Tantric and late Buddhistic works, *passim*.

³ Indra as a Buddhist archangel.

⁴ The four Lokapālas at the four cardinal points, guarding the lowest devalokas.

⁵ Cf. Childers s.v. *ango*, and Burn. *ib. cit.*

⁶ These are the four classes of āryas corresponding to the four paths.

⁷ One who has attained Buddha-ship, but does not preach : opposed to the ‘Samyaksambuddha.’

नमः सर्वबुद्धेभ्यः सिध्यन्तु मन्त्रपदानि स्वाहा ॥

शतसाहस्रिकात्महामेघात्महायानसूचाद् वर्षागमनमण्डली नाम च-
तुःषष्टितमपरिवर्त्तः ॥ ० ॥

उपचारो महावृष्टिमाकांक्षताभ्यवकाशे¹ नीलवितानवितते । नीलप-
ताकोच्छ्रिते शुचौ पृथ्वीप्रदेशे धर्मभागकेन नीलासनोपविष्टेन । अष्टा-
ङ्गोपवासिना सुस्नातगात्रशुचिबस्त्रप्रावृतेन । सुगन्धिगन्धोद्वर्त्तितेन वि-
शुक्लभोजिना अयं महामेघमण्डलः परिवर्त्तव्यः² पूर्वाभिमुखेन रात्रि-
न्दिमव्यवच्छिन्नं वाचयितव्यः । सर्वतथागतान् आयाच्य स्वच्छनीलो-
दकपरिपूर्णाश्चत्वारः पूर्णकुम्भाः स्थापयितव्याः

यथाशक्ति च बलिविधानं³ धूपपुष्पाणि च । तत्र धर्मभागकस्य
चतुर्दिशं गोमयेन रसेन शर आलिख्य पूर्वस्थां दिशि त्रिहस्तमात्रेण वि-
शीर्षको नाम नागपरिवारो⁴ गोमयेन नागराज आलिखितव्यः ॥

दक्षिणस्थां दिशि पञ्चहस्तमात्रेण पञ्चशीर्षको नाम⁵ नागपरिवारो
नागराज आलिखितव्यः । पश्चिमायां दिशि सप्तहस्तमात्रेण सप्तशीर्षको
नाम⁶ नागपरिवारो नागराज आलिखितव्यः । उत्तरस्थां दिशि नव-
हस्तेमात्रेण नवशीर्षको न० न० न० आ० ।

धर्मभागकेन च कृतात्मरत्रेण मैत्रीविहारिणा सर्वसत्त्वेषूपस्थातव्यं
करुणाचित्तेन सर्वबुद्धबोधिसत्त्वान् आयाच्य नागानां स्तुतुशूलमूलेन
संविभक्तव्योऽयं विधिः । पश्चादनावृष्टिकालसमय इमं महामेघमण्ड-
लपरिवर्त्तं वाचयिष्यत्येकाहं वा द्वाहं वा यावत् सप्तरात्रेऽवश्यं वर्षयि-
ष्यति । अपि समुद्रो वेलामतिक्रमेन तु वृष्टिरिति शुभं⁷ वचनं नान्यथा⁸ ।
किन्तु शीलगुणादिसंयुक्तेन पाथसगुडचीरौदनादिना त्रिमधुरेण घृत-
मधुगुडेनाहारं कुर्वता वाचयितव्य इत्यवश्यं सिध्यति यथाह वादिराट्

¹ आकाच० Codd.

² मण्डली परिवर्त्तः (sic) A.

³ यथाशक्तिबलिविधातव्यं A.

⁴ वि . . को नामो गणपरि० B. ; त्रिश० नामना (cf. infra).

⁵ नामना A. (a secunda).

⁶ शुभे MS.

Homage to all the Buddhas: may the words of the spell be successful: hail! (Thus ends) the 64th parivarta, called Varshāgamanamaṇḍali of the hundred-thousand-fold Mahā-megha mahāyāna sūtra.

He who desires a mighty rain must perform this rite 'the great-cloud-circle' in an open space, overspread by a blue canopy, shaded by a blue banner, on a clear spot of earth; (being) a prophet of the Law, seated on a blue seat, fasting according to the *ashtāṅga*,¹⁰ with well-washed limbs, clad in pure raiment, anointed with fragrant odour, wearing the three white stripes,³ he must recite it for a day and night continuously facing the east; he must place four full vessels, filled with pure blue water, after prayers to the Tathāgatas also, according to his power, an oblation, and flowers and odours; then the prophet of the Law, after having painted towards the four quarters with liquid cow-dung on a reed, in the eastern quarter three hastas⁶ high must depict the snake-king called Triçīrshaka, with cow-dung: in the southern quarter him called Pañchaçīrshaka five hastas high; in the western, seven hastas high, Saptāçīrshaka; in the northern, Navaçīrshaka, nine hastas high.

And the prophet of the Law, with his own safety secured, and living in goodwill, shall behave towards all beings with compassion, (and) after prayers to all the Buddhas and Bodhisatvas shall perform this rite to the snakes with the motive of his own prosperity. Afterward, at a season of drought, he shall recite this chapter 'The great-cloud-circle,' for one day or for two, until it needs shall rain seven nights. Even the sea may overflow its shore, but his auspicious word "Rain" fails not;⁹ nay, he must sustain himself on the three sweets, ghee, honey and sugar, and by

³ See Wilson's Hindu Sects, Works, vol. i. *e.g.* p. 194, *et al.*; or perh. "eating thrice in the bright fortnight."

⁶ A hasta = about 18 inches.

⁹ Cf. Rām. 6. 37. 9 वाक् नान्यथा याति and ἄλλως in Greek.

¹⁰ See p. 300, l. 15, *supra*.

स्वयमिति । नमो भगवतेऽचोभ्याय तथागताय । नमोऽमितायुषे तथा-
गताय । नमः शाक्यमुनये तथागताय ॥ ० ॥

एवं मया श्रुतमेकस्मिन् समये भगवान् महासागरे विहरति स्म
मणिरत्नशिखरकूटागारे महता¹ नागगणेन सार्धं परिपूर्णं नागसह-
स्रेण । सर्वनागमहर्द्धिकैर्महता नागपरिवारेण । तद्यथा । नन्देन च ।

(Here follows another long list of snakes).

एतैश्चान्यैश्च महानागराजसहस्रैः सर्वे च ते नागराजानो महत्या ना-
गच्छद्वा महता नागविकुर्वितेनाकाशे² गुलुगुलेन च महावातवर्षं प्रमु-
ञ्चन्तो³ भगवतः शुश्रूषाकरणाय धर्मश्रवणाय चागच्छन्ते स्म⁴ । तेन च
खलु पुनः⁵ समयेन भगवान् महानागेभ्यः साधुकारमदात् । साधुः
नागा । भो महानागाः ।

(Then numerous invocations interspersed with mystic
syllables as above).

महामेघविकुर्वितालङ्कारब्यूहाः सर्वरत्नशिखरहेमपटवचिरदाममु-
त्तिकाहारप्रलम्बनमहासमुद्रमेघैः (here follow some twenty
long compounds describing ornaments, etc., each ending
with 'मेघैः'). गगनमभिच्छादयन्तु । सर्वेषां⁶ नागराजान
आगच्छन्त्विमस्मिन् पृथिवीमण्डले राजन्तु⁷ वर्षन्तु प्रवर्षन्तु ऊदुङ्गु-
यन्तु⁸ महाविद्युद्दर्शनं प्रमुञ्चन्तु घटन्तः⁹ सहटन्तः । चटचटयन्तो¹⁰ गुलु-
गुलयन्तो¹¹ महानागनादान् रमणीयान् महाशब्दान्¹² निश्चारयन्तो
महाघोषं सम्रघोषयन्तः¹³ । प्रवर्षध्वं जम्बुद्वीपे स्वाहा ।

¹ महाता A.; महतो B.

² प्रमुञ्चतो A.

⁴ च A.

⁵ पुनः om. B.

⁶ सर्वनागानां B.

⁷ गर्जन्तु B.; राजान्तु A.

⁹ घटनान्तो B.

¹² शब्दा A.; om. B.

¹³ सम्रघोषं B. Vox utraque lexicis ignota.

rice, sugar, milk, etc., joined with all virtues of character, and repeat this; so it must needs be effectual, according to the word of the Lord of Speakers. Worship to the immovable Tathāgata; worship to Çākṣyamuni, the Tathāgata.

Thus did I hear; once on a time the Venerable One was dwelling in the great sea, in a pavilion of gem and jewel crests with a mighty host of snakes, a full thousand of serpents; all possessed of all the supernatural powers of the snakes, with a mighty snake-retinue: to wit, with Nanda, etc., . . .

And all these snake-kings, with these and other thousands of mighty snake-kings, with mighty snake-power and mighty magic pomp,² with hissings in the air, sending forth a mighty wind and rain, approached to do obeisance to the Venerable One, and to hear the Law. Now at that time the Venerable One gave applause to the great snakes: "Bravo! bravo! O serpents!

* * * * *

In crowds whose ornament is the magic pomp of mighty clouds, with great sea-clouds with pendants of pearls, glittering strings, cloth of gold and all jewel-crests, with clouds, etc., . . . let them overshadow the sky, let them approach the snake-kings of all snakes in this round world, let them shine, let them rain, rain down, roar, give forth a mighty show of lightning, striving, striving together, rumbling, rustling, setting in motion great sounds of snakes, delightful noises, giving voice together to a mighty voice.

² *Vikurvita*. This word, hitherto unknown, seems to be an irregularly formed participle (here used as a noun) from विवृ 'to metamorphose'; cf. the Pāli vikubbaṇam 'magic'—an analogous formation of the popular speech, of which we everywhere observe such remarkable traces in all Buddhistic language.

⁸ This form seems unknown: but ऊडुक् occurs as an onomat.

¹⁰ चट° this onomat. vb. occurs in Daçak. 168 (Wilson).

¹¹ This onomat. seems unexampled; but cf. गुलगुलेन 1. 8 supra.

(Here follow invocations, chiefly repetitions, or mystical syllables.)

एथ २ महानागाः स्वाहा । पौण्ड्रनागराजानं संचोदयामि बुद्धसत्त्वेन
जम्बुद्वीपे प्रवर्षथ^१ स्वाहा । श्रीतेजं नागराजानं संचोदयामि धर्मसत्त्वेनेह
जम्बुद्वीपे प्रवर्षथ^२ स्वाहा । अनन्तं न० स० ब्रह्मसं ज० प० स० ।

वासुकिनाग० स० वज्रपाणिसं ज० प० स० ।

तच्चकं न० ब्रह्मसं ज० प० स० ।

श्रीकण्ठ न० स० इन्द्रसं ज० प० स० ।

एरावणं न० स० विष्णुसं ज० प० स० ।

मलिन न० स० रुद्रसत्त्वं ज० प० स० ।

मनस्विनं न० स० ऋषिसं ज० प० स० ।

विद्रावणं^१ न० स० सर्वनागानां सत्त्वेन ज० प० स० ।

प्रस्फोटं न० स० यक्षसं ज० न० स० ।

अनवतप्तं न० स० राक्षससं ज० प० स० ।

सर्वनागा उपर्युपरिसत्त्वेन वर्षथ २

मा विलम्बथागच्छथ^१ भो २ महानागाः सर्वनागहृदयानि संचोदया-
मि ।^२ आकट्टामि सर २ हर २ धप २ हाहाहाहा हि ४ एहेहि थ ३
चचचचरत सर्वचेचाणि आपूरयथ^३ सर्वशस्त्रानि वर्षथ महावातान्
प्रमुञ्चथ । द्रुं २ घ्रि २ पृं २ टा ४ णि चारिणि स्तम्भानि मोहनि । जाङ्गुले
पुङ्कशि ब्रह्मणि मातङ्गि जये विजये स्वाहा^४ ।

सर्वमहामेघगर्जं महामेघतथागतानां संचोदयामि महामेघश्रीते-
जाय तथागताय । महामेघस्फोटकाय तथागताय । etc.

(Here some twenty Tathāgatas by name, each name com-
mencing mahā-mēgha—)

सर्वबुद्धानामधिष्ठानेन सर्वबोधिसत्त्वानामधिष्ठानेन च सर्वनागानां
सत्त्वेन सर्वनागहृदयान्संचोदयामि^१ श्रीघ्नमागच्छथ रत्नचयानुमतेन^२ ।

^१ विद्रावणं MS.

^२ . . . ^३ Haec omnia rubris litteris B.

^३ Sic MS.

^४ थ pro त in modo imperativo apud codd. Buddhisticos satis usitatum.

Come, come, mighty serpents, hail! I summon the snake-king Paṇḍra by the truth of Buddha to Jambudvīpa.

I summon the snake-king Āṇḍra by the truth of the Law to Jambudvīpa; Ananta, etc., . . . by the truth of the priesthood . . .

Vāsuki . . . by that of Indra . . .
 Takshaka . . . by that of Brahma . . .
 Āṇḍra . . . of Indra . . .
 Erāvaṇa . . . Vishṇu . . .
 Mālina . . . the Rudras . . .
 Manaswin . . . the Rishis . . .
 Vidrāvaṇa . . . all the snake-kings . . .
 Prasphoṭa . . . the Yakshas . . .
 Anavatapta . . . Rākshasas . . .
 All the snakes . by the ever higher truth(?)

Tarry not, come, O mighty snake-kings, I summon all hearts of snakes.

I murmur (?) sara hara dhapa . . .

Fill all the fields, rain on all the corn, let loose great winds.

By the ordinance of all the Buddhas, by the ordinance of all the Bodhisatvas, by the truth of the snakes, I summon the hearts of all snakes; come quickly, by the grace of the Triple Gem.⁴

⁴ *Ratna-traya* [or *triratna* (v. B. and R. s.h. voc.)] is the Personification of the Buddha, the Law, and the Church (saṅgha): the form in the text, though unnoticed in the Dictionaries, is of frequent occurrence in the invocations at the beginning of our Buddhist MSS.

(Then mystic syllables and invocations, chiefly repetitions of preceding passages.)

नमो रत्नत्रयाय । नमश्चण्डवज्रपाणये महायक्षसेनापतये बन्धबन्ध-
सुरूपे कालरूपिणे¹ स्वाहा । चीवरकर्णिके सप्तजप्तेन ग्रन्थिवन्धः कार्यः
पूर्वमेव धर्मभाणकेन छतरचाविधानेन² । अयं वातमण्डलिपरिवर्तः
सर्वनागानां हृदयं नाम³ वाचयितव्यः । अथवचिन्न-चिसप्ताहं । गोम-
येन पूर्वस्थां दिशि त्रिशोर्षो⁴ नाम नागराजः सपरिवार आलिखितव्यः ।
दक्षिणस्थां दिशि पञ्चशीर्षः प्रस्फोटनो नाम सप^० आलि^० । पश्चिमस्थां
दिशि अवभासनशिखी नाम नागराजा सप्तशीर्षो नागपरिवारेणा-
लिखितव्यः । उत्तरेण मेघसञ्चोदनो नाम नागराजा नवशीर्षश्चित्र-
तव्यः⁵ । नीलविताननीलवस्त्रं नीलध्वजं सर्वा⁶ च नीला बलिः कर्त्त-
व्या⁷ नागानां तु मधुरवलिः त्रिमधुरं च होतव्यं सर्वाङ्गतिः नागहृद-
येन । मेघराजानश्च चित्रयितव्या⁸ वर्षधारां मुञ्चयन्तः । अन्योन्यांश्च
संघट्टयमानाः । अन्ते विद्युच्चकोरमाला लेख्याः । स्वस्तिकोल्लोचिका
लाजा⁹ मत्स्यमांसं तथा मधुमन्त्राणि चादधीनि¹⁰ । उदारश्चात्र बलिः
कर्त्तव्यः । ततो धर्मभाणकेन शुचिना शुचिवस्त्रप्रावृतेन वातमण्डलि-
परिवर्तः स नागहृदयो वाचयितव्यः । ततो नागाः प्रथमदिवसमारभ्य
गुलुगुलशब्दं कुर्वन्ति । शब्दांश्च रमणीयान् नदन्ति न चास्य परिवर्तस्य
विसंवाद आज्ञा वा ।

¹ सुरूपकारूपिणे स्वाहा B.

² Insert इमे MS.

³ चित्राययितव्य A.

⁴ तव्यः A. ; cf. annotationes.

⁵ लाजा Codd.

¹⁰ च दिव्यानि B.

Worship to the Triple Gem, worship to him who hath a hot bolt in hand, lord of the mighty host of Yakshas, wearing the form of Kāla in its various junctures; in the end of one's robe a knot must be tied with seven prayers by the prophet of the Law after he has previously made provision for his safety.³ This "Whirlwind"-Chapter, (also) called "The heart of all Serpents," must be recited. For thrice seven days uninterruptedly, with cow-dung, in the eastern quarter the snake-king called Triple-crest,⁴ with his retinue, must be painted; in the western, the snake king called Avabhāsanasiikhin is to be painted, seven-crested, with a retinue of serpents; in the north, the snake-king called Meghasaṇchodana, nine-crested, is to be depicted; a blue canopy and blue dress, blue banner and all the offering is to be made blue; but the sweet offering to the snakes, and the triple-sweet,⁸ must be offered,—an oblation of all; with (this) "Heart of the snakes;" the cloud-monarchs too must be depicted, emitting a shower, and rubbing against one another; at the end masses of rain-birds and lightning are to be painted; and parched rice canopied by the swastika,¹¹ also fish and flesh, and honey-food without curds,¹² and a sumptuous offering must be made there. Then the prophet of the Law, pure and clad in pure raiment, must recite this "Whirlwind" chapter, "The Heart of Snakes." Then the snakes beginning on the first day, make a rustling¹³ sound and utter sounds of delight.

³ Cf. कृतात्मरत्न, *supra*, p. 302, l. 19.

⁴ For the whole passage, cf. p. 303, *supra*.

⁶ बलि: is masc. (regularly) just below: cf. the varying genders of विधि and other words in Divyāvadāna and Lalita-Vistara.

⁸ Sugar, honey, and ghee.

¹¹ This *swastika* may either be the well-known four-pointed figure, or the (three-pointed) figure of rice, cited by M. W. s.v. *swastika* as used in the rites of Durgā.

¹² The Madhu-parka (v. Manu and Āṇvalāyana) consisted of honey *with* curds.

¹³ Cf. गुलुगुलुन्त: *supra*.

समुद्रो यदि वेलामतिक्रमेत् ततो वृष्टिरियमतिक्रमेदिति' ॥ नमः
श्रीगर्भकूटविनर्दितराजाय तथागतायार्हते सम्यक्सम्बुजाय ।

(Then about twenty similar invocations to Tathāgatas, each
"arhate samyak sambuddhāya.")

नमो भगवते मम स्वस्ति भवतु सर्वसत्त्वानां भैषी भवतु । सर्वभूतेष्व-
भयं भवतु । सर्वतिर्ध्यगताणां शाम्यन्तु सर्वदुर्गतयः । नमः सर्वनिवार-
णविस्त्रम्भिणे^५ । सिध्यत्वयं सर्वतथागतविधिः । सर्वबुद्धावलोकितवि-
धिः । तद्यथा । स्फट^६ स्वाहा^७ । यः कश्चिच्छिरस्तातः । भिषुर्वा भिषु-
यी^८ वा । उपासको वा । उपासिका वा शुचिवस्त्रप्रावृतो भैषचित्तः ।
इमानि तथागतनामानि लिखित्वा शुचिन्द्यासने स्थापयित्वा सप्तधूपक-
टक्कुमामुत्थिपेदाकाशे^९ । पञ्चपञ्चवारास्तथागतनामानि परिवर्त्तयेत् ।
महतीं पूजां कृत्वा अनावृष्टौ सप्ताहमव्यवचिन्नं प्रवर्त्तयितव्यं । देवो वर्ष-
यिष्यति । इति श्रीमहामेघाद^{१०} महायानसूत्राद्वातमण्डलीपरिवर्तः
पञ्चषष्टितमः समाप्तः ॥

^५ अवलोकितं MS.

^६ Haec clausula 'rubrica' apud B. cf. p. 306^२.

^७ भिषुनिर्वा A.

^८ Om. श्री A.

And in this chapter there is no disappointment;¹ or there is the precept, "If the sea should exceed its bounding shore, (only) then would this rain exceed (its due time of coming)."²

Glory to the fully enlightened Arhat, the Tathāgata Āṣṛi-garbhakuṭāvinarditarāja . . .

Worship to the Venerable One, health be to me, goodwill to all creatures! May all beings have security! May the distress of all beasts be assuaged! Homage to the remover of all the besetting sins!³ May this rite of the Tathāgatas be successful, the rite watched over by all the Buddhas whose words are "Expand, expand . . . all hail!" Whoso hath the head purified, be they Bhikṣu or Bhikṣuṇī, Upāsaka or Upāsikā, let him, clothed in pure raiment with charity at heart, write these names of Tathāgatas, and put them on a seat, and then throw into the air a spoonful of seven odours. Let him repeat the names of Tathāgatas five times severally. He must do great service, and continue in case of drought for seven days; (then) the deva will rain.

Here endeth the 65th chapter.—"The Whirlwind"—of the "Great Cloud"—a "Great Vehicle Sutra."

¹ Cf. Daṣak. 88, 1 (ed. Bomb.) न चास्मिन् विधौ विसंवादः कार्यः ।

² Cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 96. Apyevātikramed velām sagaro makarālayah, na tu vaineyavatsānām Buddhō velām atikramet. Should we restore *apyeva* for the somewhat awkward and obscure आज्ञा वा above?

³ For the five nivāraṇas, cf. Dhammapada, 345; for the compd. cf. Childers, s.v. vikkhambanam.

⁷ The form कटकुका seems new: kaṭachchha is a ἀπ. λεγ. in Skt. and common in Pāli.

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having been called Diz-i-síyáh, the Khorremábád plain or district, Samhá; this was in the thirteenth century. The Manrúd district, from which, according to the Ákrád-Námeh, the Lur tribes originally came, is said to be the present Mádián-Rúd, north of Jáidar, now inhabited by the Zaríní and Rákí tribes of the great 'Amaleh family.

The Shápúrkhást of old geographers has been identified with Khorremábád. I am, however, inclined to place Shápúrkhást much further south. The many ruins in the Jáidar plain, the existence there of the name of Shápúr, in the old bridge in the Teng-i-Dúlábcheh, Pul-i-Shápúr, and the distance given by Ibn Haukal, "Shápúrkhást lies 22 farsakhs from Nehávend," lead me to identify the present Jáidar with the old Shápúrkhást. The Ákrád-Námeh mentions a plain of Shápúr in which a battle took place between Husam-ud-dín Khalíl and Izz-ud-dín Kershasp; as, shortly before, Dehliz is mentioned, the plain of Shápúr may have been Shápúrkhást. Jáidar is only a few miles distant from Dehliz. The country between Dehliz and Jáidar is not very mountainous, and does not preclude the idea of its being possible for a battle being fought there; the hills are rounded off like downs, are easily passed, and have many small well-watered valleys. If we take Khorremábád to be the old Shápúrkhást, we get only half the distance from Nehávend mentioned by Ebn Haukal.

The present road for artillery and heavy caravans, the so-called Jáidar road, goes from Khorremábád along the right side of the Keshgán river as far as the Dúlábcheh pass—there crosses the river—then goes along the left side of it through the Jáidar plain—and over the Dum-i-Chúl pass into the Seimerreh or Kerkkeh valley. This was also the old road from Samhá to 'Arabistán, as is proved by the old Pul-i-Shápúr, the old paved way on the Dum-i-Chúl pass, and the old bridge over the Seimerreh close by. The road divided at this bridge, one road went over the bridge to the right side of the river, the other kept along the left side. The latter is easily traced; opposite the place called Derreh-i-Khazineh the road is cut through the rocks. The cutting

is five feet wide and about fifteen feet deep. The direct road from Shápúrkhást to Seimerreh went over the Pul-i-Qamashán. At Pul-i-Teng there was another old bridge; probably used for lighter caravans that went between Luristán and 'Arabistán by the Kíálán road. Alexander the Great's road from Súsá to Ecbatana went along the right side of the Kerkheh and Seimerreh, past Seimerreh town, Sírwán, etc. The Seimerreh is called Kerkeh after the Ab-i-Zál has joined it a few miles below Pul-i-Teng.

Just a little above the fording place of the Zál river, and at a place where the river is very narrow, are the remains of three one-arched bridges; one ruin looks very ancient, another more modern, the third was built as late as 1830. These bridges are on the old road to Dizfúl.

At the fording place over the Beládrúd are traces of the old road, a stone pavement, and the ruins of a five-arched bridge; and a little further down is a modern bridge with one arch, of the four there were, still standing.

Having passed the Beládrúd river, and the low sandstone mountains called Do Kúh, one enters the plain called Şahrá-i-Lúr. Persian dictionaries give the meaning of Lúr as a plain dug up by floods, exactly what this plain is. It consists of conglomerates covered by new alluvium, which every year in the rainy season is dug in deep trenches or river-beds by the floods from the mountains. The people of Dizfúl say Lúr means a large unbounded plain. At any rate the name of the plain Lúr has nothing in common with the name of the people Lür; one has a long, the other a short, *u*. Some old aqueducts come from the Kúh-i-Ván, and run here in a south-western direction. The aqueducts had their water from the Beládrúd, I believe, and passed the ruins called Qala'h-i-Qásém, lying on the slopes of the Ván mountain in the Teng-i-Ván. The ruins consist of a tower and several small-roomed buildings; the Lurs say Qásém was a brother of Shápúr II. (!)

A few miles before Dizfúl, and after passing several ruined villages, we come upon a high mound called Chiqá Charmeh, probably the remains of an áteshkedeh, a fire temple.

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The Khorremábád district seems formerly to have been called Samhá. Regarding Samhá, the Ákrád-Námeh says that Atábeg Shujá'-ud-dín sent his sons Bedr and Heidar from Manrúd to Samhá to fight the Jengerdí tribe. The sons went there and besieged Diz-i-siyáh. The citadel of Khorremábád is, occasionally, at the present day, called Diz-i-siyáh; there is thus no doubt of the Khorremábád fort

having been called Diz-i-síyáh, the Khorremábád plain or district, Samhá; this was in the thirteenth century. The Manrúd district, from which, according to the Ákrád-Námeh, the Lur tribes originally came, is said to be the present Mádián-Rúd, north of Jáidar, now inhabited by the Zaríní and Rákí tribes of the great 'Amaleh family.

The Shápúrkhást of old geographers has been identified with Khorremábád. I am, however, inclined to place Shápúrkhást much further south. The many ruins in the Jáidar plain, the existence there of the name of Shápúr, in the old bridge in the Teng-i-Dúlábcheh, Pul-i-Shápúr, and the distance given by Ibn Haukal, "Shápúrkhást lies 22 farsakhs from Nehávend," lead me to identify the present Jáidar with the old Shápúrkhást. The Ákrád-Námeh mentions a plain of Shápúr in which a battle took place between Ḥusam-ud-dín Khalíl and Izz-ud-dín Kershasp; as, shortly before, Dehliz is mentioned, the plain of Shápúr may have been Shápúrkhást. Jáidar is only a few miles distant from Dehliz. The country between Dehliz and Jáidar is not very mountainous, and does not preclude the idea of its being possible for a battle being fought there; the hills are rounded off like downs, are easily passed, and have many small well-watered valleys. If we take Khorremábád to be the old Shápúrkhást, we get only half the distance from Nehávend mentioned by Ebn Haukal.

The present road for artillery and heavy caravans, the so-called Jáidar road, goes from Khorremábád along the right side of the Keshgán river as far as the Dúlábcheh pass—there crosses the river—then goes along the left side of it through the Jáidar plain—and over the Dum-i-Chúl pass into the Seimerreh or Kerkheh valley. This was also the old road from Samhá to 'Arabistán, as is proved by the old Pul-i-Shápúr, the old paved way on the Dum-i-Chúl pass, and the old bridge over the Seimerreh close by. The road divided at this bridge, one road went over the bridge to the right side of the river, the other kept along the left side. The latter is easily traced; opposite the place called Derreh-i-Khazíneh the road is cut through the rocks. The cutting

is five feet wide and about fifteen feet deep. The direct road from Shápúrkhást to Seimerreh went over the Pul-i-Qamashán. At Pul-i-Teng there was another old bridge; probably used for lighter caravans that went between Luristán and 'Arabistán by the Kíálán road. Alexander the Great's road from Súsá to Ecbatana went along the right side of the Kerkheh and Seimerreh, past Seimerreh town, Sírwán, etc. The Seimerreh is called Kerkeh after the Áb-i-Zál has joined it a few miles below Pul-i-Teng.

Just a little above the fording place of the Zál river, and at a place where the river is very narrow, are the remains of three one-arched bridges; one ruin looks very ancient, another more modern, the third was built as late as 1830. These bridges are on the old road to Dizfúl.

At the fording place over the Beládrúd are traces of the old road, a stone pavement, and the ruins of a five-arched bridge; and a little further down is a modern bridge with one arch, of the four there were, still standing.

Having passed the Beládrúd river, and the low sandstone mountains called Do Kúh, one enters the plain called Şahrá-i-Lúr. Persian dictionaries give the meaning of Lúr as a plain dug up by floods, exactly what this plain is. It consists of conglomerates covered by new alluvium, which every year in the rainy season is dug in deep trenches or river-beds by the floods from the mountains. The people of Dizfúl say Lúr means a large unbounded plain. At any rate the name of the plain Lúr has nothing in common with the name of the people Lür; one has a long, the other a short, *u*. Some old aqueducts come from the Kúh-i-Ván, and run here in a south-western direction. The aqueducts had their water from the Beládrúd, I believe, and passed the ruins called Qala'h-i-Qásém, lying on the slopes of the Ván mountain in the Teng-i-Ván. The ruins consist of a tower and several small-roomed buildings; the Lurs say Qásém was a brother of Shápúr II. (!)

A few miles before Dizfúl, and after passing several ruined villages, we come upon a high mound called Chiqá Charmeh, probably the remains of an áteshkedeh, a fire temple.

On the Kiálán road from Khorremábád to the Zál river, I saw no traces of any old road.

A peak in the southern extension of the Kiálán mountain is called Tuq-i-Mání, or Chiq-i-Mání (the Peak of Mání). I was told that on the top of it were some chambers hewn into the rock, and that Mání the painter (Mánes) was there hidden for a year before appearing to his disciples as a young man. In a line due north from the Chiq (or Chiqá) Mání are the caves of Kepkán or Koigán (from *Kepk* 'a partridge,' *Lur Koï*), on the river of the same name, also with chambers cut into the rock, and still further north the caves of Jemál Kel. The Lurs speak of these as dakhmehs.

The bridge of Dizfúl is a Sassanian construction, but very much damaged.

A little beyond Sháhábád, about ten miles from Dizfúl, on the road from Dizfúl to Shúshter, are the extensive ruins identified by travellers as the site of the city Jundí Shápúr. According to Oriental geographers, Jundí Shápúr was situated on a hill, and had well-watered date plantations and gardens. I believe Jundí Shápúr was really somewhat west, or south-west rather, of Sháhábád, where there would have been a greater water supply than could ever have existed at Sháhábád. The few canals that come from the Áb-i-Diz end are cut somewhat above the town, through the easily broken conglomerate rocks, have as much water now as they formerly had, and could not give water enough for extensive date plantations or gardens. Sháhábád has at present not a single date palm; Síyáh Manşúr, a village a short distance off, has only one palm. The distances given by Oriental geographers, for instance Abulfeda, who says from Shúshter to Jundí Shápúr is eight farsakhs, and from Jundí Shápúr to Shúsh is six farsakhs, would coincide with the position of Sháhábád. Drawing an arc with a radius of eight farsakhs from Shúshter, and another with a radius of six farsakhs from Shúsh, we get the point of intersection of the two arcs at Sháhábád. But the road did not go in a straight line, and the radii would have to be considerably shortened. We should then get the point of section south-west of Sháhábád,

closer to the river, where there are many high mounds, many trees, and a more abundant water supply than at Sháhábád. The farsakhs for this part of Persia I take at a little over three statute miles ($22\frac{1}{2}$ to a degree of the equator); at the present day the inhabitants of 'Arabistán distinguish between a farsakh-i-'ajem and a farsakh-i-'arab, calling the former about twenty per cent. longer. From different measurements of distances by myself, and the distances as given by the inhabitants, I got the figures 3.125 miles per farsakh, while the 'ajem or Persian farsakh equals 3.82 miles.

There was a bridge over the Áb-i-Diz between Susa and Jundí Shápúr; its ruins are still to be seen. Persian tradition regarding Jundí Shápúr's origin is as follows: Shápúr I. came to Khúzistán with a great army, and encamped somewhere between Shúshter and Shúsh. His camping place was called Jund-i-Shápúr, the army or camp of Shápúr. Shápúr II. was a prisoner of the Qeisar (Emperor), who always had him led before him when on the march to Khúzistán. At Jund-i-Shápúr, the Persian monarch escaped, collected his people, and, after a great battle, took the Qeisar prisoner, and ordered him to send for masons and architects from Constantinople, to rebuild the bridge and other constructions which the Roman army had destroyed. The Qeisar was kept a prisoner till he died, a period of ten years, during which time were built the bridges of Shúshter, and the various dykes and dams which I shall mention further on. I need hardly say that it was Shápúr I. who captured the Roman Emperor Valerian A.D. 260; Shápúr II. had wars with Constantius II., Julian, and Jovian, but captured no emperor. Persian history, as usual, is at fault.

The ruins at Sháhábád are said to be the remains of the Shehr-i-Diagonús, the town of Diogenes. From Polybius we know (v. 46, 48, 54; x. 29, 30) that a Diogenes was a governor (*præfectus*) of Susiana during the reign of Antiochus the Great. This Shehr-i-Diagonús was most probably one of his foundations, or perhaps only a fortified camp. When the rebels under Molo attacked Susa, Diogenes defended the arx; the rebellion was put down, Molo com-

mitted suicide, and Diogenes was made commander-in-chief of the military forces in Media.

About half-way between Gáwnek and Shúshter are several old canals which came from the Kuran river above Shúshter. The place where the waters of these canals were led by lateral channels into different parts of the plain is now called Júbbandí. These canals had their water from the large canal cut at Gótwend, at a right angle to the river. The canals are now partly filled up, and only occasionally, when in early spring the Kuran river rises very high, have any water. The many mounds to be seen here show the district to have been very populous. With the decline of Jundí Shápúr, in the thirteenth century, the canals were neglected, and the inhabitants of the plain deserted their villages.

The water-system of Shúshter and neighbourhood was long a matter of doubt. Sir Henry Rawlinson was, I believe, the first to explain it correctly. As, in a matter of importance, one report more may be useful, I herewith give the result of my own observations, aided by the traditions I heard from the Persians.

Ardešhír Bábekán is said to have built the first dam across the river so as to raise the water and get it up to the level of the town. He also cut the Dárián canal, which led the water into the town and into the fields beyond. The dam then got destroyed, and Shúshter was without water till the workmen sent for by Valerian renewed it. Thus far the Persian tradition. Ardešhír Bábekán having built a dam at Shúshter seems to be improbable. His short reign and his wars with the Ashkanians would hardly have given him sufficient time. But the canal, as its name indicates, may have been one of the works of Darius, the name Dárián being a contraction of Dárabíán. The river running west of the town, and having its bed in soft alluvial soil, probably got lower and lower every day, till at last, by not filling the Dárián canal, it left the town and its southern fields dry. The Persians then got Roman workmen to aid them. A deep canal was dug on the east side of the town, and the river was diverted from the west to the east. Following the

incline of the alluvial plain, this new river or canal, the present Gerger, was cut towards the bed of the old river at the present Band-i-Qír. The old river was then entirely emptied by constructing a temporary dam across it just at the fork where the new river had been cut. The bed of the old river was then raised several yards, but to prevent any washing away of soil, and a consequent fall of the river, the whole bed was paved with huge stones well jointed by lead. This pavement is called Shádurván. A dam was then also built across the new river so as to raise the water on to the Shádurván, the temporary dam was removed, and the water, or a part of it, returned to its old bed, forming, as at the present day, a waterfall when it gets to the end of the paved and raised way, the Shádurván. The Dárián canal became also filled, and the town and the country lying south of it were well watered. Later on, the flow of water was regulated by dykes or small tunnel-like openings in the dam over the new river in such a manner that two-sixths of the water flowed east, four-sixths west of the town. This gave rise to the appellations Dó Dánk and Chahár Dánk. The Gerger dam occasionally got damaged, and once in the latter part of the last century nearly all the water rushed through the Gerger canal and the Dárián became perfectly empty; the dam was then reconstructed. The present bridge over the Gerger built on the dam is a modern construction. The bridge over the Shuteit, partly destroyed in 1832, and repaired by Muḥammed 'Alí Mírzá some years later, is built on the foundations of the old bridge. The very old bridge was destroyed by Ḥejáj-ibn-Yúsuf during the reign of 'Abd-ul-Malek-ibn-Merván (684-705).

A little distance higher up the river are traces of an old bridge, and some ruins called Qala'h-i-Dukhtar, and Qala'h-i-Rustam. They were probably on the direct road between Jundí Shápúr and 'Idej, leaving Shúshter on the right. At Band-i-Dukhtar, six miles higher up, are ruins of a dyke, and a canal which goes towards Júbbandí.

Regarding the older appellations of the rivers there is a great deal of confusion. There is no doubt of the Do Dánk

of Tímúr's time having been the present Gerger, and the Chahár Dánk the present Shuteit. The origin of the word Gerger is doubtful; it may be a word imitating the sound of the waters gurgling through the tunnels of the dam. The author of the *Tohfet-ul-'Aálem* says that some people from the village Gerger in Azerbáiján came and settled at Shúshter, and that the quarter of the town which they inhabited became called Gerger, and hence the name of the river. The name Shuteit is modern, and points to an increase or overflowing of the river, perhaps when, after repairing the Gerger dam at the end of the last century, the water of the old arm increased. We have another name, used sometimes for one branch, sometimes for another, viz. Mashreqán. This name would indicate the eastern branch, the Gerger; many authors say that the Mashreqán was the western branch—thus the old river. Aḥmed Túsí makes the matter quite conclusive by saying that the Shádurván (which we know to be in the western branch) was in the Mashreqán river. Edrisi, after saying that the Mashreqán river was westward of the town, speaks of a Mashreqán district with many date palms being passed before getting to 'Asker Mukrem. At 'Asker Mukrem was a bridge of twenty boats over the river, and ships went from here to Ahwáz, eight farsakhs distant. The *Nuzhet-ul-Qulúb* says distinctly that 'Asker Mukrem was built on the Dó Dánk river, and that it was first called Lashker; the geographical position of 'Asker Mukrem is given as five minutes of longitude east of Shúshter, thus on the Gerger. Putting these statements together, we get 'Asker Mukrem on the Dó Dánk; Gerger and Dó Dánk being different names of the same river, the eastern branch, and Mashreqán being a name given to *both* branches indifferently. Mashreqán being a large and populous district, lying between and on both branches, it is natural to suppose that the rivers would be called 'Ab-i-Mashreqán, simply because they came from Mashreqán, or because Mashreqán was situated on them, just as at the present day the Gerger and Shuteit are indiscriminately called 'Ab-i-Shúshter because they come from a pass by that town. The statements

Here and there amongst the hills are ruins of platforms built of stone, and remains of steps leading up to them.

The Sálásil castle of Shúshter was built, according to the *Toḥfet-ul-'Aálem*, by a slave Sálásil; according to the *Tarikh-i-'Azadi*, by Núr-Ullah-ibn-Sheríf. A probable connexion between the Σέλῃ of Ptolemy and Ammianus Marcellinus, who mention it as one of the four great towns of Susiana, has already, many years ago, been pointed out.

The old dams and aqueducts from Band-i-Qír to Ahwáz, and the great dyke at Ahwáz, and the ruins there, have been often enough described. The canals south of Ahwáz are modern. A canal went from Samá 'Ainíeh or Ism'aílíeh south-east to Dorák; it is now filled up. The Salmáníeh canal took the Karún water to Fellahíeh, the Máred canal (from Sidd-i-Solimán) went to Qobán. When Qobán got ruined, and Fellahíeh began to prosper, the Salmáníeh canal was dug. A branch was also dug from the Máred canal to Fellahíeh. The Máred canal and the mounds of the old dyke are generally called Sableh; Sableh, however, was pointed out to me as a village lying opposite, on the *right* side of the Karún, and from Sableh a canal goes towards the north of Muhamreh. The Máred canal has water at high tide as far as Fellahíeh; the Salmáníeh and Ism'aílíeh canals are filled up with sand.

From Morán due south to the Máred canal is a line of mounds; the mounds are not high, but are high enough to serve as landmarks in the desert. They contain many bricks and pieces of pottery, and were, perhaps, watch-towers on the old high road to the south.

The tree most commonly met with on the banks of the rivers of Susiana, as well as of Babylonia (*vide* Ainsworth's *Researches*, London, 1858, p. 125), is the gharab. This is a tree half poplar, half willow, having lanceolate and cordate leaves on the same branches. There is no doubt of this tree being the Hebrew עֶרֶב of Scripture,¹ the true *Salix Baby-*

¹ Leviticus xxiii. 40; Job xl. 22; Psalms cxxxvii. 2; Isaiah xv. 7; xliv. 4. The Chaldaean and Syriac versions have the same word.

lonica. The Hebrew word, pointing to something mixed or mingled, applies to the different forms of the leaves, not as Parkhurst, in his Lexicon, says, to different colours of the leaves. The tree which we know as the *Salix Babylonica*, the weeping willow, is not found in Babylonia and Susiana. The names weeping willow, *saule pleureur*, etc., are evidently derived from a meaning of the word *gharab*, 'a tear.' Persians call the *gharab* a willow; the true willow is called by the Arabs *Sifsáf*; our weeping willow is the Persian *Bíd-i-majnún*.

From Shúshter to Ispahán I took the road of which Ibn Batuta has given an itinerary. The first traces of the old road were at Pul-i-burídeh on the Tundáb, running towards Rám Hormuz. Bágh-i-Malek is the old Manjeníq. Heláigán is Ibn Batuta's Heláikhán. Málámír is the old 'Idej or Izej. A little before Heláigán, in the Qala'h-i-Tul plain, is a little village inhabited by the Ushkúhí or Ushkúí (the long *ú* pronounced like the German *ü* or *ue*) tribe, a name wonderfully like *Oṽξιοι* or *Uxii*. On the Sar-i-Rák mountain, beyond Málámír, are several miles of the old paved way, here called Ráh-i-Sultání. Qala'h-i-Medresseh is one of the many caravanseráis spoken of by Ibn Batuta as built by the Fazlvieh Atábegs of Great Luristán. Beyond it are the ruins of the old bridge over the Kuran river. From the Kuh-i-Safíd down to the Bázuft river is a steep descent of 2046 feet; traces of the old road are to be seen on the descent, and ruins of a bridge that went over the river lie a few yards above the present Pul-i-'amáret, which by-the-bye consists only of the simple trunk of an oak. At Dopulún are the ruins of two old bridges. In the Ardal pass are parts of the old paved way. In the Súleján plain an old viaduct. The last point of Ibn Batuta's route which I have been able to identify by name is the Qahv-i-Rukh pass, Ibn Batuta's Geríveh-ur-Rukh. Ibn Batuta's Ushturkán, Fírúzán, two towns, and Noblán, a village, I have not been able to find.

On the road from Ispahán to Burújird I passed through the province of Ferídañ; its capital is Darún, a village with

300 families. In the village Akhorá are some Georgian speaking families. The *town* Púashish of the maps never was a town. It lies beyond the Parsisht mountain, and is at present a small deserted village, called Parsisht. There are also a small ruin called Sháh nishín, and the grave of a nameless saint. Further north I passed a river called Kerj; it helped to identify the site of the old town Kerj as being in the neighbourhood of, or perhaps at, Gulpáigán. Kerj, according to the Muajem-ul-Buldán, was founded during the reign of Harún-ur-Rashíd, and according to the Nuzhet-ul-Qulúb was forty-five farsakhs from Ispahán, and thirty-five from Kengáwer.

My maps of the above-mentioned roads are in the hands of Professor Kiepert, of Berlin, for publication.

ART. XII.—*Identification of the “False Dawn” of the Muslims with the “Zodiacal Light” of Europeans.* By J. W. REDHOUSE, M.R.A.S., Hon. Memb. R.S.L.

IN a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society in the spring of 1877, and printed in the tenth volume, new series (p. 344), of its Journal, a suggestion was made that the natural phenomenon known to Muslims of every clime as the “False Dawn” was no other than what is known in Europe by the name of “The Zodiacal Light.”

Through the liberality of the Society’s rule by which a certain number of copies are furnished to the writers of papers printed in its Journal, this subject was brought to the notice of several of our most talented astronomers, in the hope that they might adopt a method of authoritatively settling the question, which is not only interesting to Orientalists as one of lexicology, but also to the astronomical world as involving a point in the archæology of their special science.

All our Oriental dictionaries content themselves with the mere verbal translation of the Eastern expression “false dawn,” and astronomical treatises teach Europeans that the “zodiacal light” was first observed about the beginning of the seventeenth century of the Christian era, and named by Cassini in 1683.

When the former paper was read to the Society, an idea was offered that the identification of the “false dawn” with the “zodiacal light” was well known. Still, the lexicons are, to this day, silent on the subject.

To test that matter to the utmost, I wrote at once to the accomplished Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Paris a letter, requesting him, if permissible, to put the two follow-

ing questions to that learned body: "What is the European name of the phenomenon called 'false dawn' and 'wolf's tail'?" and "Is any author known who has given the Western equivalent to those Eastern names?"

The following is the answer, in its original English, received from that gentleman:

"PARIS, 19, RUE MAZARINE, *May 27, 1877.*

"DEAR SIR,—The letter which you were kind enough to address to the Council of the *Société Asiatique* has been communicated in its last sitting, and I have been entrusted with the honourable duty to reply to you. I consulted an experienced Oriental scholar, M. d'Abbadie, of the *Académie des Sciences*, and he answered that the 'wolf's tail' must be the *Zodiacal Light*, which appears in the form of a tail or a cue. Believe me, etc., J. OPPERT, etc."

To a somewhat similar communication, accompanying a copy of my paper, to the Astronomer Royal, an answer was returned, of which the following paragraph is selected:

"ROYAL OBSERVATORY, *October 17, 1878.*

"I do not doubt the correctness of your identification of the appearance of which you speak with the zodiacal light, and shall be glad to aid in its observation. Professor C. P. Smyth of Edinburgh has given attention to the zodiacal light, as seen in favourable latitudes. The appearance which you describe is known in poetry, *e.g.* Moore's *Light of the Harem*—

'Tis dawn, at least that earlier dawn,
Whose glimpses are again withdrawn.'"

This answer did not meet my suggestion, since repeated in various directions, that some European well acquainted with the Zodiacal light should be brought together, in India or elsewhere, with a Muslim of experience and learning, thoroughly acquainted with the "false dawn," some morning early, when this phenomenon is there visible; this being the only satisfactory method by which the question could be definitively set at rest.

In answer to a letter, with a copy of my paper, Professor Piazzi Smyth was so obliging as to write as follows :

"EDINBURGH, 19th Oct., 1878.

"Your conclusion as to the Muslim idea of a false dawn—in shape like a wolf's tail, and pointing more or less upwards—in contrast with the true dawn spreading afterwards horizontally—being the zodiacal light, is, I believe, perfectly correct — almost necessarily correct. For the names and descriptions of either phenomenon describe them so well and simply, that I have sometimes used almost the same words myself, when telling of what I had seen, eastward before sunrise, and westward after sunset. In the former case, when getting up at certain seasons early in the morning hours, in latitudes 28° and 35° , and gazing on the eastern starlit skies, the false dawn of the zodiacal light was so excessively conspicuous for hours before the true dawn appeared, that I wondered exceedingly at the phenomenon not having excited more astronomical interest. I am therefore not at all astonished to hear from you now that Muslims, inhabiting so generally the brilliant lands of the date-palm and water-melon, and having their wits sharpened by self-interest, did early come to perceive, and make practical use of their observational discovery that the zodiacal light, though appearing as a faint blush of light in the east before sunrise, is a perfectly different thing from, and a much earlier phenomenon than, the true dawn of day."

Professor Adams, of Cambridge, answered me as follows :

"24th Oct., 1878.

"I think there can be no doubt that you are right in considering that the zodiacal light is meant by the designation of the 'False Dawn.' Lalande mentions that Cassini had no doubt that the zodiacal light had been observed before, although it had not been described and expressly referred to in ancient authors."

Professor Max Müller had naturally compared ancient Greek and Sanskrit myths relating to the dawn ; but of the false dawn what he said was the following :

OXFORD, 22nd October, 1878.

"I do not know whether the false dawn is scientifically called zodiacal light, and I doubt whether India is the place to observe it, as I believe in India proper there is little of dawn, still less of twilight."

Up to the date of these answers, and for some months later, I only knew that the "false dawn" and the "true dawn" had been distinguished for centuries past by the legists and poets of Islām. It was in the early part of 1879 that I became aware, quite by chance, and while pursuing a totally different inquiry, that Muhammad had himself legislated upon the subject in the Qur'an itself (ch. ii. v. 183). This discovery at once suggested the probability that the phenomenon of the false dawn had been known for ages before the promulgation of Islām, in those latitudes.

Among those to whom I sent copies of my paper was the Rev. T. V. A. Van Dyck, Professor of Astronomy at the American Missionary College of Beyrūt, and also H. H. Midhat Pasha, Governor-General of Syria.

Dr. Van Dyck wrote in reply :

"BEYRŪT, March 17th, 1879.

"I have no doubt of the correctness of your view ; but it is difficult to settle the point absolutely. From Beyrūt the zodiacal light is not distinct in the morning. Aleppo, Hama, Hums, Damascus, Jerusalem, are all good places to look for it. I have tried to find there some one who knew and can recognize the zodiacal light, who would go to the minaret with a Mu'eddin when he sees the false dawn ; but I can find no one. . . . All I have collected from thence goes to confirm your view ; but I cannot get the thing put through, so as to have a Muslim say : 'There is the false dawn,' and an astronomer, one who knows, say : 'That is the zodiacal light.' "

H. H. Midhat Pasha's answer was, in substance, as follows :

"April 14, 1879.

"The Mufti of Damascus sends you the inclosed paper on the question of the false dawn and the zodiacal light: [*Trans-*

lation] The false dawn is what Europeans style the zodiacal light. It is the reflexion of the sun's rays in the sphere of vapour; it is narrow and tall. As the sun comes nearer to the eastern horizon in the morning, its light spreads along the horizon; this is the true dawn. A similar appearance is visible in the evening in the west, when the sun is as far below the horizon there as it was in the morning, when the false and true dawns appeared respectively. We call the western analogue of the true dawn the *red* and the *white evening twilight*, at its beginning and end; and that of the false dawn we designate as the '*tall evening twilight*.' This also is called zodiacal light by Europeans."

No European had hitherto expressly and publicly identified the "false dawn" of the Arabians with the zodiacal light. Yet here we have proof that a Muslim legist of Damascus had made himself acquainted with the two terms and their identity of meaning.

A letter was next received from our most obliging fellow-Member of the Society, E. T. Rogers, Esq., residing at Cairo :

"CAIRO, August 17, 1879.

"To-day I consulted a very intelligent astronomer. He said that the term 'false dawn' was not the right name for it; it should be called the 'zodiacal light.' He sketched the shape of it exactly as you have shown it. Thus a scientific astronomer in Cairo, without knowing the object of my questions, entirely confirms your theory that the 'false dawn' and the 'zodiacal light' are one and the same thing."

Here again is an instance of an Oriental being already aware that the "false dawn" is the "zodiacal light."

Dr. Kirk, Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Zanzibar, also sent me an answer, as follows :

"ZANZIBAR, October 9, 1879.

"I have made all endeavours to settle the question raised as to the 'false dawn.' I found that Seyyid Bargash, the Sultan, knew more of the thing than any one else here, and got him to tell me exactly where and when to notice it. In

these climates it is a thing known at all seasons, when the moon is below the horizon. This was so at the time your letter reached, and I soon had a good chance of observing the phenomenon. The zodiacal light is a thing I knew very well, and on which I had often made notes; but it is strange to say I never noticed it in the morning, and was not aware it was ever then seen. Still, I knew the light well, and had nothing to learn as to its general appearance. When I watched the light known as the 'false dawn,' it seemed to me very like the zodiacal light of the evening, rising in the east in a cone, and inclined considerably to the north. It was not so distinct as to allow me to measure its apex; but, from what I saw, there is little doubt in identifying it with the zodiacal light. There was no fading of this light as the true dawn spread over the horizon; but it became lost in the general rising light. Seyyid Bargash wished me to read up some theological books on the subject; but I need not trouble you on that score."

I have recently had doubts expressed to me as to the possibility of the false dawn's having been long known to the legists and poets of Islām, because no mention has been found, by my correspondent, of this phenomenon in the works of the great Arabian astronomers. I am not myself able to refer to an Arabian astronomer on the subject; neither is this light mentioned in the "Dictionary of the Technical Terms used in the Sciences of the Musalmans." But, besides the passage of the Qur'ān formerly mentioned, of which the date is about A.D. 630, the Arabian dictionary, the *Sihāh*, by El Jawharī, who died in A.D. 1006, says: "the *dark streak of dawn* is the 'false dawn,' and the *light streak* is the 'true dawn.'" The expressions "dark streak" and "light streak" are those used in the passage cited from the Qur'ān; and the great commentary of El Baydhawī, who died about A.D. 1320, says in treating of that text: "Here a comparison is made between what first appears of the dawn in the horizon together with the blackness of night's darkness, and two threads (or streaks) one black, one white."

These quotations show how much and how early attention the phenomena of dawn had excited in Islām.

The only direct and decisive proof I have received, up to the present time, of the accuracy of all these inductions and assertions, is contained in the following letter, received through the kind co-operation of the talented Hydrographer to the Admiralty, from the commanding officer of Her Majesty's man-of-war steamer *Fawn* :

"TUZLA BAY, September 26, 1879.

"DEAR CAPT. EVANS,—For the information of Mr. Redhouse, I have to tell you that I can satisfactorily answer his question as to the false dawn of the Turks. On the morning of 20th inst., at 3.30 A.M., I went to a mosque at Biyukdera, and interviewed the Imām, who, on being asked for the 'fejri kyāzib (false dawn),' at once pointed out the zodiacal light, then brightly shining in the east. . . . There can be no doubt as to the coincidence of the two. Yours sincerely,

"W. J. L. WHARTON."

Taking, now, for granted that the "false dawn" is the zodiacal light, as I shall unhesitatingly state in any philological work I may in future write, what follows? To my mind, two things follow directly thence, one of which is of high ethnographical importance.

In the first place, it becomes evident that, though the zodiacal light is a very recently-discovered phenomenon for European astronomers, a knowledge of its appearance has been possessed by the inhabitants of South-western Asia, if by no others, in the centuries elapsed between the promulgation of the Gospel and the Qur'ān respectively; and, as there is no reason to limit such knowledge to those times, in relation to a phenomenon almost as patent to nomads, shepherds, travellers, and marching armies, in those latitudes, as the milky way, we may almost confidently venture to entertain a belief that it has been universally known there from very early days. This fact calls for notice in all future historical disquisitions on the zodiacal light.

In the second place, since it is an admitted fact that the

zodiacal light was totally unknown among Europeans of any class until about two centuries ago, it is clear that their forefathers never could have come from that central point of Asia so dear to modern Sanskritists, from whence they would fain make the Aryan race to radiate, that is, from the snowy table-land of Pamir. The zodiacal light must be as well known to the shepherds of that plateau (lat. 36° to 38° N.) as it is to the nomads of Arabia and Mesopotamia. It must *always* have been well known to them; and once known to a people, such a phenomenon could never be totally forgotten in latitudes where it was visible. Our Aryan race came not, then, from Pamir as their radiating centre. Ethnologists may well weigh this pregnant indication.

LONDON, *February* 16, 1880.

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With regard to the gender of nouns, the Skr. and Lat. had three genders, the masc. fem. and neut. In S. P. and G.¹ among the Gaurian languages there are only two genders, the masc. and fem. G. and M. retain all three genders of the Skr., while the two Eastern languages B. and O. have lost all distinction of gender. In Romance also there only are two genders, masc. and fem., except in Sp., where an adjective expressing an abstract idea and used substantivally has the neut. gender.

As a rule, the subst. in all the gender languages retain

¹ For the abbreviations see Part I. p. 238.

the gender which they had in Skr. or Lat., and the neut. becomes masc. in S. P. and H., and in Romance. To some extent the gender may be gathered from the termination of subst. Thus, generally, *u* in S., and *o* in S. and G., together with the corresponding *ā* of the other Gaurians, denote masc. subst.; *a* in S., and also *ī* in S. and in Gaurian, generally are fem. in words which do not imply sex. *Ē* is generally the sign of the neuter in M., *ū* in G. So also in Romance subst. which terminate in *o* are usually masc. and those which terminate in *a* (French mute *e*) fem.

There are, however, several exceptions to the rule that the subst. in both modern groups retain the ancient gender. The most remarkable of the exceptions in Gaurian is that of several subst. in *ī*. *Ī* has become typical of the fem. gender in Gaurian, and marks the fem. of adj., as it also did of several adj. in Skr., though *ā* was the usual fem. ending in Skr. *Ī*, derived from the Skr. fem. suffix *ikā*, the use of which was greatly extended in Prakrit, where it became *id* or Māgadhi *ie*, is the termination of many subst. in Gaurian. A preponderating number of fem. subst. in *ī* being thus created, several subst. ending in *ī* in Gaurian, of a different origin, which were masc. or neut. in Skr., have become, by the attraction of the larger mass, fem. in Gaurian; as Skr. *vikrayas* m. 'sale,' S. *vikirī* f. H. *bikrī*; Skr. *lauryam* n. 'theft,' S. and H. *lorī* f. A part similar to that played by *ī* in making fem. subst. in Gaurian has been played by *o* in regard to masc. subst. in Romance. Fem. of the 2nd Lat. declension, and of the 4th which is merged in the 2nd, have become masc. in Romance; as Lat. *porticus*, It. *portico*, Fr. *porche*, etc.; the only exception being *manus*, It. *mano*, Fr. *main*, which has preserved its original gender. Many subst., again, have been adopted into both groups from other languages, and had to be fitted with genders as best they could. A great number of words from the Persian, which is genderless, have been adopted into Gaurian. The gender of such words has been settled to some extent by their terminations. In Romance most words received from the German have retained their gender, neut. becoming masc.

In Skr. there are often two forms of the same word, the second having a diminutive or pleonastic suffix, from which last the modern word is derived; as has been proved by Hoernle; thus Skr. *śyālas* and *śyālakas* 'wife's brother,' S. *sālo*, H. *sālā*; Skr. *kiṭas* and *kiṭakas* 'a worm,' S. *kiṭo*, H. *kiṭā*; Skr. *kshuri* and *kshurikā* 'a knife,' S. and H. *ēhuri*. This *ka* suffix is extended also to subst. which did not have it in Skr.; as *bheḍi* 'a ewe,' H. *bheri*; Skr. *skandhas* 'the shoulder,' S. *kandho*, H. *kādhā*; and still more frequently to adj., as Skr. *gauras*, *i*, 'pale,' S. *goro*, *i*, H. *gorā*, *i*; Skr. *kāṇas*, *ā*, 'one-eyed,' S. *kaṇo*, *i*, H. *kānā*, *i*. If these words had been derived from Skr. primary forms, they would have ended either in a consonant or in a short vowel. B. and O., as the rule, do not add the suffix to the adj. The diminutive suffixes are great favourites in the same way in the other group; as Lat. *frater* and *fraterculus*, It. *fratello*; Lat. *apis* and *apicula*, Fr. *abeille*; Lat. *anulus* and *anellus* or *annellus*, It. *anello*, Fr. *anneau*; and new formations, as It. *avolo*, *seggiola*, Fr. *soleil*, *sommeil*, and adj., as It. *parecchio*, Fr. *pareil*.

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'people,' *gan* 'troup,' etc. No doubt all the Gaurian pl. cannot clearly be traced to Skr. or Prakrit pl. forms, but I question whether Hoernle's theory will be accepted as a satisfactory solution of the difficulty.

In It., in the first two declensions, the pl. is derived from the Lat. nom. pl. Subst. of the 1st decl. in *a*, which are usually fem., have *e* in the pl.; but if the subst. is masc., it has *i*. Subst. of the 2nd. decl. in *o* have *i*, if the subst. was masc. in Lat., but often *a* if it was neut. Here, also, as in the case of the fem. and neut. subst. in M. mentioned above, the different flexions, by which these subst. were distinguished in the ancient languages, which are no longer shown in the sing., have been preserved in the pl. In Fr. Sp. and Port. the pl. ends in *s* derived from the Lat. acc. pl. The accompanying table gives a few examples of the foregoing remarks relating to both groups, showing the subst. both in their sing. and pl. forms, though, as above stated, there is a difference of opinion as to whether or not the pl. flexions in Gaurian are to be referred to the Skr. pl. These examples may be thus classed:—
1. Subst. derived from Skr. and Lat. subst. with vowel stems. 2. Subst. derived from Skr. and Lat. subst. with consonant stems. 3. Subst. which have suffered apocope of their original stem suffixes or final syllables.

Besides the nom. forms, the Gaurians have also an oblique form. In S. masc. in *u* have *a* in the obl. sing.; masc. in *o*, *e*; all subst. in *ī* and *ū*, *ia* and *ua*; in the pl. the forms are more numerous, viz. *ā*, *ē*, *ani*, *uni*, *iani*, *uani*, which are to some extent indiscriminately used with any subst. In H. masc. in *ā* have *e* in the obl. sing., *ō* in the obl. pl.; all other subst. have *ō* in the obl. pl. added to the nom. sing. In P. masc. in *ā* have *e* in the obl. sing., *iā* in the obl. pl.; all other subst. have *ā* in the obl. pl. added to the nom. sing. In G. masc. in *o* and neut. in *ū* have *ā* in the obl. sing., and there is no obl. form at all in the pl. distinct from the nom. form. In M. masc. and neut. ending in a cons. have *ā* obl. sing., *ā* pl., fem., *e* or *ī* sing., *ā* or *ī* pl.; masc. in *ā*, neut. *ē*, *yā* sing., *ā* or *yā* pl.; masc. in *ī*, neut. *ī*, *yā* sing., *ī* or *yā* pl.; fem. in *ī*, *ye* sing., *yā* pl.; masc. in *ū*, neut. *ū*, *vā* sing.,

STEMS.	NOM. SING.	NOM. PL.	NOM. SING.	NOM. PL.
<i>a = o</i>	Skr. <i>nar-as</i> 'man'	<i>nar-ās</i>	Lat. <i>ann-us</i>	<i>ann-i</i> (<i>ann-os</i>)
	S. <i>nar-u</i>	<i>nar-a</i>	It. <i>ann-o</i>	<i>ann-i</i>
	O.H. <i>nar-u</i>	<i>nar-a</i>	W. ¹ <i>an-ū</i>	<i>an-i</i>
	H. <i>nar</i>	<i>nar</i>	Fr. <i>an</i>	<i>an-s</i>
	Skr. <i>grih-am</i> n. 'house'	<i>grih-āni</i>	Lat. <i>lign-um</i>	<i>lign-a</i>
<i>ā = a</i>	M. <i>ghar</i>	<i>ghar-ē</i> ²	It. <i>legn-o</i>	<i>legn-a</i> ²
	Skr. <i>jihv-ā</i> f. 'tongue'	<i>jihv-ās</i>	Lat. <i>ros-a</i>	<i>ros-as</i> (<i>ros-as</i>)
	S. <i>jibh-a</i>	<i>jibh-ā</i>	It. <i>ros-a</i>	<i>ros-e</i>
	H. <i>jibh</i>	<i>jibh-ē</i>	Fr. <i>ros-e</i>	<i>ros-es</i>
	M. <i>jibh</i>	<i>jibh-ā</i> ³		
<i>i</i>	Skr. <i>bhitt-is</i> f. 'wall'	<i>bhitt-ayas</i>	Lat. <i>turr-is</i>	<i>turr-es</i>
	S. <i>bhitt-i</i>	<i>bhitt-iū</i>	It. <i>torr-e</i>	<i>torr-i</i>
	H. <i>bhit</i> ³	<i>bhit-ē</i>	Fr. <i>tour</i>	<i>tour-s</i>
	M. <i>bhint</i>	<i>bhint-i</i> ²		
	Skr. <i>rāk</i> 'voice' (acc. <i>vāc'-am</i>)	<i>vāc'-as</i>	Lat. <i>voc-s</i> (<i>voc-em</i>)	<i>voc-es</i>
Consonant	B. <i>bāc'</i>	<i>bāc'</i>	It. <i>voc'-e</i>	<i>voc-i</i>
	Skr. <i>pūs</i> 'town' (acc. <i>pur-am</i>)	<i>pur-as</i>	Lat. <i>flos</i> (<i>flor-em</i>)	<i>flor-es</i>
	H. <i>pur</i>	<i>pur</i>	Fr. <i>fleur</i>	<i>fleur-s</i>
	Skr. <i>rudan</i> (p.) 'weeping' (acc. <i>rudant-am</i>)	<i>rudant-as</i>	Lat. <i>riden-s</i> (acc. <i>rident-em</i>)	<i>rident-es</i>
	S. <i>ruand-o</i>	<i>ruand-ā</i>	It. <i>rient-e</i>	<i>rient-i</i>
Truncated	O.H. <i>roant</i>	<i>roant</i>	Fr. <i>riant</i>	<i>riant-s</i>
	H. <i>rot-ā</i>	<i>rot-e</i>		
	Skr. <i>bhartā</i> 'husband' (acc. <i>bhartār-am</i>)	<i>bhartār-as</i>	Lat. <i>cantor</i> (acc. <i>cantor-em</i>)	<i>cantor-es</i>
	S. <i>bhattār-u</i>	<i>bhattār-a</i>	It. <i>cantor-e</i>	<i>cantor-i</i>
	H. <i>bhatār</i>	<i>bhatār</i>	Fr. <i>chanteur</i>	<i>chanteur-s</i>
	Skr. <i>pitā</i> 'father' (acc. <i>pitar-am</i>)	<i>pitar-as</i>	Lat. <i>pater</i> (acc. <i>patr-em</i>)	<i>patr-es</i>
	S. <i>piur</i>	<i>piur-a</i> ⁴	Fr. <i>pere</i>	<i>pere-s</i>
	Skr. <i>rājā</i> 'king'	<i>rājān-as</i>	Lat. <i>rex</i>	<i>reg-es</i>
	S. <i>rāu</i>	<i>rā-a</i>	It. <i>re</i>	<i>re</i>
	H. <i>rāe</i>	<i>rae</i>	Fr. <i>roi</i>	<i>roi-s</i>
	Skr. <i>ghrit-am</i> 'butter'		Lat. <i>scut-um</i>	
	H. <i>ghī</i>		Fr. <i>écu</i>	
	Skr. <i>jagat</i> 'world'	<i>jaganti</i>	Lat. <i>serpens</i>	<i>serpentes</i>
	S. <i>jagu</i>	<i>jaga</i>	It. <i>serpe</i>	<i>serpi</i>
	H. <i>jag</i>	<i>jag</i>	Prov. <i>serp</i>	<i>serp</i>
	Skr. <i>kaṇṭakam</i> 'thorn'	<i>kaṇṭakāni</i>	Lat. <i>classicum</i>	<i>classica</i>
	S. <i>kandō</i>	<i>kandā</i>	It. <i>chiasso</i>	<i>chiassi</i>
	H. <i>kāṭā</i>	<i>kāṭe</i>	Fr. <i>glas</i>	
	Skr. <i>makṣhikā</i> 'fly'	<i>makṣhikās</i>	Lat. <i>formica</i>	<i>formicae</i>
	H. <i>makkhī</i>	<i>makkhiyā</i>	Fr. <i>fourmi</i>	<i>fourmis</i>

¹ Walachian.

² Compare these forms, It. *anni* and *legna*, M. *jibhū*, *bhint*, and *gharē*, in which the original distinction of termination is preserved in the pl., but not in the sing.

³ The *i* is occasionally retained; as, H. *muni* 'a sage' from Skr. *muniḥ*; *u* is treated like *i* generally dropped; as, H. *sās* 'a mother-in-law' from Skr. *sāśurī*; but occasionally retained; as, H. *taru* 'a tree' from Skr. *taruḥ*. In Romance the *u* subst. pass into the 2nd decl.; as, Lat. *fructus*, It. *frutto*, pl. *frutti*.

⁴ The stem, as preserved in the pl., alone admits of comparison; thus also S. *bhaur-a*, Fr. *frere-s*.

ũ or *vã* pl.; fem. in *ũ*, *ve* sing., *vã* pl.; all subst. in *i* and *u*, *i* and *ũ* sing., *ĩ* and *ũ* pl. In all other cases in the languages above referred to the obl. form is the same as the nom. It is generally considered that B. and O. have no obl. forms, all the additions which indicate the relations of subst. being classed as postpositions. Hoernle, however, is of opinion that the *e* in *e-r* gen. sing. and in *e-te* loc. sing. of *subst.* in B. is of similar origin to the obl. forms of the other languages above referred to. It is clear, also, that the compound pl. in O. has an obl. form in *an*; as, for instance, *ghar-mān* nom. pl. 'houses'; *ghar-mānan* obl. pl.

The different forms of the obl. in Gaurian are considered by Hoernle to be all derived ultimately from the Skr. genitive suffix *śya* m. *yās* f., pl. *nām* m.f., or from the strong form *kasya* m. *kāyās* f., pl. *kānām* m.f., with elision of *k* in the moderns. To see this we must study all the intermediate forms preserved in the different kinds of Prakrit. It will not be necessary, however, to go into these details for my purpose, as beyond the fact of there being a nom. and obl. form in most of the Gaurian languages and in two of the Romance, and the use to which they are put, there is not much else to compare, in regard to these forms, between the two groups, the obl. in one group being derived from the gen., in the other from the acc. of the parent language. One or two examples of comparison with the Skr. will be sufficient for the Gaurian group; as, Skr. *naras* 'a man,' gen. sing. *narasya*, gen. pl. *narānām*; S. *naru*, obl. sing. *nara*, obl. pl. *narā*; H. *nar*, obl. pl. *narō*; M. *nar*, obl. sing. *narā*, obl. pl. *narā*. Skr. *jihvā* 'the tongue,' gen. sing. *jihvāyās*, gen. pl. *jihvānam*; S. *jibha*, obl. pl. *jibhā*; H. *jibh*, obl. pl. *jibhō*; M. *jibh*, obl. sing. *jibhe*, obl. pl. *jibhā*. Skr. *tamrakas* 'copper,' gen. sing. *tamrakasya*, gen. pl. *tamrakānām*; S. *ṭāmo*, obl. sing. *ṭāme*, obl. pl. *ṭāmā*; H. *tābā*, obl. sing. *tābe*, obl. pl. *tābō*. There is, however, in some of the Gaurians, a second form of the obl. which usually takes no postposition, and is restricted generally to the expression of one relation of the subst., which is derived by Hoernle from a different form in Prakrit of the

Skr. gen. Thus in M. there is the general obl. sing. in *ā* = Mg. Pr. *āha*, as *narā* given above, and there is a special obl. in *ās* = Pr. *assa*, which has become the dative, as *narā* 'to a man.' There are also relics of the old inflected inst. and abl. case in M. and S., and some relics of the old loc. in most of the Gaurians.

In the Romance languages it is only the Old Fr. and Prov. that have an obl. form distinct from the nom. form. The obl. form is derived from the Lat. acc., and this is the form which the subst. has taken in modern Fr. The two cases are preserved in subst. belonging to the 2d and 3d declensions; as Lat. *annus*, acc. *annum*, pl. *anni*, acc. *annis*: Old Fr. and Prov. *ans*, acc. *an*, pl. *an*, acc. *ans*: Lat. *pastor*, acc. *pastorem*, pl. *pastores*: Old Fr. *pastre*, acc. *pasteur*, pl. *pasteurs*: Prov. *pastre*, acc. *pastor*, pl. *pastors*. In Old Fr. and Prov., as in Old H., the case particles were not so rigorously employed as in later times: but were often omitted where the relation of the subst. could be gathered from the context.

In both groups, in their present state, the old relations of case are, generally, expressed by particles, which are directly connected with the subst. governed by them, and in Gaurian with the obl. form of the subst., and which usually follow the subst. in one group, precede it in the other. Several other relations of the subst. are expressed in the same way. These particles are prepositions or postpositions *proper*. Other relations of the subst., again, are expressed by particles which are connected with the subst. by means of a case particle, usually the gen. particle. These are prepositions or postpositions *improper*, being of the nature of adverbs, and many of them can be used as such, that is, attached to the verb without affecting the case relation of any subst. The following are instances from H. and Fr., as *ieu* 'dieu,' *ieu ko* 'a diou,' *ieu par* 'sur diou,' *ieu le pas* 'pres de diou.' The reason of the particles preceding the subst. in one group and following it in the other is that in Lat. there were prepositions, which by a slight change and extension of their meanings, though they have also preserved their ancient

prepositional force, were ready to take the place of the case flexions. In the late Lat. of the inscriptions, where the cases were in a state of confusion, they are found exercising this function. The prepositions principally used for this purpose in the modern languages are *de* and *ad*, and in It. a compound preposition *da* composed of *de* and *ad*. *In*, *cum*, *per* and *pro* are also occasionally employed to express some of the old relations of case. On the other hand, in Skr. the prepositions do not appear to have been so well fitted by previous use and meaning to the required purpose. It was necessary therefore to have recourse elsewhere for case particles to take the place of the lost cases, and accordingly subst. in the Skr. locative case were often made use of to this end. The usual position of subst. in an Aryan language is after the subst. dependent on them; hence they became postpositions. Prepositions in Skr., however, frequently follow the subst. which is governed by them.

Of the case particles employed in Gaurian, the dat. particles, S. *khe*, H. *kho*, are probably derived from the Skr. loc. *kakshe* 'at the side.' The loc. particle S. and H. *mē* is unquestionably derived from the Skr. loc. *madhye* 'in the midst.' About the origin of the abl. and instr. particles in S. *khā*, H. *se*, there appears to be much doubt. The particle which marks the gen. relation is distinguished from the others in that, in the gender languages, it is inflected like an adj., in fact by it the subst. in the gen. relation is made into an adj. which agrees in number, gender, and case with the subst. on which it depends; as S. *piu jo puttū*, H. *bāp kā beṭā* 'father's son'; S. *piu jī dhia*, H. *bāp kī beṭī* 'father's daughter.' The H. *kā*, *kī*, *ke*, is in all probability derived from the Skr. past part. *kṛta* 'made,' Pr. *kera*, while the S. *jo*, *jī*, *je*, and the P. *da*, *dī*, *de*, are considered by Hoernle to be identical with the H. past part. *diyā* 'given.' The case particles differ to a considerable extent in the different languages, and are not all of a common origin, but each language sometimes provided for them, independently of the others, out of its own resources.

Besides the case particles, to the class of prepositions or

postpositions *proper* belong in the Romance group most of the old prepositions and compounds of prepositions, and also some particles formed from subst. and adj. In the Gaurian group this class is not so numerous as in the Romance, and consists principally of particles formed from subst. and adj., sometimes of the old prepositions. A few instances of this class in both groups are as follows: S. *lāi* 'for' (Skr. *labdha* 'obtained'), Fr. *pour*; S. *sārū* 'according to' (Skr. *sadṛīṣa* 'like'), Fr. *selon*; S. *pari*, H. *par* 'upon' (Skr. *upari*), It. *sopra*, Fr. *sur*; S. *re* 'without' (Skr. *ṛite*), It. *senza*; S. *sā* (Skr. *saṃ*), H. *saṃet* 'with,' Fr. *avec*, It. *con*; S. *qā* 'towards,' Fr. *vers*; H. *pār*, Skr. *pāre* loc. 'at the further side'), Fr. *outré*; S. *bhāri* 'against' (Skr. *bhara* 'supporting'), Fr. *contre*.

The other class, that of the prepositions or postpositions *improper*, is very numerous in Gaurian. The particles of this class are mostly derived from subst., in both groups. Some, however, that were prepositions in the ancient languages also require a case particle to connect them with the subst. The following are a few instances of this class of particles in Gaurian with their equivalents in Romance: S. *khā age*, H. *ke āge* (Skr. loc. *agre* 'in front'), It. *davanti a*, Fr. *au devant de*; S. *je pāse*, It. *ke pās* (Skr. *pārśve* loc. 'at the side'), It. *presso di*, Fr. *près de*; S. *je viće*, H. *ke bić* (Skr. *vr̥it* 'be,' 'dwell'), It. *in mezzo di*, Fr. *au milieu de*; Skr. *khā poe*, H. *ke pāche* (Skr. adj. loc. *paśce*), It. *dietro a*; S. *hethe*, H. *niće* (Skr. adj. loc. *niće*), It. *sotto a*, Fr. *au dessous de*; S. *je bāhari*, H. *ke bāhir* (Skr. *vahis*), It. *fuore di*, Fr. *hors de*.

Several prepositions and postpositions do not absolutely belong to either of the above classes, but may be used in both classes, sometimes in the same, sometimes in different languages. The postpositions so called in Gaurian do not, however, always follow the subst. S. *re* 'without,' H. *bin* 'without,' for instance, may either precede or follow the subst., and in poetry many of the postpositions are used either before or after the subst. governed by them.

Next, I proceed to give some account of adjectives in the

two groups. Adj., when inflected, are generally declined like subst. In Gaurian the termination *o* or *ā* is masc.; and *o* and *ā* are changed to *ī* in the fem. In S. adj. in *u* have also gender, and change it to *a* or *i* in the fem. In M. and G. the adj. has, of course, besides masc. and fem., the neut. termination. In S. and P. the adj. agrees with the subst. in number, gender, and case, and in the other languages also, but with some exceptions. Thus, in H. and G. the adj. does not take the obl. form of the subst. in the pl., but that of the obl. sing., and also in H. the nom. fem. *ī* is unchanged in the nom. pl. Further in M. the usual obl. ending is *yā* sing., *yā* pl. for all genders. In B. and O. the adj. is unchanged. In Romance, gender is distinguished as in Lat. in adj. derived from Lat. adj. in *us*, *a*; as It. *buono*, *buona*; Fr. *bon*, *bonne*. With these terminations *er* and *era* are confounded; as, It. *nero*, *nera*. Many adj., however, which did not distinguish between the masc. and fem. in Lat., make the distinction in Fr.; as, *fort*, *forte*, etc. In the Asturian Sp. dialect, I am informed by Prince L. Bonaparte, the adj. has a neut. form, when used substantively, and also when used as a predicate of a neut. pronoun; as, *bonu* m., *bona* f., but *bono* n.; as, *lo bono* 'the good,' and *lo que ye bono* 'that which is good.' In Sp. also the neut. form of the article is used with the adj. raised to the quality of a subst.; as, *lo bueno*. In Old Fr. and Prov., again, according to Diez, the adj. has a neut. form, when it is the predicate of a pronoun used in a neut. sense, or of an entire sentence. Old Fr. *bons* m., *bone* f., *bon* n. The following is a specimen of an adj. in each group:—

	SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
Skr.	<i>śuṣhkāḥ</i>	<i>śuṣhkā</i>	<i>śuṣhkam</i>	<i>śuṣhkāḥ</i>	<i>śuṣhkāḥ</i>	<i>śuṣhkāni</i>
Lat.	<i>siccus</i>	<i>sicca</i>	<i>siccum</i>	<i>sicci</i>	<i>siccae</i>	<i>sicca</i>
M.	<i>sukā</i>	<i>sukī</i>	<i>sukē</i>	<i>suke</i>	<i>sukyā</i>	<i>sukī</i>
S.	<i>sukko</i>	<i>sukkī</i>		<i>sukkā</i>	<i>sukkiā</i>	
H.	<i>sūkhā</i>	<i>sūkhī</i>		<i>sūkhe</i>	<i>sūkhī</i>	
It.	<i>secco</i>	<i>secca</i>		<i>sechi</i>	<i>seche</i>	
Fr.	<i>sec</i>	<i>seche</i>		<i>secs</i>	<i>seches</i>	

With reference to the remarks made above about the obl. form of the adj. in Gaurian, we have, for instance, obl. sing. S. and P. *vare ghorē*, H. *bare ghorē* 'magni equi;' obl. pl. S.

varē ghorē, P. *variā ghorīā* 'magnorum equorum,' but H. *barē ghorō*. Both the Skr. and Lat. adj. are compared by flexion: for the comparative degree Skr. *iyams* and *taras*, Lat. *ior*; for the superlative, Skr. *tamas* and *ishthas*, Lat. *imus* and *issimus*. The modern languages have, in principle, in both groups renounced such flexion. In Gaurian the comparative degree is expressed by simply adding the ablative particle to the subst. with which the comparison is made, the superlative by the employment of the pronoun signifying 'all' followed by the ablative particle. The Romance for the comparative makes use of what was already occasionally employed in Lat., a periphrastic formation by means of adverbs. The signification of superlative is given by placing before the comparative the definite article.

As regards the numerals, in S. and M. alone in Gaurian is there any distinction of gender, and that only in the first numeral in S., viz. *hikku* m., *hikka* f., and in M. in the special forms for two, three, and four; as *doghe* m., *doghi* f., *doghē* n. 'two.' In the Romance languages *unus* alone is subject to flexion in all the languages; as, It. *uno, una*; Fr. *un, une*; *duo* in Port. only; *tres* only in Old Fr. and Prov., *ducente, trecenti*, etc., exclusively in Sp. and Port. *Mille* has a pl., viz. *mila*, in It. only. The following is a comparison of the first decade in each group:

	SKR.	S.	H.	LAT.	IT.	FR.
1	<i>ekas, ā</i>	<i>hikku, a</i>	<i>ek</i>	<i>unus, a</i>	<i>uno, a</i>	<i>un, e</i>
2	<i>dvau</i>	<i>ba</i> ¹	<i>do</i>	<i>duo</i>	<i>due</i>	<i>deux</i>
3	<i>trayas</i> sing. (<i>trīmi</i> pl.)	<i>tre</i>	<i>tīn</i>	<i>tres</i>	<i>tre</i>	<i>trois</i>
4	<i>c'atvāri</i> pl. (stem <i>c'atur</i>)	<i>c'āri</i>	<i>c'ār</i>	<i>quattuor</i>	<i>quattro</i>	<i>quatre</i>
5	<i>punc'a</i>	<i>panja</i>	<i>pāc'</i>	<i>quinque</i>	<i>cinqus</i>	<i>cinq</i>
6	<i>shaṭ</i> (stem <i>shash</i>)	<i>c'ha</i>	<i>c'ha</i>	<i>sex</i>	<i>sei</i>	<i>six</i>
7	<i>sapta</i> (stem <i>saptan</i>)	<i>satta</i>	<i>sāt</i>	<i>septem</i>	<i>sette</i>	<i>sept</i>
8	<i>ashṭa</i>	<i>aṭṭha</i>	<i>āṭh</i>	<i>octo</i>	<i>otto</i>	<i>huit</i>
9	<i>nava</i> (stem <i>navan</i>)	<i>nāvā</i>	<i>nau</i>	<i>novem</i>	<i>noye</i>	<i>neuf</i>
10	<i>daśa</i> (stem <i>daśan</i>)	<i>ḍaḥa</i>	<i>das</i>	<i>decem</i>	<i>dieci</i>	<i>dix</i>
20	<i>vimsati</i>	<i>vīha</i>	<i>ḍīs</i>	<i>viginti</i>	<i>venti</i>	<i>vingt</i>

¹ Compare Lat. *bis* for *deus*.

In Gaurian each numeral is subject to phonetic change, as if it was an independent word. There is no help given to the memory by using the numerals, up to nine, of the first decade unchanged in the other decades, as is the case generally in the European languages; so that it is a considerable tax on the memory to learn the numerals in the Gaurian languages. Thus in H., for instance, for 'vingt un,' instead of *bis ek*, we have *ekis*, from Skr. *ekaviṃśati*; for 'vingt deux,' instead of *bis do*, we have *bāis*, from Skr. *dvaviṃśati*; for 'vingt sept,' *satāis*, where the long *ā* is supposed to be owing to the Skr. oxytone *saptā* as compared with *ēka*; for the same reason *athāis* 28, but *pacis* 25. For 19 the Skr. has *ekonaviṃśati* 'twenty less one,' Lat. *undeviginti*, which is preserved in M. *ekūnavisā*, Old H. *agunīs*; but the more common abbreviated form Skr. *ūnaviṃśati* appears in H. *unīs*, S. *univītha*.

The ordinal numbers are declined exactly like adj. in both groups. The following are examples. The first ordinal has undergone great change in Gaurian.

MASC.	FEM.	MASC.	FEM.
Skr. <i>prathamā</i>	<i>prathamā</i>	Lat. <i>primus</i>	<i>prima</i>
S. <i>paharyō</i>	<i>paharī</i>	It. <i>primo</i>	<i>prima</i>
H. <i>pahilā</i>	<i>pahilī</i>	Old Fr. <i>prime</i>	
Skr. <i>tritīyas</i>	<i>tritīyā</i>	Lat. <i>tertius</i>	<i>tertia</i>
S. <i>trījō</i>	<i>trījī</i>	It. <i>terzo</i>	<i>terza</i>
Old H. <i>tījō</i>	<i>tījī</i>	Old Fr. <i>tiers</i>	<i>tierce</i>
H. <i>tisrā</i>	<i>tisrī</i>	Fr. <i>troisième</i>	
Skr. <i>caturthas</i>	<i>caturthī</i>	Lat. <i>quartus</i>	<i>quarta</i>
S. <i>cōthō</i>	<i>cōthī</i>	It. <i>quarto</i>	<i>quarta</i>
H. <i>cauthā</i>	<i>cauthī</i>	Old Fr. <i>quart</i>	<i>quarte</i>
Skr. <i>saptamas</i>	<i>saptamī</i>	Lat. <i>septimus</i>	<i>septima</i>
P. <i>satmā</i>	<i>satmī</i>	It. <i>settimo</i>	<i>settima</i>
Old H. <i>sātmo</i>	<i>sātmī</i>	Old Fr. <i>setme</i>	
H. <i>sātvā</i>	<i>sātvī</i>	Fr. <i>septième</i>	

The modern H. *tī-srā* 'third,' and also *dū-srā* 'second,' are formed by the addition of the suffix *srā*, as the modern Fr. *deux-ième*, *trois-ième*, by the addition of *ième* = *esimus*.

The article, which plays such an important part in the Romance languages, was unknown both to Skr. and Lat. The first numeral is used as the indefinite article in both the modern groups, though not to the same extent in Gaurian as

in Romance. Gaurian, however, has no definite article, though the demonstrative pronoun is occasionally used, as *ille* was in late Lat.

The pronouns in both groups have a nom. and an obl. form, the latter being apparently from the Skr. and Lat. gen. though in Romance also, in some instances, from the Lat. acc. and dat. The first and second personal pronoun in each group may be thus compared:

1ST PERSONAL PRONOUN.

SING.		PL.	SING.		PL.
Skr. nom.	<i>aḥam</i>	<i>asma</i> ¹ (stem) (Pr. <i>amha</i>)	Lat. nom.	<i>ego</i>	<i>nos</i>
S. „	<i>āū, ā</i>	<i>asī</i>	It. „	<i>io</i>	<i>noi</i>
H. „	<i>hō</i>	<i>ham</i>	Fr. „	<i>je</i>	<i>nous</i>
Skr. gen.	<i>mama, me</i>	<i>asmākam</i> (Pr. <i>amhāṇam</i>)	Lat. acc. dat.	<i>me, mi</i>	
S. obl.	<i>mū, mā</i>	<i>asā</i>	It. obl.	<i>me</i>	
H. „	<i>mo</i>	<i>ham, hamō</i>	Fr. „	<i>moi</i>	

2ND PERSONAL PRONOUN.

SING.		PL.	SING.		PL.
Skr. nom.	<i>tvam</i>	<i>yushma</i> (stem) (Pr. <i>tumha</i>)	Lat. nom.	<i>tu</i>	<i>vos</i>
„	<i>tū</i>	<i>tavhī</i>	It. „	<i>tu</i>	<i>voi</i>
H. „	<i>tū</i>	<i>tum</i>	Fr. „	<i>tu</i>	<i>vous</i>
Skr. gen.	<i>tava</i>	<i>yushmākam</i> Pr. (<i>tumhāṇam</i>)	Lat. acc. dat.	<i>te, tibi</i>	
S. obl.	<i>to</i>	<i>tavhā</i>	It. obl.	<i>te</i>	
H. „	<i>to</i>	<i>tum, tumō</i>	Fr. „	<i>toi</i>	

The forms given above as H. are Braj forms. In High H. the obl. forms are *mujh*, *tujh*, and are from Pr. *majjha*, *tujjha*, from which a dat. is formed in High H. *mujhe*, *tujhe*, and from the pl. *ham*, *tum*, a dat. *hamē*, *tumē*. High H. also has *māi* from nom. sing. 1st pers. pron., though *hō* occurs in most of the dialects; M. in the same way has *mī* for the nom., O. *mu*, and B. *mui*; all originally obl. forms. The obl. form is also sometimes used in Fr. for the nom., as in *moi qui lis*.

The reflexive pronoun in Gaurian, as S. *pāna*, H. *āp*, etc., is derived by a remarkable phonetic change from the Skr. reflexive pronoun *ātmā* 'self,' acc. *ātmānam*. The reflexive pronoun in Romance, as It. *se*, Fr. *soi*, is from Lat. *se*, *sibi*.

¹ The Skr. nom. pl. *vayam*, Pr. *vaam*, has not survived in Gaurian.

The Skr. possessive pronouns *maḍiḃa* and *tvadīḃa* are not found in Gaurian. The possessive pronouns in most of the Gaurian languages, as H. *merā*, G. *māro* 'my,' H. *terā*, G. *tāro* 'thy,' are probably formed by incorporating the Pr. *keṛa* (Skr. past part. *kṛita* 'made'), before referred to, with elision of *k*, with the obl. form of the pronoun. The possessive of the reflexive pronoun, as H. *apnā*, M. *āplā*, is referred to the Skr. possessive *ātmiḃas* 'own.' These possessive forms are used as the gen. of the subst. pronouns. In S. the gen. relation of the subst. pronouns, as of the subst., is expressed by the postposition *jō*, and the genitive is used as the possessive pronoun. In Old Fr. also, as in most of the Gaurian languages, possessive pronouns are formed by attaching a suffix to an obl. form of the subst. pronoun; as, *mien*, *tien*; otherwise the old Lat. possessive survives in the modern languages. The possessive pronouns are declined like adj. in both groups; as, H. *me-rā*, *me-rī*, Old Fr. *mi-en*, *mi-enne*; H. *te-rā*, *te-rī*, Old Fr. *ti-en*, *ti-enne*; H. *apnā*, *apnī*, It. *suo*, *sua*.

The demonstrative pronouns are used for the pronoun of the 3rd person in Gaurian. S. M. and some dialects of H. distinguish gender in the demonstrative. The other languages do not make the distinction. Thus we have Skr. *ayam* m. 'this,' S. *hī* m. and f., *hiu* m. *hia* f., H. *yah* (dial. *ī*); Skr. gen. sing. *asya*; obl. sing. P. *iḥ*, H. *is* (S. *hina* or *ina*); Skr. nom. pl. *ime*, S. *hī*, *he*, H. *ye*; Skr. gen. pl. *ānām* for *eshām*, S. *hini* or *ini*, H. *in*. Hoernle, however, derives the modern near demonstrative from the Skr. *iyat* (or Ved. *īvat*), Pr. *e* 'so much,' and also with regard to all the simple pronouns, except the personal, he thinks that in most cases "the forms which are now used as simple pron. were originally those of pron. adj. of quality or quantity." In Romance *hic* and *is* have not been able to maintain themselves, but *ille* has been preserved, and is now used exclusively as the pron. of the 3rd person. We have thus from Lat. *ille*, *illa*, It. *egli*, *ella*, Fr. *il*, *elle*; Lat. *illius*, It. and Fr. *lui* m.; but It. *lei* f., Fr. *elle* f.; Lat. *illi*, *illae* and *illos*, *illas*, It. *egli-no*, *elle-no*, Fr. *ils*, *elles*; Lat. *illorum*, It. *loro* (Fr. *leur* conj. form). Sp. has also a neut. form, viz. *él* m., *ella* f., *ello* n.

Besides the above forms there are also in Romance conjunctive forms of the pronouns attached to the verb, which express the acc. and dat. relations. It is only the S. among the Gaurians that has such forms; they are always suffixed. They cannot be used either before or after the verb, as is generally the case in It. Sp. and Port. Both in S. and in Romance these conjunctive forms are for the most part abridgments of the absolute forms. Compared with It. the forms are in the sing. S. *me*, It. *mi*; S. *i* (with elision of *t*), It. *ti*; S. *si*, It. dat. *gli*, *li*, acc. *lo*, *il*; in pl. S. *ũ*, It. *ci*; S. *rã*, It. *vi*; S. *ni*, It. dat. *loro*, acc. *gli*, *li*. In S. there is only one form, whether to express the dat. or acc. relation, whereas in Romance, as shown above, there is for the 3rd pers. pron. one form for the dat., another for the acc. relation. Also in S., except with the past part., only one conj. pron. can be suffixed to the verb. The following are a few instances of the way in which the pronominal suffixes are used in S. as compared with It.; as S. *ḍin-mi* 'give me,' It. *da-mmi*; S. *ḍin-i*, It. *diano-ti*; S. *ḍini-ra*, It. *diano-ri*. In S. the pronominal suffixes are also used with nouns and particles, but not nearly to the same extent as with verbs. The fusion of the particle and pronoun might be compared with that of the preposition and article in Romance, but the conjunctive pronouns cannot be used with prepositions in Romance.

The relative pron. in Gaurian has both a sing. and pl. form in all the languages; gender is distinguished in S. and M. only. The simple interrogative pron. Skr. *kas*, *kā*, *kad* (the original neuter form), has in Gaurian a pl. form either in the nom. or obl.; gender is distinguished in G. only. In the Romance descendants of *qui*, *quae*, *quod*, no distinction of either gender or number has been preserved. Thus we have rel. pron. sing. Skr. *yas* m. *yā* f., S. *jo* m. *jā* f., H. *jo*; pl. Skr. *ye*, S. *je*, H. *je*. Inter. pron. Skr. *kas*, Old H. *ko*, B. *ke*. High H. *kaun* comes from a derivative form of the original interrogative. Lat. *qui*, It. *che*, Fr. *que*; Lat. *quis*, It. *chi*, Fr. *qui*; both forms without flexion for gender or number in Romance. The Gaurians have also an obl. form for the rel.

and inter. pronouns generally derived from the Skr. gen.; as H. *jis* from *yasya*, *kis* from *kasya*; pl. *jin* from *yānām* for *yeshām*, *kin* from *kānām* for *kēshām*. These pronouns, however, Hoernle would derive from Skr. *yāvat*, Ap. Pr. *jeva*, and Skr. *kiyat* (Ved. *kivat*), Ap. Pr. *keva*. It. Prov. and Old Fr. have the Lat. dat. *cui* for their obl. sing. and pl. The Gaurians have also an interrogative used in a neuter sense; as S. *čhā*, H. *kyā*, from Skr. *kim* (Vedic *kad*), which corresponds to the Fr. *quoi* from *quid*.

Skr. *kīdṛiśas* m., *kīdṛiśī* f. 'of what kind?' supplies the common interrogative in S. and P., as S. *keho*, *kehī* 'which?' Lat. *qualis*, which is connected with *kīdṛiśas* by change of *d* to *l*, is interrogative in Romance; as, It. *quale*, Fr. *quel*, *quelle*. With the article it is relative; as, It. *il quale*, Fr. *lequel*. Again, *kīdṛiśas* 'qualis' becomes S. *kihāro* 'of what kind?', H. *kaisā*; and Skr. *tādṛiśas* 'such like' becomes S. *teho*, H. *taisā*; and Lat. *talis*, It. *tale*, Fr. *tel*. Skr. *kiyān* m. *kiyatī* f., with stem *kiyant* (Ved. *kivant*) 'how much,' becomes S. *ketaro* m. *ketarī* f. (*ro*, *rī* pleonastic), H. *kittā* m. *kittī* f.; and Lat. *quantus*, *quanta*, It. *quanto*, *quanta*, Old Fr. *quant*, *quante*.

I now come to the verb. The Skr. and Lat. verbs appear in the modern groups, subject of course to the usual phonetic modifications; as, Skr. *pathāmi* 'I read,' S. *parhā*, H. *parhō*; Lat. *lego*, It. *leggo*, Fr. *li(s)*; Skr. *pari-veshyāmi* 'I offer (food),' S. *par-osiā*, H. *par-osō*; Lat. *pro-video*, It. *pro-vvedo*, Fr. *pour-voi(s)*. There are not, however, nearly so many prepositions joined with verbs in Gaurian as in Romance, nor are they used for new formations in Gaurian as in Romance. Other verbs again are of a secondary kind, derived from nouns or participles or otherwise not directly representative of the ancient verb; as, Skr. *parīcāyanam* 'cognizance,' H. *pahcān-nā* 'to recognize,' Skr. *pravishṭa* 'entered,' H. *paith-nā* 'to enter,' Lat. *festum*, Fr. *fêter*; Lat. *tractus*, Fr. *tracer*.

As regards derivative forms, in Gaurian a causal may be formed from a simple verb by an addition to the stem. This formative is generally *ā* in S. H. B. and O., *āv* in G., *au* in

P., *avi* in M. ; as, S. *kar-aṇu*, H. *kar-nā* 'to do' ; S. *karā-ṇu*, H. *karā-nā* 'to cause to do.' The modern formative is derived from the Skr. causal formative *āpi*, which, however, is much less used in Skr. than the *i* formative. The desiderative and intensive forms of the Skr. verb are not found in the modern languages. These meanings are expressed in the moderns by adding an auxil. to the principal verb ; as, H. *phēknā* 'to throw,' *phēkā cāhnā* 'to desire to throw,' *phēk denā* 'to throw away.' The Lat. derivative forms have generally been preserved in Romance, but with less precision as to their meaning, and they often take the place altogether of the simple forms ; also new formations are very numerous ; as, It. *usare*, Fr. *user* (frequentative form) ; It. *mansuescere*, Fr. *obscurcir* (inchoative forms).

The verbs have been remodelled to a great extent in both groups. In Skr. the verbs are divided into certain classes according to the nature of the stem with which the present and three other tenses or moods and a participle are formed, the remaining tenses taking the terminations on a different system. In one of the classes the root alone is the stem, but in the others the stem is formed with certain additions to the root. In Gaurian, as the rule, all parts of the verb are derived from the same stem which is sometimes formed by incorporating a class suffix of the Skr. Thus we have Skr. *cinomi* (stem *cinu*, *ci* being the root and *nu* the suffix of the 5th class) 'I gather,' S. *chinā*, H. *cinū* ; Skr. past part. *citā* 'gathered,' but S. *chinio*, H. *cinā*. All the modern verbs, however, are held to be derived from a stem with *a* for its final vowel. Thus with reference to the above instance we shall have to assume a form *cināmi* instead of *cinomi* as the origin of the modern forms. The forms of the modern verb will be given in detail further on. In derivation, however, other stems are frequently changed to what appears to be that of the 6th class ; as, Skr. *pishāmi* for *piṇashmi* 'I grind,' S. *pīhā*, H. *pīsū*. What are called the irregular verbs in Gaurian are the least so in regard to their origin. In these verbs the past participle, instead of being formed from the present stem as in the regular verb, is derived from

the Skr. past part. pass.; as, Skr. *karomi* 'I do,' S. *karā*, H. *karū*; Skr. *kṛitas* 'done,' S. *kīto*, also *kio* and *kayo*, H. *kiyā*; Skr. *pravisāmi* 'I enter,' S. *pihā*; Skr. *pravishtas* 'entered,' S. *peṭho*. These irregular verbs are numerous in S., while there are very few of them in H.

The distinctions which characterize the Lat. conjugations are more or less preserved in Romance, but many verbs change their conjugation in passing from Lat. to Romance; as, Lat. *tussire*, Fr. *tousser*, etc. What are usually called the irregular verbs in Romance, to which Diez has given the name of strong, while the regulars he terms weak, are mainly distinguished by having the accent on the radical syllable of the 1st and 3rd pers. sing. of the perfect, and to a considerable extent also on the radical syllable of the past part., while in the weak verbs the accent is on the flexion. The former, as regards their origin, are not less regular than the latter. The so-called regular and irregular verbs, therefore, are alike in both groups so far as the regular verb has one kind of participle and the irregular another; but the Gaurian verbs cannot be classed as strong and weak, for the participle is always accented on the root syllable. Weak verbs in Romance are such as, Lat. *canto*, It. *canto*, Fr. *chant(e)*; Lat. *cantatus*, It. *cantato*, Fr. *chanté*; strong, as Lat. *dico*, It. *dico*, Fr. *dis*; Lat. *dictus*, It. *detto*, Fr. *dit*. Many of the Lat. strong verbs, however, have become weak in Romance.

The original tenses preserved in Gaurian are the pres. indic. and the imperative, in all the languages, the fut. in Old H. and G. It should be noted, however, that the pres. indic. has become the pres. subj. in S. H. and P., though colloquially, it is frequently used in its original sense. In the literary form of these languages a new pres. formed with the pres. part. has taken the place of the old pres. In Romance more old tenses have been preserved. The pres., imperf., and perf. indic. have been preserved in all the languages, the pluperf. in Sp. Port. and Prov. Of the subj., the pres. and pluperf. have been maintained in all the languages, and the fut. anterior in Sp. and Port. The first

tense of the imperative has also been saved in all the languages. The following is a comparison of the pres. indic. in both groups, taking *likh* 'write' for the Gaurian, and *canto* for the Romance, as examples :

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

	SANSKRIT.	SINDHI.	HINDI.	LATIN.	ITALIAN.	FRENCH.
Sing. 1	<i>likh-āmi</i>	<i>likh-ā</i>	<i>likh-ū</i>	<i>cant-o</i>	<i>cant-o</i>	<i>chant(e)</i>
2	<i>likh-asi</i>	<i>likh-ē</i>	<i>likh-e</i>	<i>cant-as</i>	<i>cant-i</i>	<i>chant-es</i>
3	<i>likh-ati</i>	<i>likh-e</i>	<i>likh-e</i>	<i>cant-ati</i>	<i>cant-a</i>	<i>chant-e</i>
Pl. 1	<i>likh-āmas</i>	<i>likh-ū</i>	<i>likh-ē</i>	<i>cant-amus</i>	<i>cant-iamo</i>	<i>chant-ons</i>
2	<i>likh-atha</i>	<i>likh-o</i>	<i>likh-o</i>	<i>cant-atis</i>	<i>cant-ate</i>	<i>chant-ez</i>
3	<i>likh-anti</i>	<i>likh-ani</i>	<i>likh-ē</i>	<i>cant-ant</i>	<i>cant-ano</i>	<i>chant-ent</i>

The Skr. 1st sing. -*āmi* is best represented by the O. -*ai*. The H. *ū* is referred by Hoernle to an Ap. Pr. form *aūm*. The Skr. 2nd sing. is unchanged in the Old H. *likhasi*. The 3rd sing. in Old H. is *likhāi*. The Skr. 3rd pl. remains in O. -*anti*. Regarding the *e* of the 1st sing. of such verbs as Fr. *chante*, it is hardly necessary to remark that this is a modern addition and does not belong to Old Fr. The same remark applies to the *s* of the 1st sing. of the other conjugations previously instanced. The 2nd sing. of the Skr. imperative is alone preserved in S. H. and P., and the sing. only of the Lat. pres. imperative in most of the Romance languages, the pres. indic. in both groups taking the place of the old pl. In Sp. and Port., however, the old pl. is preserved, and in the rest of the Gaurian languages both the 2nd and 3rd pl. of the old imperative are preserved—thus :

IMPERATIVE.

Sg.						
2	Skr. <i>likh-a</i>	S. <i>likh-u</i>	H. <i>likh</i>	Lat. <i>cant-a</i>	It. <i>cant-a</i>	Fr. <i>chante</i>
3	„ <i>likh-atu</i>	O. <i>likh-u</i>	M. <i>lih-o</i>			
Pl.						
2	„ <i>likh-ata</i>	„ <i>likh-a</i>	„ <i>lih-ā</i>	„ <i>cant-ate</i>	Sp. <i>cant-ad</i>	Port. <i>cant-ai</i>
3	„ <i>likh-antu</i>	„ <i>likh-antu</i>	„ <i>lih-ol</i>			

There is also a precativè or respectful form of the imperative in some Gaurians which is generally referred to the Skr. precativè ; as, 2 sing. Skr. *likh-yās*, S. *likh-ijī*, H. *likh-iyē*. Hoernle, however, thinks that these are really passive forms, but used actively.

In Old H. and G. the simple fut. derived from the Skr.

fut. is, for instance, Skr. *likh-ishyāmi*, Old H. *likh-ihāu*, G. *lakḥ-īs*. Instances of the other simple tenses retained in Romance are, the imperf.; as, Lat. *cantabam*, It. *cantava*, Fr. *chantai(s)*; perf., Lat. *cantavi*, It. *cantai*, Fr. *chantai*; pres. subj., Lat. *cantem*, It. *cante*, Fr. *chant(e)*; the pluperf. subj., Lat. *cantassem*, It. *cantassi*, Fr. *chantasse*; the pluperf. indic., in Sp. Port. and Prov. only, as, Lat. *cantaram*, Sp. *cantara*; and the fut. anterior in Sp. and Port. only, as, Lat. *cantaro*, Sp. *cantare*. The Skr. infinitive in *tum*, which is identical with the Lat. supine in *tum*, has disappeared in Gaurian, as have also the Lat. supines in Romance. In place of the Skr. infinitive, the modern infinitive, which is declined like a subst., is formed by two different suffixes, the characteristic letter of one being *v* (*b*), of the other *n*. The former is found in B. O. G. and in Braj; the latter in High H. and in S. P. and M. These forms are derived by Hoernle from the two forms of the Skr. fut. part. pass., the *v* (*b*) form from the part. in *tavya*, the *n* form from the part. in *anīya*; as, Skr. *likhitavya*, Braj *likhibau*, Skr. *likhanīya*, S. *likhaṇu*. The functions of the Lat. supines, which, as has been stated, are wanting in Romance, are, generally, discharged by the infinitive. The pres. of the inf. has been preserved; as, Lat. *cantare*, It. *cantare*, Fr. *chanter*. The pres. part. has been preserved in both groups, as Skr. stem *likhant*, S. *likhando*, H. *likhatā*; but generally with the value of an adj. in Romance, Lat. *cantantem*, It. *cantante*, Fr. *chantant*. The rule of the pres. part. in Romance generally devolves on the gerundive, which is preserved in its abl. form; as, Lat. *cantando*, It. *cantando*, Fr. *chantant*. The past part. has also been preserved in both groups; as, Skr. *likhitas*, S. *likhio*, H. *likhā*; Lat. *cantatus*, It. *cantato*, Fr. *chanté*.

The part. of the Skr. fut. pass. in *tavya*, from which, as has been observed, the inf. in some of the languages is derived, has been preserved also in its part. sense in S. G. and P.; as, S. *likhibo*, meaning 'being written.' The conjunctive part., as it is called, which is common to all the Gaurians, is believed, in most instances, to be derived from the Skr. indecl. past part. in *ya*; as, S. *likhī*, Old H. *likhi*, in

later H. *likh*, the final *i* having been dropped. In some, but not in all the languages, the pres. and fut. part. are used as tenses without the addition of any suffix or auxiliary verb. The old Skr. inflected passive voice, lost in most of the Gaurian languages as that of Lat. has been in all the Romance, has been preserved in S.; in P., where, however, its use is exceptional, and in the Mārwarī dialect of H. The suffixed *y*, which forms the passive in Skr., becomes *j* or *ij* in S., *i* in P., *ij* in Mārwarī; as, Skr. *likh-yate* 'it is written,' S. *likh-ije*, P. *likh-ie*.

The places of the lost tenses, or such additional tenses as are required by the modern languages, are supplied in both groups by a periphrastic formation with an auxiliary, which is sometimes incorporated with some form of the principal verb, while in other cases the periphrasis consists of the full forms of a part. and an auxil. separately written. The auxil. verbs in most of the languages in both groups are also principal verbs, capable of being separately used, in fact frequently so used. The auxil. used in the active voice in Gaurian are derived from the Skr. *as* 'esse,' and Pr. *āl̥h* of doubtful origin, but according to Hoernle perhaps from an inchoative form of *as*, Skr. *bhū* 'fuere,' *sthā* 'stare,' *erit* 'vertere,' *gam* 'to go.' In Romance the principal auxil. in the active voice is *habeo*. In some of the languages *tenere* is also used, and in some again with intransitive verbs *esse*. For the periphrastic passive the sole auxil. in Gaurian is from the Skr. *yā* 'to go.' In Romance the auxil. is *esse*, and besides *esse*, *stare* is also employed in most of the Romance languages for the periphrasis of the passive. In Gaurian some of the auxil. are not met with as principal verbs in all the languages, the same is the case with *stare* in Romance. Thus S. *thiaṇu* from Skr. *sthā*, and It. *stare*, both exist as separate verbs in all their tenses, but in H. and Fr. they are no longer separate verbs. In Fr. we have as a substitute *être debout*, literally 'to be on end,' while in H. 'to stand' is *khaṛā hona*, literally 'to be propped up' (*khaṛa*=Skr. *skabdhas*).¹

¹ Beames, vol. iii. p. 36.

Of the contracted periphrastic forms there is in S. what Trumpp calls the aorist, formed from the past part., and what appears to be the remains of the pres. tense of the Skr. *as* 'to be,' incorporated with it, in which the masc. and fem. gender are distinguished; as, *halu-si* masc., *halia-si* fem. 'I went,' but this formation only occurs in the case of intrans. verbs; in B. and O. also a perf. tense formed from the part. in *ia*, and the pres. tense of the verb *āchi* 'I am'; as B. *likhiy-āchi* pronounced *likhechi* 'I have written.' There are, however, other tenses in Gaurian, which are formed from a part. and suffixed terminations which resemble, generally, the personal terminations of the old pres. indic., from which they are derived by Hoernle, though Beames apparently regards them as specially those or a remnant of the old Skr. subst. verb *as* 'to be.' Thus we have in M. a definite pres., in which gender is distinguished, formed from the pres. part., as M. *lihit-ō* masc., *lihity-ē* fem. 'I write'; also in M. a perf. tense formed from the past part. in *alā* with the same suffixes. A 2nd perf. tense, formed in a similar way from the past part. in *al* or *il*, occurs in B. and O. Of similar construction again is a past subj. tense in M. B. and O. formed from the present part.

The future tense is formed in several ways in Gaurian. In Old H. and G., as before pointed out, it is the old Skr. fut. after the usual phonetic changes. In S. the fut. is formed by adding to the pres. part. the same terminations derived from the subst. verb *as* 'to be,' as for the aorist; *likhandu-si* masc., *likhandia-si* fem. 'I shall write.' In B. and O. the fut. is made by suffixing to the old fut. part., which, as before mentioned, has become the infinitive in these languages, what appear to be the personal terminations referred to in the preceding paragraph; as O. *likhib-i* 'I shall write.' In H. and P. the fut. is formed by adding the past part. *gayā* 'gone' contracted to *gā*, which agrees in number and gender with the subject of the verb, to the old pres. indic., which, as before explained, has become the subjunctive; as, H. *likhō-gā* m., *likhō-gī* f. 'I shall write,' literally 'I am gone that I may write.' In M. the future is

formed on the same principle by adding the past part. *el* 'come,' contracted to *l*, to the pres. indic. ; as, *lihe-l* 'he shall write.' In all the Romance languages the fut. is formed from the inf. and the pres. tense of *habeo* contracted into one word ; as, It. *canter-ò*, Fr. *chanter-ai*. The other tenses of the contracted kind in Romance are the conditional in all the languages, as Lat. *cantare habebam*, It. *canterìa*, Fr. *chanterais*, and a second conditional tense belonging to It. only ; as, Lat. *cantare habui*, It. *canterei*.

Other tenses in both groups are formed with a part. and an auxil. verb, not contracted together in the manner of the last-mentioned class. The participial member of the compound tense, in most of the Gaurian languages, agrees with the subject, whereas in Romance such agreement only takes place where *esse* is used as the auxil. The order of the words is also generally different in the two groups, for whereas the part. comes first in Gaurian, in Romance the auxil. is the first member of the compound.

The perf. in Gaurian may thus be compared with the periphrastic perf. in Romance, which has almost superseded the old perf., the tenses being formed in both groups with the perf. part. and an auxil. verb—I give first an example of an intransitive verb ; as, S. *halio āhiyā* m., *halī āhiyā* f., H. *calā hū* m., *calī hū* f., 'I have gone,' from Skr. *calitas*, ā, 'gone,' and *asmi* 'I am' ; It. *sono andato*, *sono andata*, Fr. *suis allé*, *suis allée* ; also with *habeo* ; as, It. *ho dormito*, Fr. *ai dormi*. Again, the pluperf. may be compared ; as, S. *halio hosi*, H. *calā thā* 'I had gone' (here the S. *hosi* is the aorist of *huanu* 'to be' from Skr. *bhū*, while H. *thā* is from Skr. *sthitas* past part. of *sthā* 'stand,' Lat. *status*, It. *stato*, Fr. *été*) ; It. *era andato*, Fr. *étais allé*, and with *habebam* ; as, It. *aveva dormito*, Fr. *avais dormi*. Also a past future ; as, S. *halio hundusi*, H. *calā hūgā* ; It. *sarò andato*, Fr. *serai allé*, and with *habeo* ; as, It. *avrò dormito*, Fr. *aurai dormi*. The auxil. verbs are in the modern fut. tense in both groups.

In the compound tenses of the transitive verb formed with the past part. there are important differences of construction not only between Romance and Gaurian, but also between

Eastern and Western Gaurian. Thus in It. we may say *ho scritta la lettera*, where the auxil. *ho* is a transitive verb, and *la lettera* is in the acc. relation with which the part. *scritta* agrees in number and gender. In Fr. it is only when the object precedes that this construction is used; as, *la lettre que j'ai écrite*. In other cases the origin of this construction is forgotten, and the compound tense used as if it was a simple perf.; as in It. we may also say *ho scritto la lettera*, and in Fr. always when the object follows, *j'ai écrit la lettre*. In B. we say *mui cithi likhiy-āchi* 'I have written the letter.' Here *likhiy-āchi* is the 1st sing. perf. tense agreeing with the nom. *mui* 'I.' It is compounded of *āchi* 'I am' and the part. *likhia*, which though by origin the past part. passive, is used in an active sense, and *cithi* 'the letter' is in the acc. relation towards it. An example of Western Gaurian is S. *cithi mū likhī āhe* 'I have written the letter,' more literally, 'the letter by me has been written.' Here *cithi* f. 'the letter,' is in the nom. and the part. *likhī* is fem. to agree with *cithi*, *mū* 'by me,' is in the oblique form, and the auxil. *āhe* 'is' from the Skr. *asti*. Thus the construction is passive in its nature. The passive part. in Skr. was frequently used in the same way. In High H. the postposition *ne* is added to the oblique form; as, *māi ne cithi likhī hai*. This is the rule also in the literary forms of the other Western languages except S. In Old H., however, the postposition is very rarely found. There is another kind of construction in Western Gaurian. We may also say as in S. *cithi khe mū likhio āhe* 'as to the letter by me it has been written,' where *cithi* has the dat. particle *khe*, and the verb is used impersonally in the 3rd masc. sing.

There are also other tenses in both groups formed in the same way with the past part. and an auxil.; though they may not all so exactly correspond in meaning as those instanced above. In Gaurian several tenses are formed from the pres. part. and an auxil. verb; as, H. *kahte hāi* 'they are saying' (Old Fr. *sont disanz*); and those languages that have the fut. part. turn it to account in the same way. In some of the Gaurian languages, again, a pres. indic. is formed by

using the old pres. indic. with some auxil. verb; as S. *likhā tho*, Braj *likhū hū* 'I write.' The S. *tho* = H. *thā* is contracted from *thio*, past part. of *thianu* 'to be,' Lat. *stare*. Further, there is a periphrastic part. in each group; as S. *likhī kare*, H. *likh-kar* 'having written,' It. *avendo cantato*, Fr. *ayant chanté*.

In all the Gaurian languages, except S., and occasionally P., the passive signification is rendered by the past part. and an auxil., derived from the Skr. *yā* 'to go,' which is conjugated like any other verb in the active voice. In Romance the passive is formed also from the past part. and the auxil. *esse*, Skr. *as*. Besides *esse*, *stare*, *ire* and *venire* are also employed in Romance for the periphrasis of the passive. In both groups the auxil. verb expresses by its form the person, number, tense, etc., while the part., besides giving the meaning, retains its rights as an adj., that is, it has gender, number, and case (nom.); as, H. *likhā jāe m.*, *likhī jāe f.* 'it is written;' pl. *likhe jāe m.*, *likhī jāe f.* 'they are written;' P. *likhiā jāre m.*, *likhī jāre f.*, pl. *likhe jān m.*, *likhiā jān f.*; It. *è cantato*, *è cantata*; *sono cantati*, *sono cantate*; Fr. *est chanté*, *est chantée*; *sont chantés*, *sont chantées*. In B. and O. the part., any more than the adj., is not inflected. When the part. of the auxil. verb is used, it is inflected also in Gaurian and in It.; but not in the other Romance languages; as, H. *likhī gayī hai f.* 'it has been written,' It. *è stata cantata*, but not Fr. *étée*.

In Gaurian many verbs are intransitive or transitive, according as the vowel of the root is short or long. Such intransitive verbs, if translated into English, would often take the passive form; as, H. *kaṭnā* 'to be cut,' *kāṭnā* 'to cut,' *pīṭnā* 'to be beaten,' *pīṭnā* 'to beat,' *lipnā* 'to be smeared,' *lepṇā* 'to smear.' These transitive forms appear to be derived from the ordinary Skr. causal, which is formed by intensifying the vowel of the root, and by the addition of final *i*. This *i* often enters into the conjugation of transitive verbs in S., as, S. *maru* 'die,' *māri* 'kill,' *marā* 'I die,' *māriā* 'I kill.' But there is, properly speaking, no such thing as a transitive distinguished from an intransitive conjugation in

this or any other Aryan language, and accordingly Trumpp gives a long list of transitive verbs in S. which do not take *i*, that is, which are not causal forms. The suffix *i* is met with in M. also. In Romance the reflexive voice after the loss of the organic passive has become of great importance, and often takes the place of the passive; as, It. *il libro non si trova*.

As regards adverbs, many of the old adverbs have been preserved in both groups, and many have been formed from the oblique cases of subst. In Gaurian there are many adverbs derived from the oblique cases of pronouns. In Romance there are many formed of subst. combined with prepositions. The most remarkable phenomenon, however, of the Romance languages was the adoption of the ablative *mente*, It. *mente*, Fr. *ment*, as a general grammatical mark of the adverb. Nothing of this sort was effected in Gaurian.

In Skr. and Lat. a word could generally be placed in any part of the sentence, but the loss of case flexions in the modern languages of both groups requires greater order in the arrangement of the words. In this order the two groups are sometimes in accord, but more frequently this is not the case. Thus, in both groups, nouns of number precede the governing subst., and so do adj. pronouns, and also the subject precedes the object. On the other hand, the adj. precedes the subst. in Gaurian, follows it, as the rule, in Romance. In the periphrastic tenses the auxil. comes before the part. in Gaurian, after it, usually, in Romance. The infinitive precedes the verb on which it depends in Gaurian, follows it, usually, in Romance. The adverb precedes the verb in Gaurian, follows it in Romance. The verb, again, which is the central point of the sentence in Romance, is placed at the end in Gaurian. The relation between two subst. is frequently signified by position in Gaurian, the dependent subst. coming first, where in Romance it would be necessary to use a prep.; as, H. *janam bhūm*, Fr. *lieu de naissance*; H. *nâc ghar*, Fr. *salle de danse*.

A comparison in any detail of the syntax would take up too much space. I may, however, give a few points of

agreement between the two groups, where they can be briefly stated, and with these I will conclude my paper. The pronoun of the 2nd person, *tu*, is restricted in both groups to the language of love and extreme familiarity, or of contempt, and is used also in addressing an inferior. The pl., as H. *tum*, Fr. *vous*, has taken the place of the sing. to a great extent, and Fr. does not go beyond *vous*, but the other languages push their obsequiousness still further; as M. *āpaṇ*, H. *āp*; It. *vo signoria* and *ella*, Sp. *usted*. In some of the Gaurian languages, especially in the Eastern languages, the pl. of the 1st personal pronoun is often used for the sing., a use which in Romance rather belongs to the language of Princes. The reflexive pronoun in Gaurian, the S. *pāṇa*, H. *āp*, etc., is the reflexive for all three persons, whereas the Romance *se* refers only to the 3rd person. The distinction between the possessive of the reflexive pronoun and the genitive of the personal pronoun—the Lat. *suus* and *ejus*—is carefully preserved in Gaurian, and among the Romance languages the literary It. is said to be the most scrupulous in this respect; as, H. *rah apne bāp ko dekhe*, It. *egli vede suo padre*; H. *rah uske bāp ko dekhe*, It. *egli vede il padre di lui*; but the Fr. *il voit son père* is equivocal. The rest of the languages also are often negligent in this respect. On the other hand, when the reference is to the possession of several, *suus* gives way to the demonstrative *illorum* in all the Romance languages, except Sp. and Port.; as, Fr. *ils voient leur père*.

The acc. relation in Gaurian is sometimes expressed by the dat. particle. In H., as the rule, this is the case when the object is a rational being. The acc. in Sp. is also expressed by the dat. particle *a*, when the subst. denotes a person, then an animate being in general. Thus we say in H. *bāp beṭe ko dekhe*, Sp. *el padre ve al hijo*. The government of nouns by prep. and postp. has already been referred to. Adverbs are also placed under their dependence; as, H. *yahā talak*, Fr. *jusqu'ici*. The infinitive in both the modern groups has many more functions to perform than in the ancient languages. Among these functions, in its quality of

subst., it can be used in all the relations of case, and is even inflected like a noun. Its use, however, in Fr. in these respects is more restricted. The following are a few examples of the application of the inf. in both groups; as, H. *marnā sab kā bhāg hai*, Fr. *mourir est le sort de tous*; H. *pāp c̥horṇā bhalā hai*, Fr. *quitter le péché est bon*; H. *māi ek c̥ij māgne āyā hū*, Fr. *je suis venu demander une chose*; and as a substitute for the part. fut. pass.; as, H. *sab mānasō ko marnā hai*, Fr. *tous les hommes ont à mourir*; or with a prep. or postp. in both groups; as, H. *khone ka ḍar*, Fr. *crainte de perdre*; H. *pīne ko denā*, Fr. *donner à boire*; H. *koṭhī bēcne ko*, Fr. *maison à vendre*; H. *parhne ko kathin*, Fr. *difficile à lire*; H. *binā dekhne kisiko*, Fr. *sans voir personne*; and, again, where it is used completely as a noun; as, H. *is per ka girnā*, It. *il cadere di quest' albero*; H. *ghorā dekhne par*, It. *al vedere il cavallo*. In these two last-mentioned uses of the inf. Fr. is unable to follow the other languages.

As before remarked, the present part. in Romance only retains its adjectival value. The gerundive in its ablative form has encroached on the former domain of the present part., while in Gaurian the present part. retains its verbal value; as, S. *cinghandā acani*, but It. *gemendo vengono*; H. *māi rājā ko ghoṛe par c̥arhtā dekhō*, but Fr. *je voie le roi montant à cheval*. The past part. is used in the same way in both groups; as, *ghoṛe par c̥arhī vah āi hai*, Fr. *montée sur un cheval elle est venue*. Besides the present and past part. there is also the conjunctive part. in Gaurian; as, H. *sab log bagh dekhi bhāgne lagē*, in Fr. *tous les hommes voyant le tigre commencent à fuir*. The present and past part. in Gaurian and the gerundive and past part. in Romance are also used in an absolute sense, a construction which is favourable to brevity of expression and avoids the creation of separate clauses with relative pronouns or conjunctions. This construction in Romance corresponds to the ablative absolute in Lat. Thus we have S. *mū ruande rāti viḥā-i*, Fr. *moi pleurant passe la nuit (toi)*; H. *deo sāth rahte māi kyā ḍarō*, Fr. *Dieu étant avec (moi) que crains-je*; S. *vejani reṭheṭi dosu peḥi dari āiyo*, It. *seduti i dottori*

l'amico entrando alla (mia) porta venne; H. *bahūt din bāte rājū phir gaye*, It. *passati molti di il re andò nuotamente*. This use of the past part., however, is not found in Fr. It is remarked by Diez that of all the modern languages of Europe the English is most in accord with the Romance usage in the foregoing respects. The personal pronouns are not generally required in either group to express the person of the verb, but they are often added for emphasis or for no apparent reason. Modern Fr. is an exception, as in this language it is only in the 2nd sing. and 1st and 2nd pl. of the imperative that the pronouns can be dispensed with.

ART. XIV.—*On the Uzbek Epos.*—By ARMINIUS VAMBÉRY.

I HAVE to remark before all, that the manuscript referring to Sheibani Khan, upon which I am speaking, ought not to be confounded with the Sheibani-nameh, edited by the Russian Orientalist K. Berezin, in 1849, in I. Biblioteka Vostochnikh Historikof. The last-named is an insignificant little treatise of the deeds accomplished by the famous Uzbek chief, and may be divided into two different parts. The first, containing one of those numerous compilations of the history of the Turks, must be ranked amongst the third class of imitators of Ala-eddin Djuveini and of Rashid-eddin Tabibi, with the only exception that the anonymous author, being probably of Turkish origin, has less disfigured the Turkish and Mongol *nomina propria* than many of his predecessors and subsequent writers upon the same subject. In the second part the author dwells at some length upon that branch of the Djenghizides of which Abulkhair Khan, the ancestor of Sheibani, was an offspring—I mean to say upon the family of Djudji Khan, and here we meet with certain details and genealogical data not to be met with in most of the books treating the same subject. Of a particular value seems to us the account given of the Kungrat tribe, of its division into a right and left wing, and of the foremost princes of that tribe. In the third part mention is made of the family of Abulkhair Khan and of their migration to Turkestan, which was in that time under the rule of the Timuride Sultan Ahmed Mirza, on which occasion Sheibani Mehemmed Khan, the son of Budag Shah and grandson of Abulkhair Khan, appears in the foreground as a conqueror. The exploits of this hero, and his struggles against the lords of Samarkand, as well as against the children of Mirza Husein Baikara, are related merely in

outline, so that the whole history of the founder of the Sheibani dynasty scarcely extends over twelve pages, and does not conform with the much promising title of "The History of Sheibani Khan."

The manuscript upon which I am speaking is entirely different, as far as regards its context, as well as the form in which it is brought before us. It is a regular Epos, in which the deeds of Sheibani Mehemmed Khan are glorified in seventy-four cantos, containing upwards of 4300 distichons in the metre of the *Medjnun u Leila* of Djami, and of other poetical compositions of the East. Considering the almost general belief that the poetical form of *Epopée* is only common to the Arian and Semitic races of mankind,—for the epic character of the *Kalevala* has been the subject of frequent discussion,—it is certainly highly interesting to see this egotistical theory overthrown by the present example; for admitting that the Uzbek poem before us be much inferior with regard to its poetical value to other Persian similar compositions, we must nevertheless acknowledge the full rights of this Turkish poem to the title of Epos. This fact was the first which attracted my attention towards this manuscript, and which suggested to me the idea to publish the text in company with the translation of the whole poem. I shall first give you a short outline of the contents, and then proceed to the definition of the historical, ethnographical, geographical, and linguistical importance of the work.

The first three cantos contain the usual praises and salutations to Allah and Mohammed, whilst from the fourth to the fifteenth the moral and physical qualities of the hero are described, together with the superiority of his arms and armour. Then follows an account of the reason which induced the author to write the poem—a canto which is valuable as to biographical data of the poet himself; and it is only in the seventeenth canto that the historical relation commences, from the time, namely, when Sheibani was first marching upon Samarkand, ruled in that time by Baki Terkhan, when he opened, so to say, the long series of

conquests, the illustration and glorification of which forms the subject of the whole work. To these conquests belong the successful engagements of the Uzbek chief with the Timurides in Transoxania, in which the struggles of Baber take a prominent part; particularly in the account given of the siege of Samarkand, and of the troubles which the founder of the Mogul dynasty in India had to suffer from the hands of his triumphant rival. After the expulsion of Baber, and the total downfall of the rule of the Mirzas (as the Timurides are called) in Transoxania, which led also to the defeat of the Mongol relatives and auxiliaries of Baber, such as Khaneke Khan and his younger brother Aladja Khan, Sheibani crosses the Oxus and enters upon the long war, partly with the children of Mirza Hussein Baikara, partly with Khosru Shah, the lord of Kuhistan, a name which comprised at those times Bedakhshan, Khatlan, Dervaz, Roshan, and Shignan. After the defeat and death of this Turkish Prince, Sheibani concludes the previously entered campaign against Kharezm, where a certain Tchin Sofi, the chief of the mighty tribe of the Ada-Turkomans, made such a staunch resistance, that the Uzbek conqueror, besides suffering heavy losses, had to besiege the capital of the said country for nearly eleven months. All the officers and relatives of Sheibani had already lost their patience, and only the undaunted perseverance of the chief had brought ultimately the fortress to fall.

With this episode the author concludes his poem, without being able to follow his hero to the culminating point of his career, comprising, as sufficiently known, his conquest of Khorasan and his capture of Herat in 1507, equivalent to 918 A.H. Considering that the campaign against Kharezm can have only happened somewhere about 910 or 911, *i.e.* 1505 A.D., and that the Epos begins only with the appearance of Sheibani before Samarkand in 906 (1500), we have but the comparatively short period of five years, the events of which are related, as may be easily imagined, with trifling incidents and minute details, and not without a prolixity which becomes often very tiresome to the reader. As to

the reason why the author has brought his work to such an early conclusion, we cannot account otherwise than his being forcibly obliged to do so in consequence of premature death, which may have reached him in some of the subsequent battles, for he was not only a poet, but he took also an active part in the campaigns of Sheibani as an officer of rank, as we shall see afterwards.

From what we said in reference to the extension of the text, it must be apparent that the historical events related are brought before us in such details, and with such episodes, which neither Baber nor Mirkhond, nor the *Tarikhi Rashidi* used by Erskine, and still less the previously mentioned *Sheibani-nameh* of Berezin, can possibly give us. The author was evidently an eye-witness of almost all the events which form the subject of his poetical composition; and if through his quality of a court poet we find his muse too frequently engaged in excessive flatteries, we have, on the other hand, the benefit of such historical data which none of the chroniclers of that time had either the opportunity or the will to notice. It is particularly the *Memoirs of Baber* which suffer greatly in a confrontation with the data found in the manuscript before us; for, in spite of the greatness of the character of the founder of the Mogol Dynasty, we discover that he viewed matters and recorded events in such a light, upon which the stamp of partiality, sometimes also of intentional misrepresentation, is frequently apparent. It is, briefly spoken, the only genuine Uzbek account of the first wars of Sheibani in Transoxania, an account which has evidently been unknown even to Abulgazi, who, although animated by the desire to do justice to his kinsman, has nevertheless followed in his book only the information laid down by such Persian or Tchagatai writers, who were enemies to the grandson of Abulkhair Khan.

It needs scarcely to be said, that the often remarked prolixity of the text must obviously bear also upon the ethnographical importance of the work, in so far as we get a deep insight into the life and into the military customs and manners of those warriors who, pouring down from the

Upper Yaxtartes valley upon the southern part of Central Asia, have been depicted to us by the contemporary writers as rude savages and horrid barbarians. I must confess that this impression is not much weakened by reading the descriptions of the poet, who represents nomadic rudeness in the light of valour and military virtue; but he affords us also the best opportunity to learn all the details of their exterior life, such as their military institutions and tactics, their dresses and arms; while, by enumerating the objects taken during the pillage in the various surrounding countries, we get a glimpse of the interior life of such parts of Central Asia as have been until quite recently shut up to European travellers. Not less interesting is the picture of the ethnic constellations of that time, when the generic name of Uzbek was just coming into the foreground. We get acquainted with the single Mongol and Turkish tribes, which, as the partisans of Sheibani, formed the nucleus of his army, and amalgamating with the Turkish inhabitants of the three Khanates, have constituted that reigning Turkish element known to-day under the name of Uzbek. As for the scanty geographical information which we derive from the description of the marches of the Uzbek army in the various directions, I shall mention the ways leading to Bedakhshan, Vakhsh, and Shignan, particularly the highly interesting fact, that the author uses the name of Öküz, or Üghüz, in speaking of the Oxus below Termez, and what may mostly surprise, of his alluding to the main branch of the Öküz flowing in a south-westerly direction from Tchardjui, a place which must have been in that time not on the left, but on the right bank of the river, supporting, at the same time, the theory of Sir Henry Rawlinson with reference to the former course of a branch of the Oxus flowing in a more southern direction from the present one, and passing close to Urgendj, invariably called in that time Kharezmi. There are, besides, a few minor details of geographical knowledge, regarding which I beg to refer to the notes accompanying the text.

In viewing the linguistical and poetical value of the

manuscript before us, I must remark beforehand, that the author is much inferior to Mir Ali Shir as far as regards the elegance, the vigour, and the artistical finish of the composition. A somewhat severe critic may even style him merely a clever versificator; ample faults may be found with the tiresome prolixity, with the frequent repetition of poetical metaphors, and particularly with the not rarely occurring flatulence of the style; but we must consider that the author, by describing the events of scarcely five years in 8620 verses, could have hardly avoided falling into these errors. In his quality of an Oriental court-poet, whose chief duty consists in excessive flatteries, he found himself in the necessity to represent his hero, who was decried by his Chagatai rivals as a rude barbarian, not only as a great conqueror and intrepid warrior, but also as the prototype of culture and refinement, and therefore he was obliged to fill up the gap by the exertions of his muse. In order to give to the reader an idea of the Epos before us, I shall give a few specimens in translation, as far as my un-English pen is able to do it.

CANTO 17.

As soon as the morning star became visible,
 The Khan was found ready for the start.
 He mounted his horse to meet Baki Tarkhan,
 Having directed his army towards the fortress.
 Whilst riding, this prince of his time
 Had called me and said: "Oh! thou homeless,
 How long is it since thy father died,
 That his family and relatives have been scattered?"
 I answered: "It is thirty years, my lord,
 That my soul is burning with sorrow."
 Whereupon this prince, with his life-reviving lips,
 Remarked: "Forty years have elapsed
 From the time that my father died, and see,
 Grief has gone, Fortune has turned towards me.
 Thy time of distress, O orphan,
 Will now end, and happiness will come;
 Having now associated to our cause,
 And knowing our intentions as thou dost,

Come on ! keep with unshaken truth on our side,
Do never descend from the path of equity."
He thus rejoiced me with words of grace,
Delivering me from pangs and anxiety.
Thus moved the Khan, the Suleiman of his age,
Unrelentingly towards the army of Baki.
One station making, the fortress came in sight,
And the environs of that place were reached.

Extract from Canto 28, containing a speech of Baber :

The inhabitants of the town having finished their word,
Mirza Baber could hardly retain himself,
And, weeping, he said, "May God bless you ;
May He lend strength and assistance to you !
It is you who have seen my ancestors,
You who have witnessed my glory and my rank.
Nearly a century has passed away
That my forefather, the world-conquering Timur,
This righteous and mighty prince, has died.
Alas ! many people have forgotten him since ;
But if he be gone, remember his present offspring.
Ask from those who have seen him,
What kind of a prince Sultan Said was ;
The man who died a martyr in Karabag !
That was my grandfather. My poor father,
Who emptied the cup of martyrdom at Andijan,
Was the noted chief Shah Omar Sheikh,
A man whose sword produced torrents of blood ;
Whilst my uncle, so much favoured by God,
Was Sultan Ahmed, a king, defender of the faith.
He was born and grew up in this town,
Born and grew up in a glorious epoch ;
He ruled forty years long over this country,
A prince known of wisdom in this country.
All of you are contemporaries of his ;
You are the men who have witnessed his bounty ;
You ought now to remember these princes,—
These princes, unequalled in their ruling skill ;
And in veneration for their memory
You should now exert yourself on my behalf.

You may thus gladden their departed souls,
And relieve myself from pining anxiety.
Pray ! don't forsake me in this place,
Don't let me burn in the flame of distress."

Extract from Canto 42, in which a march against the Mongols is related :

When the Khan, passing Dizzak, had gone into camp,
He directed his orders to Shah Mahmud,
To proceed with his army and to cross the river
Called Sir, at a place fraught with danger,
To surprise the Mongols at Shahrukhie,
And to infest the routes of Shash and Seiram,
In order to destroy the hordes of the Mongols,
And to extirpate them from the surface of the earth.
It is with this order that Sultan Mahmud
Started, bestowing praises upon his brother.
With him went also Timur Sultan,
Whose face was radiant like the sun.
Hadji Ghazi was likewise a companion
Bent upon the destruction of the Mongols ;
Djanvefa Bi went also with them,
Burning with desire to kill the Mongols.
So also did Kamber Bi join the party,
Imploring the help and grace of God ;
Whilst the brave and spirited Sheikh Murid
Was gladly mixing in the marching ranks.
They all started, guided by the Sultan,
Faithfully obedient to his commands.
Of six thousand men consisted that party,
Recruited from the left and from the right wing,
All of them brave warriors, longing for the fight,
All standing upright in search of the enemy,
All of them mounted upon quick and fiery steeds,
All keeping in perfect readiness their arms ;
Clad in heavy armour were their horses ;
Their own inner and outer dresses richly fringed with furs.
The garments of one were made of sable skin,
Lending him a fiery appearance whilst marching ;
Another was dressed in marten skins,

Fairly adjusting himself to the weather ;
Whilst a third, being wrapt in fox skins,
Was continually clinging to the foxes.
Ermine and black sable were their under garments.
Really, what can I further say of them ?
It was such a bitter cold, that good and bad
Were likewise complaining of its effect.
Albeit, the Uzbek people born in the Steppes,
And accustomed to the inclemency of weather,
Although they experienced so many frosts,
And were hardened to the roughness of climate,
They still cried in amazement, " Oh wonder !
What is the desert's winter compared with this cold ? "

If I had not to contend with the difficulty of the language, I would gladly augment the number of the specimens ; but the samples given will I suppose suffice to form an idea of the style, as well as of the language the author uses, whose Turkish, extremely plain and unartificial, reminds us very much of the Turkish of later popular poets of Central Asia, such as Bidil, Meshreb, Allahyar, Fuzuli, and essentially different from the artistic language used by Nevai in his Chihar-Divan, Khamset ul Mutakhairin, and other great compositions. I may here incidentally remark, that the literary monuments which have been known to us as the Anthology of Chagatai literature, in which the Kulliat-i Nevai occupies the foremost rank, are preferentially the product of such *beaux-esprits*, who, living out of Transoxania proper, particularly in Eastern Khorassan, have been brought up under the influence of that cultural movement in Herat, which rose to a high degree under the Timuride from Shah-rukh till after the death of Mirza Husein Baikara, and which culminated in the school of Molla Abdurrahman Djami. This cultural light, being strictly Iranian, must have roused very early the national jealousy of the Turks, who, in spite of the utmost reverence shown to their Persian teachers, could scarcely bear the humiliating position in which they, as the ruling class, were brought by the governed, *i.e.* Persian element. To such feelings must be traced the origin of the

Muhakemet-ul-Lugatein (*i.e.* The trial of the two languages), by Nevai, in which treatise the great Turkish statesman and poet engaged in comparative studies of the Turkish and Persian languages, proving to the reader the superiority of the Turkish over the Persian, particularly in reference to the surpassing richness and to the admirable flexibility of his vernacular. It was mainly in the interest of this question of rivalry that the extraordinary literary efforts of Nevai must be ascribed, efforts the result of which may have succeeded in satisfying the national vanity of the Timuride ruling class, or the Chagatai lords, as they were inappropriately called, but which contributed little or nothing towards the enlightenment of the continually shifting Turkish elements on the right bank of the Oxus. Here, where the settled Turks were continually intermixing with the nomadic warriors coming down from the north, the refined language of Nevai, and of other contemporary writers, was always looked upon as foreign, whilst their own idiomatic Turkish, called the Uzbek, in correspondence with the ethnico-political division of that time, was cherished and pre-eminently cultivated as the more national dialect, and better adapted to the intellectual capacity of the new immigrants from the Steppes. This distinction between the Chagatai and Uzbek Turkish continued to exist also in the subsequent centuries, for we read in Abulghazi (p. 37, text edited by Desmaisons, St. Petersburg, 1874) the following sentence:—

بو تاریخنی یخشی ویمان بارچه لاری بیلسون تیب ترکی تیلی
 بیرلان ایتدیم ترکی هم انداق ایتیب من کیم بیش یاشار اوغلان
 توشونور بیر کلمه جغتای ترکی سندین و فارسیدین و عربی دین
 نوشمای من روشن بولسون تیب

i.e. "in order to make comprehensible this history to all classes of people, I have used the Turkish language, and such a Turkish which is within the reach of a boy five years

old, having avoided for the sake of clearness to mix *any Chagatai-Turkish, Arabic and Persian word.*"

From the above it will become apparent that nearly two hundred years after the date of the manuscript before us, the Chagatai-Turki was still classified together with the Persian and Arabic, and declared to be a dialect not accessible to the understanding of every Turk. Admitting that this statement of Abulghazi is somewhat exaggerated, for the difference between the two dialects is by no means such a considerable one, we nevertheless get the conviction that the Chagatai of Nevai had always in the Khanates the zest of foreignness, and has consequently never enjoyed the general favour of the reading public. With reference to the text of the Epos before us, it would be hardly admissible that the author was led by the same puristic tendencies of which Abulghazi speaks, for he makes ample use of certain Persian poetical expressions, but on the whole his style is plain and unadorned; and his work, originally written for the Uzbeks, is thoroughly adapted to the cultural standing of the Turks of Central Asia of those times, and is also comprehensible to the present generation, which cannot be said of the Kulliat Nevai.

As to the author himself, we have two sources referring to biographical data, one the Memoirs of Baber, and secondly the information laid down in the Epos. From the introductory chapters of this last we learn that the author's name was Prince Mehemmed Salih, of Kharezm, and that he was the son of Mir Said, who formerly ruled in Kharezm, but who, having lost his throne in consequence of turbulent events, was obliged to take refuge at Merv, where he died, as may be seen from the following verses:—

سونداق ايتورکه خدادين تقدير	جون اتام ايشيكا بيردى تغيير
جىقتى خوارزم ديارى قوليدىن	خيوق وکات حصارى قوليدىن
توشتى اندىن گذرى سروسارى	اندا ساورولدى اوى ايلي بارى
ايلادى نوش شهادت جامى	انکا نوش اولدى سعادت جامى

i.e. The poet says : " When through the decision of God, my father's fate took a bad turn ; when the country of Kharezm left his hand ; when losing the fortresses Khivuk and Ket, he was obliged to retire towards Merv, where his family and his relatives were scattered about : it was here that he emptied the cup of martyrdom ; for him it was the cup of happiness." The author relates further : " Now driven by the vicissitudes of life he strayed from one place to another, until, finally crossing the Oxus, at the time when Sheibani appeared before Samarkand, he very soon got acquainted with that Prince, nay, became the favourite and court-poet of his, remaining at his side during all the time, and in all the campaigns which form the subject of this poem." Sheibani, who, in accordance with the ruling tone of those times, also indulged in poetry, seems to have taken a particular fancy for Mehemmed Salih, for he employed him in various confidential missions, entrusting him even with the command of Tchardjui at the critical moment, when, marching upon Kharezm, the army of Mirza Hussein intended to bar the way. The poet behaved valiantly in the defence of that place, and earned the full praises of his master. After the conquest of Kharezm, which is the concluding canto of the Epos, Mehemmed Salih must have died in one of the battles, as we previously noted, for in the Memoirs of Baber he is quoted as a man of the past. Baber, in mentioning the chief men of his time, alludes to our poet in the following words (Text, p. 227) :—

ينه محمد صالح ايدى چاشنى ليق غزل لارى بار اگر چه دم بار
 ليفى چاشنى سى جه يوقشور تركى شعرى دم بار يهان اليه ايدى
 سونكرا شيبانى خان قاشيغه كيليب ايدى فى الجملة رعايته شايب
 ايدى شيبانى خان اتيفه بير تركى مثنوى بيتيب دور مهجورين ايدى
 كيم سبكه وزنى بولغاي بسيار سست و فرود دورانى اوقولغان شمشين
 محمد صالح نينك شعريدن بى اعتقاد بولور بير يخشى بيلى بولور

بولدى تىنبل غە وطن فرغانە قىلدى فرغانەنى تىنبل خانە
 اندجان ولايتىنى تىنبل خانە هم دىرلار اول مشنوى دا مويجه بيت
 معلوم ايماس كيم بولغاي شرير و ظالم طبع و بى رحم كيشى ايدى

i.e. "There was besides Mehemmed Salih, an author of tasteful ghazels, in which the fluency was not adequate to the poetical skill. He wrote also Turkish poetry, which was not at all bad. He went afterwards to Sheibani, who held him in esteem, and it was upon the name of this prince that he composed a Mesnevi, in the metre of Medjnoun, the same as the metre of Subhat (Subhat ul Abrar of Djami), which is however a very weak and inferior work, and makes the reader despair of the *vena poetica* of its author. One of the better verses is the following :—

Fergana became the home of Tembel,
 Thus making Fergana a Tembel khane.

An allusion to Endidjan, ironically called a Tembel khane (the home of idlers). There is not another verse as good as this in the whole Mesnevi. Mehemmed Salih himself was a wicked man, of a despotic and merciless nature."

I need scarcely say, that this evidently too severe and at all events unjust criticism comes from the pen of the chief enemy of Sheibani, and that we cannot subscribe to it in all details; but as far as regards the poetical value of the Epos, we have already expressed our agreement with the Cæsar of the East, as Pavet de Courteille deservedly calls the great founder of the Mogol dynasty of India. Of course our object in view in copying and translating the whole poem was not the poetical value, but rather the historical, geographical, and ethnographical details, which, considering the dearth of information upon that highly interesting epoch of Central Asia, are well deserving the attention of Orientalists.

The manuscript, the property of the Imperial Library of Vienna, and written in a very clear Taalik hand, upon two

hundred and eighteen double pages, bears upon the last page the date of 916 (1510), and must be therefore regarded as one of the earliest copies, written shortly before the death of Sheibani, and only a short time after the death of the author. The copy before us, which I may call the only one existing in Europe, contains besides nine coloured illustrations, representing partly sieges and battles, partly feasts. These, however, are of a posterior date, for we find there also firearms, of which no mention is made in the text, and quite appropriately, considering that it was only Shah Ismael Sefi who introduced guns into Central Asia; the Uzbeks had no notion of this weapon. The first mention of the existence of this manuscript is made by Flügel in his Catalogue of the Arabic-Persian and Turkish Manuscripts of the Imperial Library of Vienna, in vol. ii. p. 323, but in a totally erroneous statement, owing to the unacquaintance with the Eastern Turkish dialect of this otherwise illustrious German Orientalist.

ART. XV.—*On the Separate Edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada.*

By Professor H. KERN.

GENERAL CUNNINGHAM'S *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, a real boon to all who are directing their attention to the study of Indian antiquity, contains amongst other revised copies those of the separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada. Owing to important corrections introduced into the text, much of what formerly was utterly unintelligible has become tolerably clear. It cannot be denied that many difficulties are left; but the greater their number, the more it would seem desirable that those who have studied these interesting documents should make public the results of their labours.

The object of this paper is to give the text of the two edicts in transcription, followed by a Sanskrit translation, intended as a kind of running commentary and a substitute for a glossary, and by an English version. The double text of each edict will be found side by side in separate columns. In accordance with a remark made by General Cunningham (*Corp. Inscr.* p. 20) about the relative positions of the two edicts on the Jaugada rock, the inscription standing as No. 2 in Prinsep's arrangement of the separate edicts at Dhauli will be treated first.

DHAULI II.

[1] Devânampiyasa vacanena
Tosaliyaṃ kumāle mahāmâtâ ca
vataviya aṃ kichi dakhâmi ha-
kaṃ taṃ
[2] duvâlata ca âlabhehaṃ esa
ca me mokhyamata-duvâlâ (r.⁹le)
etasî aṭhasî aṃ tuphe (hi anusa-
thi save munisâ pajâ) mama [3]
atha pajâye ichâmi hakaṃ niti
(r. kîṃti) savena hitasukhena

JAUGADA I.

[1] Devânampiyase hevaṃ âha
Samâpâyaṃ mahāmâtâ lajava-
canika (r. lâjavacanikâ) vataviyâ
aṃ kichi dakhâmi hakaṃ taṃ
ichâmi hakaṃ kaṃkameṇṇaṃ (r.
kaṃkaṃ ena) [2] paṭipâtayehaṃ
duvalate ca âlabhehaṃ esa ca me
mokhiyamate duvâlâ etas(i) aṭ-
has(i) aṃ tuphehi anusathi sava-
mani[3]sâ me pajâ aṭha pajâye

hidalokikapâlalokikâye yujevû-
ti hevam manasa
(*r. manasi*) [4] siyâ amtâ nama
(*r. kamtâ, or ka me*) vijitânam
kichamva (*r. kimchande*) su
lâjâ (aphesû-ti etaka)meva icha
mima (*r. ichâ mama*) am te su
(kham) pâpunevu-te (*r. pâpu-
nevû-ti*) iti Devânampiyē (ichati
anu) vâgâna (*r. anuviginâ*) ma-
mâye [5] huvevû-ti asvasevu ca
sukhammeva lahevu mamate no
dukham hevam—nava (*r. jâne-
vu*) [iti] khami(sa)ti [ne] Deva-
nampiyē ahâkâ-ti e cakiye kha-
mitave mama nimitam ca dham-
mam calevû [6] hidalokapâlalo-
kam ca âlâdhayevû etasi aṭhasi
hakam anusâsâmi tuphe anena
etakena hakam anusâsitam cham-
dam ca veditam âhayâmi paṭiṇâ
ca mama [7] ajalâ sa hevam kaṭu
kamme calitaviye asvâ(sâbhitâ)
ni catâni (*r. citâni?*) ena pâpu-
nevû iti atha pitâ tathâ Devâ-
nampiyē aphâka atha ca atânam
hevam Devânampiyē anusampati
aphe [8] athâ ca pajâ hevam
maye Devânampiyasa se hakam
anusâsita chamdam ca (vedita
tu)phâka desâvutike hosâmi etâ-
ye aṭhâye paṭibalâ hi tuphe as-
vasanâye hitasukhâye ca tasa [9]
hidalokikapâlalokikâye hevam ca
kalamtam tuphe svagam âlâdha-
yisatha mama ca ânaniyam eha-
tha etâye ca aṭhâye iyam lipi
likhitâ hida ena mahâmâtâ sva-
satam (*r. sasvutam*) samam (*r.*

ichâmi kinti [savena hitasukhe-
na yujevû athapajâye ichâmi ki-
nti me] savena hitasu[4]khena
yujevû-ti hidalogikapâlalokikena
hevammeva me iche (*r. ichâ*) sa-
vamânisesu sayâ (*r. siyâ*) am-
tâ[m] kuthâ vijitâ[5]nam kim-
chamde su lâjâ aphesû-ti etakâ-
vâ me ichâ am te su(kham) pâ-
punevu lâjâ hevam ichati anu-
viginâ heya (*r. heyu*) [6] ma-
miyâye asvasepu (*r. asvaseyu*)
ca [me] sukhammeva ca laheya
(*r. laheyu*) mamate (no dukham
hevam)sâhaneyu(*r. samjânevu?*)
(khami)sati (ne) lâja [7] e cha-
kiye kha[m]mitave mama[m]
nimetam (*r. nimitam*) ca dham-
ma(m) calevû-ti hidalogam ca
palalogam ca âlâdhayeyum etâye
[8] ca aṭhâye hakam tuphe *ni(?)*
anusâsâmi anena etakena hakam
tuphe *ni(?)* anusâsitû chamdam
ca . . [9] su (*r. vedisi?*) â
mama citipaṭiṇâ ca acalâ sa
hevam kaṭi kamme calitaviya
asvâsa(m) kiyicate(*r. kâyacite?*)
ena te pâpune [10] yu athâ pitâ
hevam ne lâjâ-ti athâ atânâ (*r.*
atânam) anusampati hetam (*r.*
hevam) ahevam (*r. aphe ca*)
anusampati athâ pajâ he[11]vam
maye lâjine tuphe[m] *ni(?)* ha-
kam anusâsita chamdam ca vedi-
ta [kapha-si citipaṭiṇâ câ aṭala
pa (*r. sa . .*)] * [12] desa-
âyutike hosâmi etasi aṭhasi (pa-
tibalâ hi) tuphe asvâsanâye hi-
tasukhâye (ca) tasam (*r. tasa or*

* The words in brackets are a repetition, with additional blunders, of what is found in l. 9. The reading required will be *tuphesi* or *tuphâka*.

samayam [10] yajisamta (*r. yo-*
jisamti *) asāsanāye dhammaca-
lanāye ca tesu amānam iyaṃ ca
lipi anucātupmāsam Tisena nak-
hatena sotaviyā kāmam ca kha-
nokhanasi (*r. khanekhanasi*) am-
talāpi Tisena ekena [11] sotaviyā
hevaṃ kalamtam tuphe caghaṭṭha
sampaṭipādayitave.

tesam) hi(da) [13] logikapālalo-
kikāya hevaṃ ca kalamtam sva-
gama (*r. svagam*) āladhayisatha
mamaca ānaniyaṃ esatha e[14]-
tāye ca athāye iyaṃ lipi likhitā
hida ena mahāmātā sasvatam
sama (*r. samayam*) yejema (*r.*
yojesamti) asāvanāye [15] dham-
macalanā (ya ca ja) gatam iyaṃ
ca lipi anucātupmāsam sotaviyā
Tisenam *amtalāpi ca sotaviyā* [16]
khane samtam ekena si (so ta) viyā
(*r. amtalāpi ca Tisena ekena*
khane samtam sotaviyā) hevaṃ
ca kalamtam samghatha sampa-
ṭipādayitave.

The Sanskrit translation now following will render a grammatical analysis of the text superfluous except in a few points.

DHAULI.

Devānāmpriyasya vacanena
Tosalyāṃ kumāro mahāmātrāḥ
ca vaktavyāḥ : “Yat kiñcit pa-
cāmy aham tad icchāmi, ki-
miti : anyam yena pratipādaye-
yam) dvārataḥ cārabheya; etae
ca me maukhyamatam dvāram
etasminn arthe yad yushma (bhy-
am anuṣṭiḥ. Sarve manush-
yāḥ prajā) mama; yathā prajā-
yā icchāmy aham, kimiti : sar-
veṇa hitasukhenaihalaukikapā-
ralaukikāya yujyerann iti. Evam
eva (madicchā, sarva)manasi
syād yatra-kutra (*or* : yatra-kva
me) vijitānam “kiñchandas svid
rājā (*or* : surājā) ’smāsv” iti, etā-
vaty evēcchā mama yat te suk-

JAUGADA.

Devānāmpriya evam āha :
Samāpāyam mahāmātrā rājakyā
vaktavyāḥ : “Yat kiñcit pa-
cāmy aham tad icchāmy aham,
kimiti : kamkam yena pratipā-
dayeyam dvārataḥ cārabheya;
etae ca me maukhyamatam dvā-
ram etasminn arthe yad yushma-
bhyam anuṣṭiḥ. Sarvamanu-
shyā me prajā; yathā prajāyā
icchāmi, kimiti : sarveṇa hita-
sukhena yujyerann aihalaui
kapāralaukikena. Evam eva
mamecchā, sarvamānusheshu
syād yatra-kutra vijitānam “kiñ-
chandas svid rājā (*or* : surājā)
’smāsv” iti, etāvaty eva ma-
dicchā yat te sukham prāpnu-

* The corrections are based upon the parallel passages in the following edict.

ham prâpnuyur iti. Devânâmpriya (icchatī : anudvignâ mayi bhaveyur iti, âçvasyuç ca, sukham eva labheran matto no duhkham. Evam (jâni)yuh “kshamishyati Devânâmpriyo ’smâkam yac chakyam kshantum” iti; mannimittam ca dharmaṃ careyur ihalokaparalokam cārādha-yeyuh. Etad arthe ’ham anu-çāsmi vah ; anenaitāvatāham anuçishṭam chandam ca veditam kâṅkshe; * pratijñā ca mamācalā; tad evam kṛtvā karma caritavyam âçvā(sābhītā)ni † cittāni yena prâpnuyur iti. “Yathā pitā tathā Devânâmpriyo ’smabhyam; yathā cātmānam, evam Devânâmpriyo anusarpaty asmān; yathā ca prajā, evam vayam Devânâmpriyāya.” Tad aham anuçishṭam chandam ca (veditam kâṅkshe?); yushmākam deçam âyokshya (*literally*: deçâyukti bhaviṣhyāmi) etadarthāya; pratibalā hi yūyam âçvāsanāya hitasukhāya ca tasyaihalaukikapāralaukikāya. Evam ca kurvanto yūyam svargam ârādhayishyatha mama cāṇṇyam eshyatha. Etasmai cārthāyeyam lipir likhiteha, yena mahāmātrāç çâçvatam samayam

yuh. Rājaivam icchatī : anudvignâ bhaveyur mayi, † âçvasyuç ca, sukham eva labheran matto no duhkham. Evam sañjāntiyuh “kshamishyati no rāja yac chakyam kshantum;” mannimittam ca dharmaṃ careyur iti, ihalokam paralokam cārādha-yeyuh. Etasmai cārthāyāham yushmān anuçāsmi; anenaitāvatāham vo’ nuçishya chandam ca . . ; yā me cittipratijñā cācalā; tad evam kṛtvā karma caritavyam âçvāsam kâyacitte yena te prâpnuyuh. “Yathā pitā, evam no rājeti; yathātmānam anusarpati (*i.e.* sevati), evam asmān apy anusarpati; yathā prajā, evam vayam rājñe.” Yushmān aham anuçishṭam (?) chandam ca veditam . . ; yushmākam deçam âyokshya (*literally*: deçâyukti bhaviṣhyāmi) etadardhe; (pratibalā hi) yūyam âçvāsanāya hitasukhāya ca tasyaiha laukikapāralaukikāya. Evam ca kurvantas svargam ârādhayishyatha mama cāṇṇyam eshyatha. Etasmai cārthāyeyam lipir likhiteha, yena mahāmātrā çâçvatam samayam yokshyanta âçvāsanāya dharmacaraṇāya ca jagatām. Iyam ca

* The rendering of *dhayāmi* by *kāṅkshe* is conjectural. To justify it we may observe that phonetically it may answer to the Vedic *dharyāmi* (v. Bühn. Roth, s. v. *hary*). Cf. also *dhāi* = *kāṅksate* in Hemacandra's *Prakrit Grammar* (ed. Pischel), iv. 192.

† It is difficult to fill up the gap with certainty. That something like the proposed reading is intended may be inferred from the occurrence of *avathā* and *abhīta* in a similar passage of No. 4 of the Pillar inscriptions (Corp. Inscr. p. 106).

‡ *Mamiyāye* (al. *mamiyāye*) is a strange form of the locative case; it has, however, its counterpart in the instrum. *mamiyā* in Delhi edict viii. l. 7 (Corp. Inscr. p. 115); cf. Hemacandra, iii. 109.

yokskyanta âçvâsanâya dharmacaraṇâya ca teshu nyastânâm.* Iyaṃ ca lipir anucâturmâsaṃ Tishyeṇa nakshatreṇa çrâvayitavyâ,† kâmaṃ ca kshaṇe-kshaṇe vinâpi Tishyeṇaikenâ çrâvayitavyâ. Evaṃ kurvanto yûyaṃ sampratipâdayishyatha."‡

lipir anucâturmâsaṃ çrâvayitavyâ Tishyeṇa; vinâpi ca Tishyeṇaikenâ kshaṇe sati çrâvayitavyâ. Evaṃ ca kurvantas sampratipâdayishyatha."

The discrepancies between the two texts are so immaterial and trifling that it will suffice to give the translation of the Dhauli text and simply mark the various readings in the other version.

TRANSLATION.

By order of Devânâmpriya, the Prince Royal and magistrates in Tosali should be informed :¹

"Whenever I get an idea I wish to have some one by whom to carry it into effect, and to act intermediately. Now the means (*or*, intermediacy) I esteem to be the most capital in this matter, is to give instructions to you. All subjects are my children; as for my own children I wish that they may be possessed of every benefit and happiness for this world and the next. It is also my wish, should people think, wheresoever in my domains: 'How is the king (*or*, the good king) intentioned towards us?' that they should know me to have no other wish but that they may obtain happiness. Devânâmpriya² wishes that they may be unafraid of me and be easy and receive happiness only, no suffering at my hands. They may persuade themselves that Devânâmpriya will pardon them whatsoever

* *Anta*, standing for *atta*, is Pâli *atto*, Skr. *asta*, but here obviously used in the sense of the compound *nyasta*.

† *Sotaviya* is properly Skr. *çrotaviya*.

‡ *Cagh* (*caggh*), 'to will,' Hindi *chhna*, also occurs in the Pillar edict No. 4: "yena maṃ lajûkâ caghamti âlâdhayitave," *i.e.* "by which the governors will propitiate me." Quite like *to will* in English, خواستن in New-Persian, we see *cagh* used to form a future tense.

¹ In Jaugada text: "Devânâmpriya says: 'the magistrates royal commissioners at Samâpâ should be informed——,'"

² Jaug.: "The King."

can be pardoned, and they may work righteousness for my sake and propitiate this world and the next. To this effect do I give you instructions; by this much I desire my instruction (to you) and my intention to be made known (to the public). And my resolution is firm.¹ Let then there be acted in such a way that they (the people) will be easy and unafraid in their minds (*rar. r.* they will get easy in mind and body), (thinking): 'Like a father, so is Devânâmpriya to us; and as he is tending himself, so he is tending us; and like his own children, so are we to Devânâmpriya.' Therefore I desire my instruction and my intention to be made known (to the public). To this purpose I will entrust the country to your care, for you are able to promote its quietness, its weal and happiness in this world and the next. And by doing so, you will win heaven and acquit yourselves of your duty against me. And for this sake has this edict been written here, that the magistrates for all time may exert themselves to promote the quietness and virtuous conduct of those entrusted to them. And this edict shall be read every four months at the (festival of the) asterism Tishya, and, at pleasure, on any other solemn occasion apart from Tishya. By doing so, you will do your due."

About the name of the city Tosali little is to be added to what has been already remarked by Lassen in *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. iii. p. 159. He points out that the Tosali mentioned by Ptolemy, vii. 2, 73 sq., cannot be identified with Açoka's Tosali, on account of the difference in site. General Cunningham comes to the same conclusion (*Corp. Inscr.* p. 16). Even if we are willing to accept Ptolemy's statement as a correct one, it does not follow that Tosali in Katak should mean anything else but the "capital of the people called Tosalas." There may have been two divisions of the same people inhabiting different tracts of country. This much is certain, that the Tosalas, alas as the name of a people are known from Sanskrit

¹ Jaug.: "Resolution of my mind."

sources, viz. *Toshala* in Harivaṇṇa 4736; the form *Toshalaka* 4734, 4741. *Tosala* occurs in a Paṇḍita of the Atharva Veda, extracts from which are given by Prof. Weber in his Catalogue of the Berlin Sanskrit Manuscripts. In the passage alluded to the Tosalas are enumerated in connexion with the Veṇātaṣas, the people living on the banks of the Veṇā river, which goes far to prove that the people in Katak is meant. The *i* in *Tosalī* is, it may be supposed, a mere variety of the feminine ending *ā*, by which, from stems in *a*, are derived words denoting the capital of a country or district. Thus Koṣalā means the "capital of Koṣalaland (Ayodhyā)." Stems in *i* show regularly *i* when the city is meant; e.g. *Avantī* is the capital of the Avantayas, the Avanti-people; *Kaśī* of the Kāśayas, Kaśī-land.

The Prince, to whom conjointly with the magistrates the royal rescript is addressed, and who consequently at the time must have been residing in *Tosalī*, is not mentioned in the head of the following edict. On the other hand we learn from that document that the Prince, or, at any rate, a Prince, had then his residence in *Ujjayinī*. These facts lead us to the assumption that the Prince of both edicts is one and the same person, and that during the lapse of time between the date of the first and the second edict he had been promoted from the rank of governor of *Tosalī* to the same position in *Ujjayinī*. The text of the second edict is as follows :—

DHAULI I.

[1] Devānampiyasa vacanena
Tosaliyaṃ mahāmāta (r. °tā) na-
galaviyohālaka (r. °kâ) [2] vata-
viyaṃ (r. °yâ) aṃ kichi dakhâ-
mi hakaṃ taṃ ichâmi kiṃti aṃ-
naṃ e(na) paṭivedâyeḥaṃ (r.
°dayeḥaṃ) [3] duvâlata ca âla-
bheḥaṃ esa ca me mokhyamata
duvâle etasi aṭhasi aṃ tuphesi
[4] anusathi tuphe hi bahûsu
pânasahasasu âyata (r. âyutâ)

JAUGADA I.

[1] Devānampiyasa hevaṃ âha
Samâpayaṃ mahāmâtâ nagale
viyohâlakâ he(vaṃ) vataviyâ aṃ
kichi dâvâmi (r. dakhâmi) haṃ
naṃ (r. taṃ)-taṃ ichâmi kiṃti
a(mnaṃ) ena paṭivedâyeḥaṃ (r.
°dayeḥaṃ) [2] duvâlata ca âla-
bheḥa esa ca me mokhiyamata
duvâle aṃ tuphesu anusathi
(tu)phe hi bahuse pânasahasasu
. gave

pana(?) (r. jane) me gave (r. gache) -na sumunisānam save [5] munise pajā mamā atha pajāye ichāmi bakam (su'vena hitasukhenam hidalogikika [6] pāla-lokikāye yujevū-ti hevam eva save'su pi ichāmi dukam no ca pāpunātha āva-ga[7] make iyaṁ atha keca va ekapulise manāti etaṁ se pi desam no savam dekhate hi tuphe etaṁ [8] su vihitā pi (r. hi) niti (r. kiṁti) iyaṁ ekapulise aṭhāya baṁdhanam vā palikilesam vā pāpunāti tata hota [9] akasmāte na baṁdhau tāka (r. take) apne ca bahujaṇo (r. bahujaṇe) daviye dukhiyati tata ichitaviye [10] tuphehi kiṁti majham paṭipādayemā-ti imehi cu jātehi no sampatipajati isiya āsulopena (r. 'losena) [11] nithuliyena tūlanāya anāvutiya ālasiyena kālamathena se ichitaviye kiṁti ete [12] jātāni 'no, hūvevu mamā-ti etasa ca savasa mūle anāsulope (r. 'lose, atūlanā ca niticham (r. nitiyam) e kilamte siyā [13] na te (r. tena) uga(m) samcalitaviye[m] tuva-hitaviye (r. tuvāhitaviye?) etaviye vā heva[m] meva[m] edam tuphāka tena vataviye [14] aganam (r. aṁganam) no dekhata (r. dekhati) hovam ca he[m]vam ca Devānampiyasa anusathi se 1 1 p)sa (r. °phale) tasa * d(e)[15] mahā-apāye†

(r. gache)-ma (su)munisānam savamunise [3] pajā atha pajāye ichāmi kagama (r. hagam) savena hitasukhenam yujevū-ti hidalogikapālalokikāya hemeva me iya (r. ichā) savamunis(e)su . . . tahe? pāpu)notha āva-ga-make [4] iyaṁ aṭha (r. aṭha) keca ekapulise (manā ti ē) taṁ se pi desam no savam dekhatha (r. dakhetha) hi came (r. tuphe) pisu (r. etesu?) vi(hi)tā pi (r. hi) bahuja-aṭhāye eti (r. kiṁti) ekamunise baṁdhanam paliki (lesam) pāpunati ta (aka) [5] smagā (r. akasmāte) te na badha (r. baṁdhā) cūyūva (r. cūveyū) dayā (r. daviyam) ca vata (r. tata) bahūke vedayamti (r. khedayamti) tata tuphehi ichi ta(vi)ye kiṁti majha(m) paṭipātayema imehi jātehi no sampatipajati isā(ya) āsulopana (r. 'losena) nithuliyena [6] tulīye (r. tūlāye) anāvutiye (ālasiyena kālamath(e)nam hevam ichitaviye kiṁti me etāni jātāni no hrayū (r. hūyū)-ti savasa ca iyaṁ mūle anāsulesa (r. 'lose) ca at(ūla)nā (ca ni) tiyam nijata [7] . . . samcalitu uthāna pi lātavya tāvatitaviya pi otaviye pi nitiyam e khva (r. khu?) deveni(?) aṁnāmnani jhamasaviya(?) heva(m-e) ma Devānampiya (sa anusathi tasā sampatipā)

form of the genitive sing. in the feminine agrees with *tāsā* mentioned
in Prākṛit Grammar, iii. 63.

- - striking mistake for *mahā-apāyā*; the same error in the other

asampatipati v(i)patipādayamine
hi etaṃ naṃthi svagasa ālādhi
no lājālādhi [16] duāhale hi
imas(i) kamma vama-kate (*r.* sa-
makate) manañ atileke sampati-
pajamino (*r.* °nā) ca etaṃ sva-
ga(m) [17] ālādhayisathīti (*r.*
°hā-ti) (mama ca) ā[ha]naniyaṃ
ehatha iyaṃ ca lipi Tisana-kha-
tena sotaviyaṃ (*r.* °yā) [18] am-
talāpi ca Tisena sikhanaṃpi eke-
na (*r.* ekena) khaṇasikhanaṃsi
pi sotaviyā hevaṃ ca kamaṃtam
tuphe [19] caghatha sampatipā-
dayitave eṭāye aṭhāya iyaṃ lipi
likhitā pida (*r.* hida) ena [20]
nagala-viyoṇalākā (*r.* °hālākā)
sāsataṃ samayaṃ yūj(e)vū nagala-
janaṇa akasmā-palibodh(e) va
[21] akasmā-palikisāne (*r.* kā-
sane) va no siyā-ti eṭāye ca aṭ-
hāye hakaṃ dhammate (mahā-
mātaṃ) paṃcasu-paṃcasu vase
[22] su nikhāmayisāmi e akhak-
hase acamḍ(e) sakhinālabbe
hosati etaṃ aṭham jānita (ta)tha
[23] kala(m)ti aṭha mama anu-
sathī-ti Ujenite pi-ca kumāle
eṭāyevaṃ aṭhāye nikhāmayisa-
(ti) [24] hedisa[m]meva[m] va-
gaṃ no ca atikāmayisati tini va-
sāni hemeva Tākhasilāte phi (*r.*
pi) adā a[25]te mahāmātā nikh-
hamisaṃpi anusaṃyānaṃ tadā ahā-
payita atane kammaṃ etaṃ pi
jānisaṃpi [26] taṃ pi tathā ka-
laṃti aṭha lājiṇa a[m]nusaṃthi-
ti.

[8] tam mahâphale hoti asappa-
 tipati mahâpâye hoti vipatipâ-
 tayamtam no svaga-alâdhi no
 lâjâ(lâ)dhi duâhale etasa (r.
 etasi) tamasa (r. kamasî) samo
 (r. same).
 mâ . . . ve [9] ca
 ânaneyam esatha svagam âlâ(d-
 ha)yisathâ-(ti) iyam ca lipi anu-
 Tisam sotaviyam a(mta) lâpi va-
 nasâ (r. khanasî) tati (r. sati?)
 lâ * eka pi

 sampatipâdayi)[10]tave etâye ca
 âthâye iyam vata (r. likhitâ?)
 lipi ena mahâmâtâ nagalaka
 (r. nagalavyohâlakâ) sâ(satam
 samayam . . ka . ya .
 ena.
 [11] paṃcasu-paṃcasu vasesu
 anusayânam nikhâmayisâmi ma-
 hâhmâtam acamḍam phelahata?
 vâce † nele. Ujeniku-
 mâle (r. Ujenite kumâle?) vi ta
 sa te
 [12] . . . vacanika ama a(nu)
 sayânam nicamisamti (r. nikha-
 misamti)atina (r. atane)kamamam
 dhâsati (r. jâ(ni) samti) tâpa
 (r. tappi) tatha vanamti tâ

* Perhaps part of *aṃtalā* repeated by mistake; the whole should contain something like: "aṃtalāpi ca Tisena ekena khanasi sati."

† The term intended may be *phelahitavāce*; I guess that *phela* is the equivalent of Skr. *smara*, 'smiling, kind.'

Devânâmpriyasya vacanena
 osalyâm mahâmâtra nagarav-
 vahârakâ vaktavyâh : Yut ki-
 it paçyâmy aham tad icchâmi,
 miti, anyam yena prativedaye-
 m dvârataç cârabheya ; etac
 me maukhyamatam dvâram
 asminn arthe yad yushmâsv
 uçâstih. Yûyam hi bahushu
 ânasahasreshv âyuktâh. Jano
 e gaccha eva sumanushyânâm ;
 rvo manushyah prajā mama ;
 tthā prajāyā icchāmy aham
 rveṇa hitasukhenaihalaukika-
 ralaukikāya ujyeraṇn iti.
 am eva sarveshv aplechāmi
 hkhām no prāpnuyād yāvad-
 myam idam. Atha kaçcaika-
 rusho manyata etat : “so’pi
 çam na sarvaṁ drakshyati
 ,” yûyam etasmin vihitā hi,
 miti? ayam ekapurusho (ma-
 jjan) ārthāya bandhanam vā
 rikleçam vā prāpnoti; tatra
 vitā, akasmân na bandhanāt
 ked anyaç ca mahājano davī-
 dukhyati. Tatraishtavyam
 shmābhih, kimiti, madhyam
 atipādayemeti. Ebhis tu do-
 jātair na sampratipadyate :
 hyayā, âçurosheṇa, naiṣṭhūr-
 ṇa, tvarayā, anāvṛtyā, âlasye-
 , kâlakshepeṇa. Tad eshtav-
 m, kimiti, etāni doshajātāni
 a) bhaveyur mameiti. Etasya
 sarvasya mûlam anâçurosho
 varā ca nityām. Yah klântas
 ût tenogram sañcaritavyam

Devânâmpriya evam âha :
Samâpâyâm mahâmâtâra nagare
vyavahârakâ evam vaktavyâh :
Yat kîncit paçyâmy ahap tattad
icchâmi, kimiti, anyam yena
prativedayeyam dvârataç çâra-
bhaya ; etac ca me maukhyama-
tam dvâram yad yushmâsv anu-
çastiḥ. Yûyam hi bahushu prâ-
nasahasreshv âyuktâḥ. — gacha
—manusyâñâm ; sarvamanush-
yah prajâ (me) ; yathâ prajāyâ
icchâmy aham sarveṇa hitasuk-
hena yujyeranniti aihalakukipar-
âlalaukikāya. Evam eva mame-
cchâ sarvamanusheyeshu . . .
prâpnuyād yāvadvagmayam idam.
Atha kaçcaikapurusho manyata
etat : “so’pi deçam na sarvam
paçyed dhi,” yûyam—vihitâ hi
mahâjanârthâya, kimiti, ekapu-
rusho bandhanam parikleçam
prâpnoti ; tatra . . akasmân
na te bandhâc (*or*: baddhâc)
cyaveran dariyaç ca tato mahâ-
janam khedayanti. Tatra yu-
shmâbbhir eshtavyam, kimiti,
madhyam pratipâdayema. Ebbir
doshajâtair na sampratipadyate :
îrshyayâ, âçiroshena naishtu-
ryena, tvarayâ, ânârvtyâ, âlasy-
ena, kâlakshepeṇa. Evam eshta-
vyam, kimiti, mamaitâni dosha-
jâtâni na bhaveyur [iti]. Sar-
vasya cedam mûlam : anâçu-
roshaç ca
. . sañcaritavyam utthânam

tvashṭavyam¹ etavyam ca. Evam evetaḍ yushmâkaṃ tena vaktavyam: pâpaṃ² no drakshyati. Evam ca Devânâmpriyasyânuçâstih. Tan mahâphalas tasyâs sampratipâdo mahâpâyâ'sampratipattiḥ. Vipratipâdayamânebhya etan nâsti svargasyârâdho³ no râjârâdhah. Dvyâharo hy asmin karmaṇi çramakaraṇe manâg-atirekaḥ: sampratipadyamânâç caitat svargam ârâdhayishyatheti, mahyam câṇṇyam eshyatha. Iyam ca lipis Tishyanakshatreṇa çrâvayitavyâ; vinâpi ca Tishyenaikena kshaṇe-kshaṇe çrâvayitavyâ. Evam ca kurvanto yûyam sampratipâdayishyatha. Etadarthâyeyam lipir likhiteha, yena nagarayavahârakâç çâçvatam samayam yuñjîran nagarajanasyâkasmât-paribhavo vâ 'kasmât-parikarshaṇam vâ na syâd iti. Etasmai cârthâyâham dharmato (mahâmâtram) pañcasu-pañcasu varsheshu nishkrâmayishyâmi yo 'karkaço 'caṇḍas saṅkshîṇârambho bhavishyati, etam artham jñâtâ "tathâ kurvanti yathâ mamânuçâstir" iti. Ujjayinîto 'pi ca kumâra etasmâ evârthâya

api grahitavyam api tapasyitavyam apy etavyam api nityâm . . . Evam . . . Devânâmpriyasyânuçâstih. Tasyâs sampratipâdo mahâphalo bhavati, asamprattirmahâpâyâ bhavati. Vipratipâdayatâm na svargârâdho no râjârâdhah. Dvyâhara etasmin karmaṇi çramah câṇṇyam eshyatha svargam cârâdhayishyatheti. Iyam ca lipir anu-Tishyam çrâvayitavyâ; vinâpi ca (Tishyenaikena kshaṇe-kshaṇe çrâvayitavyâ. Evam ca kurvanto yûyam sampratipâdayi)shyatha. Etasmai cârthayeyam (likhitâ) lipir yena mahâmâtrâ nagarayavahârakâç çâçvatam samayam pañcasu-pañcasu varsheshu nishkrâmayishyâmi mahâmâtram acaṇḍam sukhahitavâcam anenasam⁴ Ujjayinî(tah) kumâro

¹ The reading is doubtful; *tvâh* will stand to Skr. *tvaksh* in the same relation as e.g. Prakrit *dâhina* to Skr. *dakshina*. The form of the corresponding term in the Jaugada version is strange; perhaps *tavisitaviya* or *tavasitaviya* is meant; this would be a derivative from Vedic *tavishyati*, *tavishyati*, "to show energy, to be valorous." As to the sense, the word chosen in the Skr. translation will not be far amiss.

² *A(m)gana* I take to be the Pâli *añgaṇa*, 'lust, impurity, sin.' Cf. the words Pillar Edict No. 3 (Corp. Inser. p. 108): *No mina pâpaṃ dekhati*, i.e. in Sanskrit: *na punaḥ pâpaṃ drakshyati*.

³ Or *ârâddhiḥ*, which form, however, is not found in Skr.

⁴ *Neta* is Pâli *neḷo*.

nishkrāmayishyatidṛṣam eva
 vargyam¹ na cātikrāmayishyati
 triṇi varshāpi. Evam eva Ta- anusamyanam nishkrami-
 kshaçilāto 'pi yadātra mahāmā- shyanti, ātmanah karma jñāsy-
 trā nishkramishyanty anusam- anti
 yānam, tadā 'hāpayitvātmanah
 karmaitad api jñāsyanti "tad
 api tathā kurvanti yathā rājño
 'nuçāstir" iti.

TRANSLATION.

By order of Devānāmpriya, the magistrates who are entrusted with the administration of justice in the city of Tosali should be informed :—

"Whenever I get an idea I wish to have another person by whom to make it known, and to act intermediately. Now the means (*or* intermediacy) I esteem to be the most capital in this matter is to give instructions to you. For you are set over many thousands of souls and my people is a mass (*or* series) of good men. Every subject is my child; as for my own children, I wish that they² may be possessed of every benefit and happiness for this world and the next. I also wish, in regard to all, that none may meet suffering, as far as this is possible. Now (suppose) some individual³ thinks: 'Even he (*i.e.* the King, however powerful) will not see (what is going on in) the whole country, to be sure,'⁴ then *you* have been appointed to

¹ As *varga* and *nikāya* are synonymous terms, and the latter is used by Aśoka in No. 12 of the Rock Inscriptions (Corp. Inscr. p. 84) to denote a body of officials, it will be allowed to use *vargya* in the sense of official; cf. Dict. of Bühnlingk and Roth. *s. v.*

² The sudden change of number is very common in the style of Aśoka.

³ *Ēkapuṭise*, "a solitary person, a forlorn man, a person keeping himself in secrecy," is clearly a veiled expression for what commonly is called *lame*, "forlorn, forsaken"; farther, "a low, bad man, a wretch." The synonymous term *ekavtra* occurs in *Mṛcchakati*, 46, 17 (ed. Stenzler), applied to "a knave, a thief, a rogue": "nrpatipurushaçaṇikitapracāram paragrhadāshapaniç-citaikavīram—rajanī samvṛṇoti," which Wilson translates: "Night, like a tender mother, shrouds those of her children whose prowess assails the dwellings of mankind, and shrinks from an encounter with the servants of the king." A more accurate rendering would seem to be: "Night, like a mother, covers the knave bold in secrecy (*and*, the lonely male child) who is determined to do mischief in another's dwelling, and walks in fear of the policemen."

⁴ We have to supply in mind: "And that man is prompted to do wrong by such a consideration."

take care that such an individual, for the public weal, do not escape imprisonment or punishment. He shall be kept (?) there lest at unawares he should get loose from captivity, and the community further come to grief.¹ In those matters you should try to steer the right course (*i.e.* not to swerve from strict justice). Now, man is apt to swerve from his duty by these moral faults: jealousy, passion, harshness, rashness, unheedfulness, sloth, wasting of time. Therefore every one should try not to be possessed of these faults. And the root of all this² is freedom from passion, and from rashness in polity and conduct. He who feels himself slack should (the more) strenuously move about, exert himself and go (*i.e.* be active).³ And therefore say to yourselves, 'They shall (not?) see impurity of us.' Such then is the command of Devânâmpriya. Obedience to it will be highly fruitful, disobedience highly pernicious. Those who do not conform to it will neither propitiate heaven, nor propitiate the King. For a little abundance of painstaking in this work yields a twofold gain: by obeying you will win heaven, and at the same time acquit yourselves of your duty against me. And this edict shall be read at (festivals of) the asterism Tishya. It shall be read also on any other solemn occasion apart from Tishya. And by doing so you will do your due. For this sake has this edict been written here, that (the magistrates) who are entrusted with the administration of justice in the city should always devote themselves to the task that the town-people may not meet with wanton disregard⁴ or wanton vexation. And

¹ The Jaugada has, with a sudden transition from singular to plural: "Lest at unawares, those should break loose from captivity and vex the community further." Both versions are deficient in syntax, and there is every reason to suppose that the clerks have been meddling with the original draught, which perhaps runs thus: "*tata hetu, akasmâte b. na t. aṃne ca b. d. dukkhiyeti, i.e.*" the motive for such measures (*viz.* imprisoning or applying a chastisement) is to prevent him (the knave) from getting loose from captivity, and the community from suffering further molestation."

² Açoka means, of course, the beginning of any endeavour to get rid of those faults is to strive against passion and rashness.

³ This glorification of untiring exertion has a decidedly monkish ring in it, and is strikingly like the praise of *carāṇa* and *çrama* in Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa 7, 15. The Jaugada version shows: "Should move about and rouse his energy and go (in the administration of justice, in polity)."

⁴ That *paribodha* must be taken in the sense of disregard, slighting, appears

for this purpose I shall regularly send out every five years a (superior) dignitary, who shall be gentle,¹ kind, free from passion; he will have to ascertain whether one be acting in conformity to the orders of the King. And for this same purpose will the Prince also from Ujjayinī send out such an official, and that without letting pass more than three years. Likewise from Takshaṣilā will the dignitaries go out on their tour of inspection. When they come to your place,² then they will, without neglecting their own business, also ascertain whether one be acting in conformity to the orders of the King."

The contents of the edict show to an evidence that the term *mahāmāta* is not one of very definite meaning. The *mahāmāta*, Skr. *mahāmātra*, is literally a *magistratus* as well as a person entrusted with great powers, a director; in the general sense of "director" it survives in the modern *mahaut*, an elephant driver. It is therefore quite natural that the municipal *mahāmātras*, though adorned with the same title as the higher officials sent out by the King for general inspection, are lower in rank than the latter. From No. 3 of the Rock Inscriptions (Cunningham, p. 68) we learn that Aśoka had appointed such high officials for the whole extent of his dominion—12 years, i.e. in the 13th year after his inauguration. They are there called *rājuka* (*lajuka*) and *pādesika*.³ That these worthies are the same functionaries as those spoken of in the separate edict is clear from the statement added: *lajuke ca pādesike ca paṃcasu-*

from the manner in which the reverse of it, *apalibodha*, is used in No. 5 of the Rock Inscriptions; from the passage *hitasukkhāye dhammayutāye-apalibodhāye viyāpaṭā*; *se bamdhanabadhasa paṭicidhānāye apalibodhāye mokkhāye ca*, it results that *apalibodha* is 'regard, care.' *Pari* has the same meaning in this word as in the synonymous *pari-man*, 'to disregard, to slight;' in *parikhyaḍ*, *paricakāḥ*, Greek *περιπαῖν*.

¹ The *kh* in *khakkhase* is due to the influence of the *r* in *karkaṣa*. Cf. also Skr. *khakkhaṭa*.

² Contrary to our custom the writer denotes the place of the person to whom the letter is addressed by "here."

³ A third term would be *yuta*, Skr. *yukta*, if the reading of the Girnar version were right. But there can be little doubt that the *ca* following *yuta* in that text is a mistake. *Yuta* simply means 'appointed,' and at another passage, No. 3 at the end, 'an official.'

pañcasu vasesu anusayānaṃ nikhamaṭṭu (or *nikhamamṭu*), i.e. "the *lajuka* as well as the *pādesika* shall every five years go out on their tour of inspection." *Lajuke*, *rājuka*, is to be derived from *rājya* 'government,' rather than from *rājan* 'a king,' because the short *a* of *lajuka* is of too frequent occurrence to allow us ascribing it to a clerical error. Now the short vowel can only be explained on the assumption that *lajuka* stands for *lajjuka*. *Lajuka* then is 'a governor,' whereas *pādesika*, Skr. *prādeśika*, is 'a provincial governor.'

About the various functions of the *lajukas* we find precious data in No. 4 of the Pillar edicts (Cunningham, p. 109).¹ On comparing those data with the information to be gathered from several other inscriptions of Aśoka, especially No. 3 of the Rock Inscriptions already cited, we arrive at the conclusion that the municipal *lajukas*, al. *mahāmātras*, were magistrates entrusted with both judicial and censorial functions; they were, in short, sheriffs. The distinction between the higher or lower *mahāmātras* and the *dharma-mahāmātras* is far from clear. Yet there is a distinction made between them, for in Delhi Pillar edict No. 8, we read: "Lajūkā pi bahukesu pānasatasahasasu āy(u)tā, te pi me ānapitā 'hevaṃ ca hevaṃ ca paliyovadātha jaṇaṃ dhammayutaṃ.' Devānāmpiye Piyadasi hevaṃ āhā: etam eva me anuvekhamāne dhammathambhāni kaṭāni; dhammamahāmâtâ kaṭâ dhammakate"; i.e. "Magistrates (or governors) also have been appointed for many hundreds of thousands of souls, and they have been ordered by me: 'so and so you shall administer justice² to the people according to law.' Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaketh thus: For this very sake (i.e. for the cause of righteousness) I have made Law-pillars; I have created *dharmamahāmātras* for the sake of Dharma."

¹ Translated by Burnouf in "Lotus de la Bonne Loi," p. 741, and by the author of this paper in "Jaartelling des Zuidelijke Buddhisten."

² This translation of *paliyovad*, to which would answer a Skr. *parivāṇavad*, is founded on the parallel passage in No. 4 of the Pillar Inscriptions: *dhammayutena ca viyovadisanti jaṇaṃ jānapadaṃ*, "according to law they will decide (in causes) among the people (i.e. town-people) and country people."

The creation of the Dharmamahāmātras preceded by two years the appointment of the other Mahāmātras; thus we are informed in No. 5 Rock Inscription (Cunningham, p. 72). They were, as we may infer from what is noticed about their functions, especially in the above-quoted Delhi edict, a kind of superintendents for the various denominations of sects, and for poor and destitute persons. Quite in accordance with the philanthropical character of their office, the *dharmamahāmātras* have to attend to the management, the careful treatment and the dismissal of prisoners. The limits between their sphere of action in this respect and that of the municipal *mahāmātras* or *rajjukas*, whose cares likewise extended over prisoners,¹ are, for aught I know, nowhere distinctly traced.

¹ Besides the separate edict, cf. Pillar Inscription No. 4.

ART. XVI.—*Grammatical Sketch of the Kakhyen Language.*

By the REV. J. N. CUSHING, of the American Baptist Mission, Rangoon, Burma.

THE Kakhyen or Singpho are the most numerous people occupying the mountainous region stretching from Upper Assam across Northern Burma beyond the Chinese boundary into Yunan. In Burma they extend as far south as Momeit and Theinni.

During the last forty years, at different times, more or less attention has been called to this interesting people. On the Assam side, Hannay, Robinson, Bronson, Brown and Dalton, and on the Burman side, Anderson, Bowers, and Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries have published sketches of their language and mode of life.

The name Kakhyen is an appellation of purely Burman origin. All Kakhyen, whom I have seen, call themselves Chingpaw, which is the same as Singpho. Probably Singpho was written at first Singhpô, the ô having the sound of aw, as Bhamo (pronounced Ba-maw) was formerly written Bhamô, and the diacritic point over the o subsequently fell away in use. The ch and the s may be a dialectic difference or the result of somebody's failure to distinguish and represent the exact initial sound of the word. So far as the Kakhyen on the Burman side are concerned, the word Chingpaw does not mean 'a man,' as stated by Robinson, Dalton and Cust. It is their name for themselves, as a people or race. Mashang in one dialect, and masha in others, is the term generally used to signify 'man.' Thus in the Kowrie dialect wōrah mashang hpai yah-moo means *give to that man*, while wōrah Chingpaw hpai yah-moo means, *give to that Kakhyen*. As the Kakhyen always refer to themselves by the name of Chingpaw, it is easy to see how a person not understanding their language, and merely

collecting a vocabulary through the medium of another language, might think that the term signified 'man.'

The time of the appearance of the Kakhyen in the mountainous region of the extreme north of Burma is uncertain. Their advent in Assam, and their advance southward and south-eastward in Burma, are comparatively recent. Dalton, evidently depending on Hannay, fixes the date of their appearance in Assam about 1793. A linguistic fact shows that they entered Assam after a long contact with the Burman. The Assamese Kakhyen have in common with those of Burma certain words of Burman origin which must have been the result of considerable intercourse with the Burman. Thus, in Bronson's Singpho Spelling Book we find *sanat* 'a gun,' *apet* 'sin,' *ngrai* 'hell,' *hpah* 'god,' which were manifestly obtained from the Burman.

The Kakhyen made their first advances among the mountains between Bhamo and China, and began to displace the Shan population, less than two centuries ago. A Chinese Shan prince told me, that less than two hundred years ago there was not a Kakhyen village between Bhamo and Sanda. Now, the mountains are occupied by a large Kakhyen population, who have been described minutely by Anderson. Not a few of the villages and mountains retain their ancient Shan names, although no Shan remain in the region. Many Shan names of objects, especially things connected with agriculture, which the Kakhyen evidently practised in a far less degree in their more northern homes, were domesticated in the language.

The Kakhyen are still pressing slowly southward and eastward, and displacing the Shan and Burman. In 1868 the writer was prevented from reaching the town of Theinni because the mountains were held by a strong force of Kakhyen at war with the Shan prince. Anxious reference was made to the fact, that they were increasing in number in the district. In such thinly-peopled regions, where the indigenous population is constantly diminishing, the Burman and Shan still cling to the banks of the rivers, while the Kakhyen cease to confine themselves altogether to the

mountains. Thus it is evident that Tsenbo, at the head of the first defile of the Irrawaddy, was formerly a city of considerable size and strength, from the remains of its fortifications. Now, nearly the whole district is abandoned by the Shan to the Kakhyen, and the city has shrunk to a wretched stockaded village of fifty houses. The migration wave of the Kakhyen has not spent its force, and the spasmodic attempts of the Burman, inspired by their inveterate hatred, to impede its further progress, are unavailing.

The language of the Kakhyen is by no means so monosyllabic as most of the languages of Farther India. Dissyllables are numerous. These are not couplets of two words signifying the same thing which are so common in these languages, but proper dissyllabic words.

Doubtless the language has a remote affinity to the Burman. Robinson states that "about one-fourth of its vocables are allied to the Burmese, and an equal proportion to the dialect of Manipur. Its intonations are similar to those of its cognate, the Burman, and its grammatical construction precisely the same." This statement is not borne out by a careful investigation of the language. In grammatical construction the Kakhyen and Burman are precisely the same, and this constitutes their principal resemblance. The writer has compared with the Burman a vocabulary of nearly two thousand Kakhyen words collected at Bhamo, when he reduced the language to writing at that place. Apart from words plainly absorbed directly from the Burman, the following list gives the result obtained :—

ENGLISH.	KAKHYEN.	BURMAN.
Dog	kwee	khway.
Pig	wa	wet.
Go	wah	thwah.
Three	m-hsoom	thōng.
Five	m-nga	ngah.
Eye	mee	myit (see).
Put	taun-tah	htah.
Fish	ngi	ngah.

These few words are the only ones which show the slightest resemblance to the Burman.

The Burman has only three tones or intonations, while the Kakhyen has six. In this the Kakhyen resembles the Karén far more than the Burman, for the Karén has six tones. Yet with the assistance of several educated Karen I have been able to find no similarity of the vocables with those of the Karen, except in the word for 'heaven.' For that the Sgau or White Karen word is *mee*, and the Kakhyen word is *l'moo*.

Through commercial intercourse with the Chinese, Burman, and Shan, not a few words have been absorbed from those languages. These, however, have nothing to do with the question of the affinity of the language.

The tribal divisions of the Kakhyen are numerous, and generally carry with them some difference of dialect. The dialect chiefly followed by the writer in his grammatical notes is the Kowrie. Considering the extent of the region occupied by this people, and the fact, that they have been without books, the dialectic differences are less than might be expected. Many words are identical in all the dialects, while some words are peculiar to a single dialect. A large class of words exists, which have been subject to more or less dialectic change of form, but show clearly their original identity.

A comparison of the Grammatical Notes compiled by Robinson¹ from material furnished chiefly by Bronson, the vocabularies and sentences published by Bronson in 1839,² with the language of the Kakhyen east of Bhamo, shows much less separation than exists between Khamti and Shan.

Allowing for the different systems of Anglicizing the Kakhyen words employed by Robinson, Bronson, and the writer, the following are the most important dialectic variations shown by Robinson's sketch:—

1st. Some of the case particles differ. Robinson gives *ná*

¹ Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1840, New Series, vol. xxviii.

² A Spelling Book and Vocabulary in English, Asamese, Singpho, and Naga. Jaipur, 1839.—Phrases in English and Singpho, Jaipur, 1839.—J.A.S.B. xviii.

for the sign of the genitive, whereas the Eastern Kakhyen use *eh*. He also gives *fe* for the dative. This is used by a part of the Eastern Kakhyen, but *hpai* is used by others.

2nd. According to Robinson there is no sign for the plural. *Ni* is common among all the Eastern Kakhyen.

3rd. Robinson gives *aimá* for the numeral one. *Má* (also *mee*) is used by the Eastern Kakhyen as an adjective meaning *single*. The common numeral one is *l-ngai*.

4th. *Gadaima* (Eastern Kakhyen *k-tai*) is used only in an interrogative sense by the Eastern Kakhyen. The relative relation is always indicated by *ai*, of which I find no trace in Robinson or Bronson.

5th. For the demonstrative pronouns *ndai* 'this' and *órá* 'that,' the Eastern Kakhyen use *n-tai* and *wōrah* or *waurah*. *Óráwah* or *worahwah* is used only of persons, and signifies *that person*. Its opposite is *n-tai-wah this person*.

6th. The tense particles of the verb vary somewhat.

For *há*, past tense, the Eastern Kakhyen use *hsá*.

„ <i>há-dai</i> , perfect	„ „	„ <i>ngoot-hsa</i> .
„ <i>á</i> , future	„ „	„ <i>nah</i> .
„ <i>ú</i> , imperative	„ „	„ <i>moo</i> (and sometimes <i>oo</i>).

7th. There are dialectic differences in the forms of words :

ASSAMESE KAKHYEN.	BURMAN KAKHYEN.	ENGLISH.
<i>Srí</i>	<i>soon</i>	to speak.
<i>Kansú</i>	<i>toom-soo</i>	cow.
<i>Gá-laú</i>	<i>low-low</i>	quickly.
<i>Dúng</i>	<i>toong</i>	to sit.
<i>Singandi</i>	<i>shing-gan</i>	out.

Several accounts of the mode of life, customs, and manners of the Kakhyen have been published, and it is unnecessary to enter upon a description of them. Dr. Anderson's "Mandalay to Momien" furnishes a faithful sketch of this people. Doubtless much more will be heard of them now, since the American Baptists and the Roman Catholics have established Missions to them at Bhamo.

GRAMMATICAL SKETCH.

ALPHABET.

a	as in father.
i	„ pique; in closed syllables, as in kick,
e	„ eh.
o	„ role.
oo	„ loose.
eû	„ the French peur.
ay	„ bay.
ai	„ aisle.
au	„ laud.
ow	„ howl.
oi	„ coil.
ʼ	guttural.
ch	guttural.
b	as in bat.
ch	„ chip.
ch	guttural, as in German madchen.
d	as in day.
f	„ fat (only in some dialects).
g	„ get.
h	„ hate.
j	„ jar.
k	unaspirated k.
kh	aspirated k.
l	as in late.
m	„ mate; when forming a syllable by itself it is nasal.
n	„ net „ „ „ „
ng	as the final ng in rang.
p	unaspirated p.
hp	aspirated p.
r	as in rat.
s	unaspirated s.
hs	aspirated s.
sh	as in shield.
t	unaspirated t.
ht	aspirated t.
v	as in vine (only in one dialect).
w	„ wine.
y	„ you.

When any of the consonants form a syllable without any vowel expressed, a slight semi-vowel tone is to be understood.

THE TONES OF THE KAKHYEN LANGUAGE.

The Kakhyen is a tonal language. Six tones may be distinguished.

The first is the natural pitch of the voice with a rising inflection at the end, and may be called the *natural* tone.

The second is a bass tone, and may be called the *grave* tone.

The third is a slightly higher tone than the second, and is pronounced with an even sound. It may be called the *straight-forward* tone.

The fourth is a tone so uttered as to seem abruptly broken off, and may be called the *emphatic* tone.

The fifth is a tone uttered with considerable explosive force, and may be called the *explosive* tone.

The sixth is the high tone.

In the matter of tones the Kakhyen is similar to all the languages of Farther India.

CLASSIFICATION OF WORDS.

Kakhyen words may be classified as Nouns, Pronouns, Adjectives, Verbs, Adverbs, Prepositions (really Appositions), Conjunctions, and Interjections.

NOUNS.

Nouns are divided into Proper Nouns and Common Nouns.

Proper Nouns are the names of persons, countries, towns, etc., as Ma-htang.

Common Nouns may be divided as follows:—

1st. *Primitives*, as ja, gold; pow, a gong.

2nd. Compound Nouns. These are formed by uniting

(a) Two nouns as shat-ti, rice-pot.

(b) A noun and a verb, as jan-proo, the East (jan, sun,—proo, to rise).

(c) A verb and a noun, as hsin-ai-mashang, a watchman (watch-who-man).

- (d) A noun, verb and noun, as *kum-rang-ram-mashang*, a groom horse-keeper (horse-keep-man).

3rd. Derivative Nouns. These are formed by affixing certain particles to verbal roots.

- (a) *nah-lam*, which consists of *nah*, the future verbal particle, and the noun *lam*, a *way* or *road* and signifies *what pertains to* or *what there is occasion for*, as *hsa-nah-lam-ngah*, there is occasion to go (go-will-road-is).
- (b) *nah-shrah*, which consists of *nah*, the future verbal particle, and the noun *shrah* (some dialects *hsrah*) *what is for*, as *khrit-nah-shrah-ngah*, there is fear, or there is reason to fear.

4th. Foreign Nouns, introduced from the Shan, Burman and Chinese languages, as *li*, a boat, *lam*, a road.

NUMBER.

Nouns may be singular or plural. Often nouns are used in a generic sense and are of common number, as *chi nga-loi ngah-a*, he has buffaloes, *nga-loi*, buffalo, being used without any plural sign.

The plural may be formed in the following ways:—

1st. By the use of *ni*, as *kwi-ni*, dogs, *mashang-ni*, men.

2nd. By the use of *khai* (or some dialects *khrai*), as *mashang-khai*, men.

3rd. By affixing the adjective *lau*, many, as *mashang-lau*, many men, *i.e.* men.

GENDER.

Many Kakhyen words are of common gender, as the names of animals unless distinguished as mentioned below.

Masculine and feminine genders are distinguished,

1st. By different words, as

k-wah, a father.

k-noo, a mother.

mashang }
lah-shah } a man.

noom-shah, a woman.

lah a husband.

noom, a wife.

2nd. The masculine of brutes is distinguished by *lah* and

sometimes rang, and the feminine by yi, and in one dialect by vi.

kwi-lah, a dog.	kwi-yi, a bitch.
oo-lah } a cock.	oo-yi }
oo-rang }	oo-vi } a hen.

CASE.

Kakhyen nouns have no declension by which different cases may be distinguished. Certain particles are used to indicate the relations of case, but there is no change of the noun itself by inflection and the particles are frequently omitted in colloquial use.

The following paradigm may serve to show the use of these particles :—

CASE.	PARTICLES.	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
<i>Nom.</i>	jam	mashang, man mashing-jam ,,	mashang-ni men mashkang-khai ,, mashang-ni-jam ,, mashang-khai- jam ,,
<i>Gen. or Pos.</i>	eh	mashang- <i>e</i> of a man	mashang-ni- <i>e</i> of ,,
<i>Dat.</i>	hpai	mashang-hpai to a man	mashang-ni-hpai to men
<i>Acc.</i>	hpai (deh, with hpai motion towards)	mashang man	mashang-ni-hpai men
<i>Abi.</i>	nai and deh-nai	mashang-nai from a man mashang deh nai from a man	mashang-ni-nai from men mashang-ni-deh- nai from men
<i>Voc.</i>	oo-ay (abruptly pronounced)	mashang-oo-ay man !	mashang-ni-oo-ay, men !

Remarks on Paradigm.

The nominative is often used without any distinctive particle, as mashang k-jah-*a*, man is good. Jam has a definitive power, and is chiefly used in adversative clauses, and is equivalent to *as to*, *in regard to*, *concerning*, n-tai mashang jam k-jah-*a*, this man is good, *i.e.* as to this man, he is good.

The genitive or possessive case is indicated by the sign *eh*, as *n-tai n-tah-eh ching-kah k-bah-a*, this house's door is large. The *eh* however is not essential, for possession is indicated frequently by placing the noun denoting possession before the thing possessed without the *eh*, as *n-tai lai-kah ngai lai-kah tai-a*, this book is my book.

Hpai (some dialects *fai* and *feü*) is used as a dative affix, and is equivalent to *to*, as *ngai hpai, kam-hpraung yah-moo*, give money to me. *Hpai* is frequently omitted, as *ngai yah-moo*, give (it) me.

The accusative case is often used without any particle, as *n-sin lah-sah-rit*, bring water. *Hpai* is sometimes used, as *nang ngai hpai ma-san-toom-i*, do you pity me? *Hpai* seems to denote the object on which the action of the verb bears most strongly, whether the direct or indirect object. The object *towards* which motion is directed may be indicated by the simple accusative, as *chi wau-rah n-tah sah-sa*, he has gone to that house; or by affixing *deh*, as *chi wau-rah n-tah deh sah-sa*, he has gone to that house.

The ablative relation is indicated by *nai*, as *too-wah n-tah nai proo-sa*, the chief has gone out of the house; or by *deh-nai*, as *chi wau-rah n-tah deh-nai sah-a*, he comes from that house. Often no particle is used, as *too-wah n-tah proo-sa*, the chief has gone out of the house.

The vocative may be expressed by the simple noun, as *ching-khoo*, friend! or *ching-khoo oo-ay*, friend!

Changes in the Forms of Nouns.

Some nouns drop the initial letter when a pronoun is prefixed, as *k-wah*, father, drops the *k*, and becomes *ngai wah*, my father, when *ngai* is prefixed; *k-nam*, a daughter-in-law, becomes *chi-nam*, his daughter-in-law.

PRONOUNS.

Pronouns have no inflexional changes of form to indicate gender or case. The relations are expressed in the same manner as those of nouns.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

First Person.

Ngai signifies I. N-hteh signifies we, some dialects having n-hteng, i-hteng and i.

Second Person.

Nang signifies thou. Nan-hteh signifies ye, some dialects having nan-hteng, ni and ni-hteng.

Third Person.

Chi signifies he, while wau-rah-wah (that person) is also often used with the same signification. Chi-ni signifies they. Other dialects have khan-hteng, shan-hteh, wau-rah-hteh, wau-rah-hteng and wau-rah-ni.

POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

The possessive pronouns are formed by affixing *eh* to the personal pronouns, as ngai-*eh*, my; nang-*eh*, thy.

REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS.

The reflexive pronouns are khoom, khoom-mah (some dialects khoom-mi) and tah-nang, as ngai khoom-k-lau nah, I myself will do it; tah-nang n-tah, his own house.

RELATIVE PRONOUN.

The particle ai represents the relative pronoun, and may be rendered who, which or what, according to the connexion, although strictly speaking ai is a simple verbal particle, as ka-lau-ai-mashang (the working man), the man who works.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

k-tai, who? or whom?

krah, which

hpah (some dialects n-hpah nam-hpah m-hpah), what?

ADJECTIVES.

Adjectives are of four kinds, simple, verbal, pronominal, and numeral.

SIMPLE ADJECTIVES.

Simple adjectives are those not derived from any other part of speech, as mah (other dialects mi), *e.i.* kum-rang l-ngai mah ngah, there is a single pony.

VERBAL ADJECTIVES.

Verbal adjectives are those, which, while denoting some quality of a noun, have the verb *to be* inherent in them, as mai, to be good, k-bah, to be large.

They may be joined directly to the noun, as ma-shang k-jah, a good man, poom k-ji, a little mountain.

COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES.

Comparison is not made by any changes in the form of the adjective itself, but by other words.

An imperfect degree of comparison is expressed by affixing saun saun, rather or about, to an adjective, as maren saun saun, about the same.

The comparative degree is expressed by the use of the particle htah-krow, as lai-kah n-tai lai-kah wau-rah htah-krow k-jah-a, this book is better than that book. N-tah n-tai n-tah wau-rah htah-krow k-bah-a, this house is greater than that house.

The superlative degree is expressed by the use of n-lang htah-krow, or by loong-lang, as lai-kah n-tai n-lang htah-krow k-jah-a this book is the best. N-tai li loong-lang htah-krow ning-nan-a, this boat is the newest.

PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES.

Pronominal Adjectives may be divided into the following classes:—

1st. Demonstrative—

n-tai, this, as oo-n-tai, this fowl; wau-rah (other dialects wo-rah), that, as wau-rah-n-tah, that house.

lay-rah (other dialects leh-rah), this, and hto-rah, that, are used in opposition to each other, as lay-rah n-tah, this (nearer) house, as opposed to hto-rah n-tah, that (remoter) house.

2nd. Distributive—

shit-too, every, as ma-shang shit-too, every man, koo-koo, as ma-shang koo-koo, every man.

k-tai n-soon	whoever
krah n-soon	whichever
hpah n-soon	whatever
l-ngai l-ngai	each (<i>lit.</i> one, one)

3rd. Reciprocal—

l-ngai hteh l-ngai, one another.

4th. Indefinite—

khoom-khang (moo) and lah-lai (mah), any; k-kah, as mashang k-kah, other or another.

l-khaung (two), both.

kow-mah (some dialects kow-mi), some.

(rai) shah-mah, something.

mah-*ch*ah, loong-lang, mah-*ch*rah n-lang and ning-lang, all.

5th. Correlative—

ning-rai, shing-rai, ning-deh, n-tai-saun-deh, such, of this sort.

wau-rah-saun-deh (also wo-rah-saun-deh) such, of that sort.

saun, such as.

hpah-pauk, and k-ning, of what sort.

k-teh, how much? how many?

n-teh, so much.

NUMERAL ADJECTIVES.

Cardinals.

l-ngai, one; l-*ch*aung, two; m-hsoom, three; m-li, four; m-ngah, five; kroo, six; hsa-nit, seven; m-sat, eight; ja-*ch*oo, nine; shi, ten; shi l-ngai, eleven; shi-l-*ch*aung, twelve; khoom, twenty; khoom l-ngai, twenty-one; hsoom-shi, thirty; m-li shi, forty; m-ngah shi, fifty; kroo-shi, sixty; hsa-nat shi, seventy; m-sat shi, eighty; ja-*ch*oo shi, ninety; lah-sah, one hundred; lah-sah l-ngai, one hundred and one; mi-sah, two hundred; m-hsoom sah, three hundred; khing-mi, a thousand (Shan).

VERBS.

Kakhyen verbs may be either transitive, as toot, to sell, hprah, to destroy, or intransitive, as sah, to go, hten, to be destroyed. Some verbs are used in an active or passive sense, according to the demand of the context, without any changes of form.

The accidents of mood and tense are expressed by the use of particles, the form of the verb never undergoing any change.

The following paradigm indicates the most common form of the verb:—

k-lau, to work or to do.

PRESENT TENSE.

SINGULAR.

PLURAL.

n-gai k-lau	I do or work.	i k-lau	We do or work.
nang k-lau	Thou dost or workest.	nik-lau	Ye do or work.
chi k-lau	He does or works.	chi-nik-lau	They do or work.

The various forms of personal pronouns which may be employed can be seen by reference to the section on Pronouns.

IMPERFECT OR PAST INDEFINITE.

n-gai k-lau hsa	I worked.	i k-lau hsa	We worked, etc.
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PERFECT OR PAST DEFINITE.

n-gai k-lau ngoot-hsa	I have worked.	i k-lau ngoot-hsa	We have worked, etc.
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FUTURE.

n-gai k-lau nah	I will work, etc.
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PRESENT PARTICIPLE.

k-lau ngah	working.
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IMPERATIVE.

k-lau moo	work.
k-lau kau	let us work.
hpoong k-lau	work not (prohibitive).

POTENTIAL MOOD.

n-gai k-lau loo-a	I can do, etc.
n-gai k-lau loo-nah	} I must do, etc.
n-gai k-lau an-nah	

SUBJUNCTIVE.

n-gai k-lau yang	If I work, etc.
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Remarks on Paradigm.

hsa affixed to the verb denotes what is *past* or *finished*. It may denote a completed act or one whose commencement is completed, though the act still continues.

ngoot-sa affixed to the verb denotes an act *wholly completed* in the past.

nah affixed denotes future time.

moo is a strictly imperative affix.

hpoong is a strictly prohibitive prefix.

ngah, *to dwell, remain*, affixed to a verb, denotes *present continuance* or *existence* of an action or state.

loo affixed to a verb denotes *can, be able*, but with the future nah, denotes *must*.

yang affixed to a verb is equivalent to *if*.

OTHER VERBAL PARTICLES.

These may be classified as follows:—Assertive, Temporal, Imperative, Interrogative, Emphatic, and Qualifying.

ASSERTIVE PARTICLES.

a	as, n-gai sah-a	I go.
ai	as, chi lah-sah-ai	he fetches it.
teh	(in the Kowrie dialect)	

TEMPORAL PARTICLES.

ngah, denotes *present continuance* of action or state, as shat-shah ngah-a, he is eating.

nau, *still, yet*, denotes *present continuance* of action or state, as shat-nau shah ngah-a, he is still eating.

ni *about or on the point of*, as chi shat-shah nah-ni, he is about to eat rice.

krai with the negative n- means *not yet*, as chi krai n-shah, he has not yet eaten.

shi at the end of a negative sentence has the same meaning as krai. In an affirmative sentence it means *yet or again*.

ran, *again*, is used with the future particle nah, as chi hsah-ran-nah, he will go again.

kang denotes a thing as already done, as chi k-lau kang-hsa, he has done it once.

IMPERATIVE PARTICLES.

moo is the strictly imperative affix, as hprah-moo, destroy; sometimes oo.

yoo-moo signifies *try*, as k-lau yoo-moo, try to do.

kau is first pers. pl. imperative, as shat-shah-kau, let us eat.

moo-kau may be used in a causative manner, as chi k-lau moo-kau, let him do it.

hpoong is prohibitive, as hpoong a-noo, don't strike.

rit used with hsah, to go, denotes motion towards, as hsah-rit, come.

hpoong—sh-ngoon, prohibitive causal, as hpoong yoop sh-ngoon, do not let (him) sleep.

INTERROGATIVE PARTICLES.

i is a direct interrogative ending, as nang hsah-nah-i, will you go?

mi is used similarly.

a-htah is an indirect interrogative, as hprah k-teh ngah a-htah, how many gods are there?

lau is a respectful interrogative, as k-tai-lau, who is it?

EMPHATIC PARTICLES.

jah jah, very, as jah jah k-bah, it is very large.

QUALIFYING PARTICLES.

Many of these particles are verbs. They are as follows:—

lau, *to be enough*, as ma-shang ni lau shah-hsa, the men have eaten enough.

kam, *to exert one's self*, as too-wah kam k-lau-a, the chief exerts himself to work (*i.e.* to get something accomplished).

ma-yoo, *to wish, desire*, as ngai moo ma-yoo-a, I want to see.

pai, *to return*, used to denote repetition of action, *again*, as chi pai k-lau-hsa, he has done it again.

loi, *to be easy*, as chi k-lau loi-a and chi a-loi k-lau-a, he works easily.

cheng, *to know* (also cheh), hence *to be able to do*, as chi cheng k-lau-a, he can (*i.e.* knows how to) work.

mah, *to come to an end*, as mam-koo shah mah-hsa, the rice is entirely eaten up.

htoom, *to come to an end*, as mam-koo shah htoom hsa, the rice is entirely eaten up.

row, *to be free, at leisure*, as ngai n-row k-lau, I cannot find time to do it.

too-khah, *until*, as chi hsah-nah too-khah, nang ngah moo, remain here until he goes.

roo, *to be hard, difficult*, as k-lau roo-a, it is difficult to do.

mai, *to be good*, as chi mai k-lau-a, it is good for him to do it.

taun-tah, *to put, place*, affixed to the verb, gives the idea of completeness of action, as chi k-lau taun-tah, he has worked.

sh-ngoon, *to cause*, is used in a causative sense, as wah k-shah hpai kat deh hsah sh-ngoon-*a*, the father makes his son go to the city, kwi ning-shi ja-khrat sh-ngoon-*a*, the dog causes the knife to fall.

tat, *to send*, is also used in a causative sense, as kwi ning-shi ja-khrat tat-*a*, the dog causes the knife to fall.

kam, *to wish*, only in composition, as ngai kam m-ri, I wish to buy.

ADVERBS.

Adverbs and words used adverbially may be classified as follows:—

ADVERBS OF PLACE.

(a) Interrogative: k-deh, where? whither? as chi k-deh hsah-nah-i, where will he go? k-nang, where? whither? as nang k-nang loo-*a*-i, where do you get it? k-deh-nai and k-nang-nai, whence? as chi-ni k-nang-nai hsah-hsa-i, whence did they come?

(b) nang and nang-deh, here; wau-deh, and wau-nang-deh (also wo-deh and wo-nang-deh), there; hto-deh, yonder; man-deh and shaung-deh, before; hpang-deh and shaung-too-deh, behind; m-poo, below; ning-sang, above; k-tah, inside; shing-gan, outside.

ADVERBS OF TIME.

(a) Interrogative: k-loi, when? as nang k-loi hsah-nah-i, when will you go?

(b) Irregular forms in common use.

tai-ni, to-day.

tai-nah, to-night.

hpaut, hpaut-deh, hpaut-ni, to-morrow.

hpaut-ma-nap, to-morrow morning.

hpaut-nah, to-morrow evening.

m-ni, yesterday.

m-nah, last evening.

m-ni or m-an-ni, day before yesterday.

tai-ning, this year.

m-ning, last year.

htah-ning, next year.

yah, now.

mi-yat, just now (past).

yah-khring-mai, just now (*i.e.* soon)
 yat-khring-shah
 loi-khring-shah } soon.
 an-nah
 yah-mai, afterwards.
 hpang-deh and yah-hpang-deh, afterwards.
 moi-yah, then, formerly (also moi-yi).
 nah-nah, long (time).
 k-lang-lang, sometimes.
 k-loi-loi, occasionally.
 sh-ni-toop, all day.
 lang-mi, once.
 l-chaung-lang, twice.
 k-loi-moo, every time.

ADVERBS OF MANNER.

- (a) Proper adverbs, as li-lah, in vain; shit-tah, together, as chi-ni-shit-tah k-lau-nah, they will work together.
 (b) Single verbs used as adverbs, as nah, to be long in time, chi hsah-nah-hsa, he has been gone a long time.
 (c) Single verbs reduplicated, mai mai k-lau-moo, do well.

ADVERBS OF NUMBER.

These are formed by cardinal numbers prefixed to lang, a time, as l-ngai lang, one time, l-chaung lang, two times. One time is also indicated by mah or mi, as lang-mah, one time; k is also prefixed sometimes, as k-lang-mah.

ADVERBS OF COMPARISON.

maren the same.
 ah-rah equally.
 jah jah
 a-hpah
 now
 now-wah } very.
 saun saun, rather, about.

ADVERBS OF NEGATION.

The adverb of negation is n, which is prefixed to the verb, as ngai n-hsah-nah, I will not go.

Kang affixed to a verb having the negative prefixed signifies *never*, as ngai n-moo kang hsa, I have never seen.

PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES USED ADVERBALLY.

ning-rang, ning-rai, shing-rai, ning-di, n-tai-saun-deh,
wau-rah-saun-deh, thus :

k-ning and k-ning-di, how ?
k-deh, how many ? how much ?
n-tai, so much.
sh-koo and koo, every.
hpah-rai, why ?

MISCELLANEOUS.

moo, also, as chi-ni moo hsah-nah, they also will go.
shah, only, as n-tai shah-ngah, there is this only.
k-ji, a little.
k-ji-shah, only a little.
sh-rah-ma-koop, every where.
sh-ni-sh-nang, every day.
toot-toot, every time.

PREPOSITIONS (*really* AD-POSITIONS).

There is no such thing as a *preposition* in the Kakhyen language. English prepositions are represented by *secondary nouns*, or particles affixed to the noun governed. The secondary nouns should properly be treated under the section on Nouns.

k-ang (also k-ah), in the midst of, as khow-nah k-ang kwi ngah, there is a dog in the midst of the rice-field.

k-tah, inside of, within, as hsoom-too hsam-po k-tah deh ngah, the hammer is within the box.

kroop, around, as n-tah kroop hpoon ngah-a, there are trees around the house.

gway and kau, to, as ngai ma-htin too gway hsah-nah, I will go to the Matin chief.

saun, as, according as, n-tai lai-kah saun, chi mai mai k-lau-a, according to this book, he does well.

shing-gan, outside, as kam-rang wah laung shing-gan ngah, the pony is outside the stable.

shing-too-deh, behind, as wau-rah ma-shang shing-too-deh kwi k-ji ngah, there is a small dog behind that man.

shaung-deh, before, chi n-tai-wah shaung-deh k-lau hsah, he did it before this person.

ta-khoo and n-khoo, within, inside of, as chi n-tah ta-koo deh shang-hsa, he has gone within the house.

hteh, with, as kah-deh k-lau-hsah, it is made of (*i.e.* with) earth.

hteh-row, together with, as chi nan-hteng hteh-row k-lau-nah, he works together with you.

deh, at, in, to, chi n-tah-deh ngah ngah, he is at the house.

ning-sang and n-sah, upon, above, as wau-rah n-tah ning-sang deh kah-khah ngah, there is a crow upon that house.

nai and deh nai, from, as chi wau-rah n-tah deh nai hsah-a, he comes from that house.

hpang-deh, after, as chi ngai hpang-deh hsah-nah, he will come after me.

m-kow, by, near, as n-tah m-kow hpoon ngah, there is a tree near the house.

m-joi and m-ji, on account of, as l-po wau-rah m-joi, chi khrit-a, he is afraid on account of that snake.

n-taung-deh, before, in front of, as n-tah n-taung-deh lam ngah-a, there is a road before the house.

m-rah, for the sake of, on account of, as ma-shang m-cha m-rah too yay-hsoo hsi kham-hsah, Jesus suffered death for all men.

l-htah, above.

l-pran, between, as kwi n-tah l-chaung l-pran ngah-a, a dog is between the two houses.

lam, concerning, about, as chi kam-hpraung lam soon-a, he speaks about the money.

wau-rah-chran-deh, on that side of.

n-tai-chran-deh, on this side of.

m-poo, under, below, as n-tah m-poo-deh oo l-ngai chaum-a, one fowl goes under the house.

CONJUNCTIONS.

(a) COPULATIVE RELATIONS.

hteh (with nouns), k-hteh (with verbs), and, as kwi hteh toom-hsoo ngah-a, there are dogs and cows.

tai-htah, moreover, besides, as ngai n-tah k-lau-nah, tai-htah li k-lau-nah, I will build a house, besides I will build a boat.

(b) ADVERSATIVE RELATIONS.

rai-ti-moo, although, nevertheless, as a-moo-ngah rai-ti-moo ngai hsah-nah, although I have business, I will go. rai-ti-moo also expresses the sense of *or*, as mai mai k-lau-nah-i, rai-ti-moo n-mai k-lau-nah-i, will you do well or will you do badly?

(c) ILLATIVE RELATIONS.

tai-rai-yang and shing-rai-yang, therefore, as chi n-k-ji tai-rai-yang, khi hpai a-noo-moo, he is bad, therefore beat him.

(d) TELIC RELATIONS.

loo-khah or loo khrah, in order that, as n-tah n-tai k-lau loo-khah koo-wah m-ri taun-tah, in order to make this house I bought bamboos.

(e) CONDITIONAL RELATIONS.

yang, if, as chi yang-yi toot-yang ngai m-ri-nah, if he sells the potatoes I will buy them.

(f) TEMPORAL RELATIONS.

sh-loi, when, as chi poom-deh wah sh-loi joom lah-wah-nah, when he returns to the mountain, he will carry salt.

l-pran, before, as chi hsah-l-pran, before he goes.

hpang-deh, after, as chi hsah hpang-deh, after he goes.

(g) MISCELLANEOUS.

m-joi, because, as n-tai ma-shang m-ji-ai-m-joi, ngai mit-roo-a, because this man is sick I am sorry.

lam, the reason or fact of, that, as chi n-tah hprah lam ngai cheng-a, I know that (*i.e.* the fact) he destroyed the house.

saun, according as, as chi soon-ai-saun, mai k-lau-a, it is well to do as he says.

The English *that* is often indicated by no sign, the collocation of the clauses of the sentence being sufficient, as chi shat-shah, ngai cheng-a, I know that he eats rice.

INTERJECTIONS.

wai	exclamation of surprise.
ov-ay	„ in calling.
a-kah	„ expressive of pain.
a-kah-kah	„ „ „
oi	„ of response.

DIALECTS.

There are considerable dialectic differences between the different tribes. Sometimes names for an object are entirely different. Sometimes there are changes in the consonants, or vowels, or tones only. Thus oo and woo are dialectic differences in the name of a *fowl*, ma-shah and ma-shang for *man*, khah and kheng for *to know*.

CONSTRUCTION OF SENTENCES.

The order of the words and clauses in a sentence is more perfectly like the Burman than that of any other language of Farther India. A Kakhyen sentence can generally be transposed into a Burman sentence, word for word, without disturbing the collocation of the words, yet there are scarcely any words which show any affinity for corresponding words in the Burman in form and meaning.

ART. XVII.—*Notes on the Libyan Languages, in a Letter addressed to Robert N. Cust, Esq., etc., Hon. Secretary R.A.S., by Prof. F. W. NEWMAN, M.R.A.S.*

DEAR SIR, — You have requested me to write some account of the work which I have in hand concerning the Libyan languages. I cannot satisfy myself without a rather lengthy introduction, which must begin with some account of my sources of knowledge. It may be best to open these historically.

Venture de Paradis, Professor of Turkish in the Paris School of Living Languages, initiated the study of the native language spoken on the highlands and slopes of Mount Atlas. He was well acquainted with Arabic and Persian, and was selected by Napoleon the First as "Secretary Interpreter" to the Chief of the Army in Egypt. The celebrated Amédée Jaubert, his successor in the Turkish Professorship, gives high testimony to his powers and activity. Yet his Dictionary, published by Jaubert half a century later, —that is, in 1844,—is unfortunately grounded on the false assumption that only one language is spoken in the Algerine and in the Morocco highlands. In his own day St. Augustine attested that one language prevailed in Roman Africa, and it was quite natural to suppose the same to be true now, when a large and striking similarity was found in the leading nouns and verbs. But the changes induced in 1500 years have broken up the original unity, and we are now forced to admit at least four languages, each differing from the other more than German from Dutch, or Portuguese from Spanish. Venture incorporated into his Dictionary, which necessarily was only a skeleton, the Algerine language which we call Kabail, and the Morocco language which we call Shilha. His Kabail, moreover, is not identical with

the Zouave, and it is often a delicate problem to separate his Shilha words.

Several travellers brought to Europe short notices of these tribes, vaguely called Berbers, and very short lists of their native words. But none appear to have put out so much energy as Mr. William B. Hodgson, United States Consul at Tunis, about the time of the French conquest of Algiers (1830) and perhaps a little earlier. Considering his entire isolation and the lack of practical interest to the United States, his energy and literary ambition are remarkable. He induced an "educated" Taleb of Ghadames to compose a volume of his travels among the Tuariks (in Arabic perhaps), with an Arabo-Tuarik vocabulary. This MS. he sent to the learned Monsieur D'Avezac, of Paris, a veteran student of African tribes and institutions. But to this day (it seems) it has not been published; possibly because in Paris graver defects were found in it than Mr. Hodgson had the means of detecting. He further, when Pro-Consul at Algiers, engaged Sidi Hamet, a learned native of Bougie, to translate the four Gospels and the Book of Genesis for the London Bible Society into the Kabail language. As a specimen the Society printed only the first twelve chapters of Luke, because of hesitation about the peculiar types employed. On this topic there is something to be explained.

The Kabail of Bougie, equally with the Zouave, lisps the ordinary *t* into *ts*. The Galla language also has a peculiar *ts*, for which Karl Tutschek invented a Roman substitute. Either by his own initiation, or by Mr. Hodgson's suggestion, Sidi Hamet invented a new *quasi*-Arab type, consisting of an Arab *س* surmounted by the two dots of a *ت*, to represent the sound which on different areas vacillates from *ts* to *t*. He likewise invented a new form for the sound which varies from *t* to Greek *θ*, being *θ* in the highlands and *t* in many of the lower districts. Apparently he objected to Arabic *ث*, because it is radically diverse from *ت*. But the innovations were not well received by the conservatism of the native Talebs, and have not been persisted in; nor did the Bible Society publish the rest of the translation. In

fact, it was pretty clear that Sidi Hamet, however fair his knowledge of his own language, was far from perfect in his understanding of the Arabic version of the Gospels, from which he translated. The Book of Genesis comes more easily to the mind of a Moslem, and one might perhaps wish that this book had been allowed to take the lead.

I fear to be egotistic; but my entanglement in these studies may seem so eccentric, that perhaps you will allow me to explain how this came about. My friend the late eminent Dr. James Cowles Prichard was writing his third edition of the *Physical History of Man* in 1834-5, and had just got upon the topic of Mount Atlas and its native races, when the twelve chapters of St. Luke (1833) were handed to him. He knew that I had a small practical acquaintance with Syrian Arabic, and immediately impressed me to study this very moderate volume. Indeed his ardour for science and his immense knowledge gave him much influence with young men: I had spare time, and under his encouragement I worked far more than I ever intended. In short, in 1835, I wrote an outline of the Kabail grammar, and an analysis, separating the native words from the Arabic copiously mixed; and my performance was printed January, 1836, in a magazine called the *West of England Journal*. The Chevalier (afterwards Baron) Bünsen took a kind interest in this, and by his own initiation induced the Bible Society to send me their MS. copies of the four Gospels and of Genesis. Over these I wasted much time, not duly taking to heart the certainty that able Frenchmen, with resources far greater, were sure to supersede and reduce to worthlessness anything that I could write. Nevertheless in my leisure hours I continued to work on; and at length, in 1843, finished a somewhat more complete Kabail Grammar; which under the kind patronage of Professor Lassen was published in the *Morgenländische Zeitschrift*, 1845.

Meanwhile, in 1844, two valuable works appeared in Paris. The one has been named already, the *Dictionary of Venture de Paradis*, from which the zealous editor (Jaubert) had constructed a reverse list, *Berber-Français*. He did not

separate the Arabic from the Berber. The other was a huge Kabail dictionary, Français-Berber, now known by the name of Brosselard. A committee of five persons were responsible for it, of whom Sidi Hamet was one; the other four were Frenchmen. We may probably infer that the chief stress of work fell on M. Brosselard, and that French acumen took sound measures for extracting out of Sidi Hamet whatever was fullest and most exact in his knowledge. This dictionary is, no doubt, a standard work, and thoroughly trustworthy; yet from my point of view it is sadly disappointing. Necessarily it had a political aim—to help French officers in their practical relations with native Libyans; and when these natives superseded Libyan vocables and verbs by Arabic, it was the duty of the dictionary to follow their lead. Thus the result is, that often from twenty lines one can hardly glean a single new Kabail word, and when you turn out a French word in hope, you are disappointed by being put off with Arabic. This work, however, for the first time made clear the distinction in Kabail (and virtually in all the Libyan languages) between the aorist and the present tense. The tendency in Arabic, as in Latin, to narrate past events by the present tense, made it impossible to ascertain from the texts previously laid before us, what forms denoted present time. No doubt Brosselard and his coadjutors hammered out the information from Sidi Hamet.

I may here remark that in the Libyan tongues, three or four *conjugations* (as in Latin we call them) naturally arise out of the mode in which the present tense is formed. If we set the commonest method as the first, we may say that the first conjugation prefixes Θ or T with a vowel, to form the present tense from the aorist; as from *Iffer* 'he hid,' comes *I θ ffer* 'he hides' (*Iteffer* in the lowlands). The second conjugation doubles the second radical; as from *Ifsi* (v. neuter) 'it melted,' *Ifessi* 'it melts;' from *Ifred* 'he swept,' *Ifferred* 'he sweeps.' A third and fourth conjugation are marked by vowel change; especially in causative verbs by long *â*. Thus *Isefsi* 'he caused to melt,' *Isefsâi* 'he causes to melt.' Again, as a fourth conjugation, *Isels* 'he clothed,'

Iseus 'he clothes.' If the vowel change could be sharply defined, space in a dictionary could be saved by noting the conjugation as 1, 2, 3, or 4.

After a lapse of fourteen years a still more important work appeared—the Kabail, or rather Zouave Grammar of Captain (now General) Hanoteau. He sent it to me with a very polite letter; and I never was able to be sure that my acknowledgments reached him; so much the more shall I be glad if he sees these lines. M. D'Avezac also was, in an earlier year, profuse in his kindness, sending me MSS. in his own handwriting, and inducing certain authorities in Paris to present me with Venture's Dictionary as soon as it came out. But it is too much to hope that he still remains with us, and can learn that I am still thankful. Hanoteau's grammar appears to me most happily planned, as well as vigorously executed. I admire it very much, though I cannot go along with his notation. He makes handsome acknowledgment to M. Bresnier, Professor of Arabic at Algiers, for "excellent counsels" and "inexhaustible" kindness. Indeed one might rather believe that the work came from a professor, than from a military officer; it is as thorough as it is practical; and, while not professing to be a dictionary, gives, I think, a larger amount of useful native words than the huge dictionary of Brosselard. Indeed Hanoteau must have high talent for language; for this great Kabail work in 1858 was followed in 1860 by a Tuarik grammar, which is, perhaps, more lucid still, and from end to end full of new instruction. Thus, in these two principal languages, the Kabail and the Tuarik, we have at length very firm footing.

Mr. James Richardson, a traveller whom one must respect for his devotion to African travel, in 1845 induced Ben Musa, a Taleb of Ghadames, to put pen to paper concerning the Ghadamsi and the Tuarik languages. But instead of writing the Arabic list himself, and requiring the Taleb to translate it, he left everything to the judgment of one who could not possibly understand our wants; a carelessness which has reduced the value of the pages to a minimum.

However, he did set before him the 3rd chapter of Matthew to translate into Ghadamsi; and Ben Musa's productions were lithographed in London (by the Foreign Office, as I understood), perhaps in 1846. I have no other source of information concerning the Ghadamsi language, and it is very limited. With certain oddities—especially the love of the letter *f* (which Hanoteau seems to pronounce *r*) and the frequent substitution of Arabic ξ for the Libyan ξ , Ghadamsi seems a genuine chip of the old block, and by no means an African mongrel.

Space scarcely allows me to dwell adequately on a short but learned tract of 1857, from the pen of Mr. H. Duveyrier. He writes in German, but since he speaks of "*our* Algerian possessions," I conjecture that he is of Alsace. He records in a moderate list words of the Beni Menasser, the Beni Mozab, the Zouaves, and the Tuarik of Ghat, all taken down from the lips of natives, and the sounds very carefully reproduced by him in European letters, as alone suitable for the purpose.

Until recently, I never analysed carefully Mr. Duveyrier's list of words, and now find them to throw light on an obscure question, the relation of the Beni Menasser to the other Libyans. They furnish the largest part of his list.

After striking out the pronouns, the numerals, and the words clearly Arabic, I found 137 words left. Of these I recognized 95 as more or less corrupt Kabail, only 8 as modified Tuarik, and 2 as Shilha. The remaining 32 have a few oddities of this dialect, and *may* have been pure Kabail until expelled from that tongue by Arabic substitutes. On the whole, in spite of the altered pronouns, it seems to be a *dialect* of Kabail. It is well to note that 25 of the feminine words differ from the Kabail, in having *no* initial Θ , but only a final θ or *t*; as *Ament* 'honey;' *Agmer- θ* 'a mare;' *Amtot* 'a woman.' In some words the form seems to be masculine, as *Abza* 'sand,' *Imzin* 'barley,' for *Abza*, *Omzin*; also *Hala* not *Thala* 'fountain;' *Het* not *Thet* 'an eye.' It is curious that Hodgson gives us as Kabail *Amtot* 'an unworthy woman.' I conjecture that it means a *masculine* woman, a "*virago*;"

the change from *Θamtot* denoting the loss of the feminine element. [I since find *Amto* as reproach to a woman in Kabail poetry.]

I did not mention that Mr. W. B. Hodgson, having learned that works on Kabail were about to appear in Paris, brought out rather hastily in 1844 the results of his own researches. I must speak of them with gratitude. I discern his difficulties and his imperfect opportunities. But, for these very reasons, he cannot compete with Hanoteau and Brosselard in solidity. He does not always remember the ambiguity of English words. His analysis of Libyan words is often in fault; nor have we security against vexatious misprints. Thus, when I read in his Tuarik list "Inee, month," the suspicion arises that it is a misprint for "Imi, mouth"; but as there is no repetition of words and no context, uncertainty remains. When in some cases the existence of error is obvious, it becomes impossible to receive with absolute confidence anything which is isolated and without corroboration. This is tantalizing, when so much of apparently new matter is presented. Besides, his notation is defective. He does not distinguish ط from *t*, ق from *k*, ج of Kabail from Arabic ض, *ts* (the lisping *t*) from *t-s*. Thus when he writes "Etsuk, suspect," it remains doubtful whether the root is *Suk* (Arabic *Shuk*?) and *Et* marks present time, or whether *Tsuk* is a Libyan root. These remarks are not intended for censure, but to indicate that information from this source must be accepted as suggestive only, not as final. Mr. Hodgson's pages range through a great variety of topics, and well deserved to be published. If his lists had been made alphabetical, they would have been much more serviceable. He has vocabularies of the Kabail, the Tuarik, the Mozabi, the Ergeia (or Wad-reag) and the Sergoo,—all of our Libyan family; but he imperfectly explains what dialect of Tuarik is intended. The Sergoo is that of Barth's Awelimmiden, who are the Tuariks of the south-west. The Kabail list is longer than all the rest together.

Dr. Barth affords a copious source of information, still

more difficult to use aright or to rest upon with uniform confidence. The work that he did was immense, and he was distracted from his Tuarik by other languages. I think his ear cannot have been good, and those to whom he listened must have jabbered in very rude and ungrammatical style. In 1856-7, while preparing his five large volumes for the press, he was glad to get help from me in putting his Tuarik leaves into shape. The MS., written in minute hand for portability, was often very difficult for him to decipher; and the idea has come over me, that this may have involved error. While I had no check upon him, I trusted his material, as needing *only* wise analysis: but since Hanoteau has thrown out such a flood of light, I use Barth with greater timidity, and find numbers of his phrases less and less amenable to the laws of the language, precisely because I know those laws somewhat better. Nevertheless, when he gives us, not sentences, but names of things which he knew familiarly, his possible error lies within narrow limits. His vocabulary of concrete things is very copious, exceeding that of Hanoteau. It is impossible not to give weight here to his testimony, only with some allowance for occasional confusion of sounds. The chief doubt that remains is, whether his "Awelimiden" have not largely imbibed words from the Fulahs, from Timbuctu (Songhay), or perhaps from Hausa: and in a few cases this is easy to trace. Yet, on the whole, I incline to believe his ample vocabulary to be native Surku; certainly it is to be received as such until disproved.

Besides the Tuarik of Barth, which is that of the southwest, and that of Hanoteau, which has the oasis of *Tuat* for its centre, a third dialect, that of Ghat, of the Azgar tribe, already touched on by Duveyrier, was taken up independently by Mr. H. Stanhope Freeman, British Vice-Consul at Ghadames. His little book is full of new material. It appeared in 1862. The diversity of these three dialects is striking; though, it may be, a foreigner will say that three English counties may be picked out, in which the peasant-dialect varies as much. But it certainly took me by surprise to find Barth and Hanoteau differing in words that must

perpetually occur, and thereby constantly perplex. For *all*, *every*, Barth has Rurret and Erétuse; for *few* he has Wafaror—words not to be found in Hanoteau; but, in turn, Hanoteau and Freeman use *Imda* (it is finished), *Emden* (they are finished) as a clumsy substitute for All. *Iket* in Ghadamsi means *a little*, but both Hanoteau and Barth use it to mean *All!* It is chiefly by diversity in such words, and in the pronouns (so called)—that is, not demonstrative only, but indefinite and relative,—that these idioms are put into contrast, and made virtually separate languages. Still, besides this, the names of very elementary things differ more than would be expected. Such also is the change from ancient to modern Greek.

I have not mentioned Mr. Delaporte, once French Consul at Mogadore, and one of the Committee responsible for Brosse-lard's large Kabail dictionary. He was the first, I believe, to impart definite notions concerning the Shilha tongue, called the Morocco Berber. His papers were lithographed in Paris, and he politely sent them to me. Soon after, the Royal Asiatic Society received from Mr. Hodgson, already named, the Shilha MS. of Sidi Ibrahim's travels among these Morocco tribes, with a free Arabic version. The Society engaged me in 1846-7 to edit the Shilha MS., which gives the best specimen of this language that I have yet seen. The poetical tale of Sabi, which Mr. Delaporte brought to Paris, is quite swamped in Arabic, which almost hides and suppresses the native Shilha.

As to the Zenaga, or Libyan in the Senegambian quarter, which General Faidherbe has so recently unveiled, while we cannot deny the Libyan elements, the diversity in nine words out of ten is too great to comment on. The change of sound, even when we seem to detect a Libyan word (as in *Amedukatz*, for *Amdukkel* 'a comrade,' *Shebbosh* for *Asaggas* 'a year'), is often so grave, that long practice and large materials are wanted, to judge what is possible from what. I feel quite unable at present to connect this new dialect profitably with the others.

We can now, at least for convenience, distribute the *Libyan*

languages as follows. FIRST, we have the group which seems to be *Numidian* eastward; Massylian, I suppose, on the lowlands and sea coast. We call this all Kabail. Its extreme type is that of the Zouave mountaineers. This is softened at Bougie, a maritime town; and in some of its dialects is rather dissolved than softened, so great is the corruption of sounds. To these may probably be added the Beni Manasser. Except as preserving a few words otherwise rare, and some peculiar use of the pronouns, these dialects seem not to deserve literary notice. NEXT is a small group very anomalous. It consists of the Beni Mozab, a white race, and the inhabitants of the oases of Wad-reag and Wergela, black races with woolly hair. Hanoteau gives the name Tagāubant to the dialect which Hodgson names Mozabi. Eregiyya is Hodgson's name for the speech of Wad-reag, which, he says, is identical with that of Wergela. His lists would lead me to say, that after all, these idioms are not a different language from Kabail. They have adopted or retained some Tuarik words, and have some notable words of their own, apparently pure Libyan. But nothing appears to suggest that a man of Bougie would not get on with them as easily as a Londoner with a Lancashire peasant. My present tendency is to comprise them all in the Kabail, with which they agree in some elementary and characteristic words. If so, my SECOND language is the Shilha, which seems to deserve fuller knowledge: but this will hardly be obtained from Talebs who overlay everything with Arabic, the moment they touch religion or morals. The town of Tarudant seems to be a centre for this language, which they emphatically call Tamazight. Morocco-Berber is the title which may be quickest understood by our public. *Perhaps* it is the specific dialect of ancient Mauritania Tingitana. A THIRD and far more important language is that of the Tuarik, which Hodgson says is called by themselves Tergeea. Duveyrier names it Targish. Hanoteau and Barth agree that Tuarik is *not* a native name. Barth insists that the best Arab authorities spell it توارى with soft *t* and soft *k*, so that it means *fugitives, deserters*; that is,

people, who, to escape subjection to Arab dominion, quitted their homes. Be this as it may, the name has prevailed and does prevail. That the natives do not use it, is no reason why we should abandon it, any more than that we should leave off calling the Germans Germans. Plutarch thought Germans to be a Latin word, and to mean "genuine fellows"! Now, as it would awkwardly confuse Germans and Dutch, if we were to call the Germans Deutsch; so, to call the Tuarik Imoshagh and each man an Amashigh, confounds them with the Shilhas, of whom each calls himself Amazigh (or freeman, Frank) and books in his language *Amzigh*. To change names that have been long in use surely promotes confusion.


The late Dr. Butler, very learned in geography, set down Getulians in his map, on the northern side of the Great Desert, and *Melano*-Getulians on the south; which implies that the Romans believed the Getulians not only to have conquered the Moorish coast northward, as Pliny tells, but to have been rovers over the great desert. Provisionally I accept them as probable ancestors of the Tuarik. That they fall into three dialects I have already said. I cannot find what town or oasis Barth regards as the centre of his Awelimiden. Hanoteau's grammar teaches us the language of the Isaqqamâren, vassals of the Ihaggaren, whose centre is Tuat, N.W. corner of the Tuarik area; Freeman professes to teach the dialect of Ghat, on the N.E. corner. This is the region of the Azgar tribe. The FOURTH language which remains is that of Ghadames, which some say is mixed with Tibbu, the ancient Garamantian.

No dictionary as yet exists, which registers these Libyan words alphabetically, and explains them in a European tongue; and if such a work were compiled for military and diplomatic service, it would be so buried in Arabic, as to be quite inconvenient for students curious of native tongues. On the whole, it has appeared to me that without wholly sacrificing the thing needed by actual travellers, merchants and officers, good service would be done by a dictionary of Libyan purged of all imported Arabic. Sometimes, no doubt, this involves a delicate problem. When a Libyan

word has a sensible likeness to Hebrew as well as to Arabic, it may be most true and primitive Libyan, and on no account to be ejected. Thus *Eshin* 'a tooth,' pl. *Ishinan* (Tuarik), is not only like to the Arabic *Sinn*, pl. *Esnān*, but more like still to the Hebrew *Shēn* 'a tooth.' But here the Ghadamsi *Asin*, pl. *Sinnān*, comes closer to Arabic. In certain words a harsh initial consonant is dropped, which is found in the Hebrew correlative equally as in the Arabic: then I do not at once infer that it is an importation. The word *Ajenna*, for Heaven, has caused me much doubt. It is perhaps from Arabic *El jenna* 'the garden (of Paradise).' In Barth it is *Ashinna*; and in Häusa we find from Schön that Heaven is expressed either by *Alitshana* (apparently *El jenna*) or by *Lahira*, which is evidently *El ākhira* 'the other (world).' Indeed, Hell in Schön is *Wuta lahira* 'fire (of) the other (world).' While thus inclined to trace the Arabic *Jenna* through the Tuarik to the Hausa, Barth draws me the other way by giving *Ajenni* and *Akonay* as alike meaning 'rain.' In every case of doubt I retain a word.

I keep the Kabail, the Tuarik, the Shilha, and the Ghadamsi lists, quite separate, even when the same word is slightly modified or not at all. Thus *Θισλιθ* 'a bride,' appears as Kabail, and *Tislit* 'a bride,' as Shilha. (Barth gives *Tamaselait*, but I cannot find Hanoteau's version of the word.) Moreover, I find it convenient to make three separate lists in each language; *first*, of verbs and their verbals, in which the adjectives are included by reason of Libyan structure: *next*, of nouns that are not manifestly verbals. Some or many of the latter may turn out to be foreign,—whether Tibbu, Songhay, Häusa, or Fulah. To strike them out or mark them when detected, is easy. *Thirdly*, I shall try to register the pronouns, particles, and primitive adverbs. This third list may have much in common with languages of North Africa which are less allied to the Syro-Arabian. The difficulty of making it turns upon the extreme vagueness of the Libyan conjunctions and indeed prepositions. I have at present no confidence that I shall execute this part satisfactorily. I have already

finished the first and second. I believe you asked me to send you some specimens. I take some at random :

From Kabail Nouns not Verbal.	From Shilha Nouns not Verbal.	From Tuarik Nouns not Verbal.
N	K	L
Anu, deep well.	Akai, head, <i>pl.</i> Ikūyan.	Ul, heart (Ulhi, B.) <i>pl.</i> Ulawen.
Yiwan, one, <i>f.</i> Yiwaθ.	Tekwit, a cough.	Ulli, flock, <i>esp.</i> goats.
Tini, dates, V. (possibly Shilha; as it is Tuarik. Br. gives only Arabic).	Takat, family, <i>pl.</i> Teketin.	Ili, black pepper, B.
Θunt, apart, <i>pl.</i> Θuna.	Akbel, maize.	Alawa, a purge, B.
Anebdu, summer.	Akud, time. (Arab?)	Ila, a leaf, <i>pl.</i> Ilaten, H.
Inebgi, guest, <i>pl.</i> Inebgawen.	Ikfil, squill (wild onion?)	<i>pl.</i> Alan, B.
Anbūken, soot.	Akiker, chickpea (<i>Lat.</i> Cicer).	Tela, shade (<i>also</i> , shadow, <i>i.e.</i> form H.) <i>pl.</i> Tilawin. 
Θinbalin, armlets, V.	Teklalit, Devonshire cream? sillabub?	Illi, Ulet, Ult, daughter; <i>pl.</i> Set or Shet, B.
Aindur, forehead.	Akilwash, he-goat.	Elu, elephant, <i>pl.</i> Eluan. (See verb Ilu, he was strong.)
Anefaa, stitch, <i>pl.</i> Inafa.	Kemmia, cimetar.	Aliwen, soup, B.
Anagi, witness, <i>pl.</i> Inagan.	Takenna, bedstead.	Eliwen, eyelash, B.
Θenūga, crowbar, <i>pl.</i> Θinūgawin.	Okons, bottom.	Weliya, stork, B.
[V. means <i>Venture</i> . B. " <i>Barth</i> . H. " <i>Hanoteau</i> . Br. " <i>Brosselard</i> .]		Awal (<i>parole, vox</i>), speech, utterance, word.

In the above I have written *sh* for ش and *kh* for خ, but to prevent error, as well as for compactness and grammatical clearness, I think it important to have a single letter for each elementary consonant. Either *x* or *c* suits well enough for ش; but I prefer to retain *c* for Italian *c* in *cio*, or for the sound which vacillates from this to *k*; then *x* serves for خ. Since the modern Greek sounds of Δ Θ Γ are exactly those for ث د غ, surely the obvious irrefragable method is, to adopt the Greek letters. Only, to prevent confusion of the small Γ (γ) with *y*, I have in my Arabic dictionary struck off the cross from *f*, and further (to be less like a long *f*) have depressed the letter in the line (f).

I will next give some specimens of verbs and verbals :—

Kabail.	Shilha.	Tuarik.
Elli, <i>Zouave</i> for Eldi; which see. <i>n.a.</i> Oullia.	Ira, he wished, will; <i>pres.</i> Ittiri. As auxiliary, Ira yesud, it will blow. [The root is rather Irha, as in Tu.]	Agadel, Odel, setting (of the sun), B. [But Yodel, <i>means</i> , he denied.]
Ilus, <i>pres.</i> Itlasi; address, discourse, utter. Heb. לעז ; Ar. ألف . <i>n.a.</i> Oulasa, parable, Mat. xiii. 13. <i>v.r.</i> Amlasan, they spake mutually, held altercation, John vi. 52.	Uri, write thou; <i>aor.</i> Yura; Aran, they wrote; <i>partic.</i> Iruan, the writer; <i>passive</i> , Iyāra, it is written. <i>n.a.</i> Tira, a writing.	Gaddelen, Jaddelen, they hunted after, Han.
Eldi, open thou; <i>aor.</i> Ildi, <i>pres.</i> Iledidi.	Irra, he gave back, set back, turned back. Arra semuqel, turn (thy) gaze. Arn-as-ad, they restored to him. Ibr.	Egdem, cut thou; S. Tu., Han.
Ilfes, burst, <i>v.n.</i> as an ulcer, Br.	Yewarri, he came back, <i>pres.</i> Itiwerri.	Egedemmag, I drive (my horse) on, B. Not referable to the last. From Ar. قدم ?
Ilfaṭ, (he was) dirty, Br.	Irwa, it is satisfied(?). As interjection, "All right!"	Ageder-aṭ, I } spring over; } B. Egedārit, he } jumped down, }
Iluṭ, it was turbid, [§ <i>n.a.</i> Aluṭu, Oaluṭ, turbidness.] <i>v.c.</i> Isluṭ, he made turbid, <i>n.a.</i> Asluṭ.	Arrau, offspring. Terwān, young children.	Igfel, he took captive, B., who has also Atikfelan, they ransacked. Perhaps Iqfel, rapuit; <i>pres.</i> Itaqfel, rapit.
Luaf, be smooth and soft; <i>pres.</i> (irregular) Iluqqaq; <i>v.c.</i> Selweṭ, polish.	Irgag, he shivered; <i>n.a.</i> Tergagait, shivering, Del. <i>pres.</i> Itergigi. Cf. رעש .	Ogig, afar. Yūgig, was distant; <i>pres.</i> Itāgeg; <i>imperat.</i> Ageg. <i>n.a.</i> Tugegi, distance, Han., but
Elhu, crawl, Hodgson, but qu.	Irqa, it burnt. <i>fem.</i> Terṭi, ardet (ignis) as Tu. Heb. חרק ; Ar. حرق .	Igig, Fr. A yugegen, the distant, <i>ro</i> νόρρῶς , as if for Wayugegen.
Elhu, be good, handsome; <i>aor.</i> Ilha; <i>partic.</i> Ilhan; <i>pres.</i> Italha. <i>v.c.</i> Selhu, make good, improve; <i>pres.</i> Iselhāi.		Igag, Ijaj, he heaped a load (on a camel); <i>pres.</i> Itagegg, Itajej. Ageggi, <i>pl.</i> Igeggan, camel's load. But in Ghad. Jejāq, laden, as if the root were lgaq.
		Ejāj, thunder, B. <i>aor.</i> Ijāj; <i>pres.</i> Itājij, it thunders, B.

[*na* means *noun of action*.
v.r. means *verb reciprocal*.
v.c. means *verb causative*.
Ibr. means *Ibrahim*.
Del. means *Delaporte*.
Fr. means *Freeman*.]

I had hoped to swell my Shilha list from Mr. René Basset's new version of the poem of Sabi. But hitherto, I am sorry to say, after elaborately clearing off very corrupt Arabic, my hope of learning a new Libyan word is sure to be foiled by the vagueness of the French translation; which may enable me to guess at the meaning, but does not really fix it. Hanoteau's Kabail Poetry involves like difficulty.

It is to my mind much to be rejoiced in, that Hanoteau and Faidherbe, Barth, Duveyrier, and Hodgson, are all of one mind as to the unfitness of Arab types to convey the Libyan sounds accurately. Our vowels cannot be superseded by Arabic marks; Arab consonants do not suit the Libyan tongue. Still, I am sorry to say, I cannot digest Hanoteau's invention of writing not *Gh* but *r'* for خ , which involves a general change in the received spelling of proper names. This objection is in itself insuperable. But Hanoteau seems not to understand why Europe has used *gh*; viz. because the sound of خ is to that of ك precisely as that of *g* to *k*, that of *b* to *p*, that of *z* to *s*; and because *kh*, *ch* are current for خ , therefore *gh* is used for خ . So in Dutch and old English. Hanoteau simply assures us, that خ is not *g* (who said it was?); of course we may reply that neither is خ *k*. But he tells us, it really is *r*! This means only that it is vibratory. True; ر and خ are *all* vibratory. Again, he writes *t'* for ط and *dh* for ض ; *th* for ث and *d'* for ذ , out of harmony. The two last should be dealt with by the same law, making them either *th* and *dh*, or *t'* and *d'*, or better than either way, θ and δ , Θ and Δ . On the other hand, ط and ض being a pair of the same kind in Arabic, should be paired by us, if represented as *t* and *d* modified. But, as said, I object to compounding two English letters for one sound. Here, moreover, the Libyans have but one letter, though its pronunciation varies locally. Thus Night is sounded *Idh* by the Zouaves, and *Ith* at Bougie, if we may judge by Sidi Hamet and Brosselard. The verb *cut* is sounded differently in London and in Manchester, but we should gain nothing by writing it in

two ways on that account. Still, if we do, let the types follow analogy. I will not here trouble you further with detail.

If I can compile these lists with moderate success, it will be a mere mechanical problem (which any one can execute, should it be worth while) to form a reverse list of *Nouns* in English alphabetical order. Such a list of the *Verbs* requires far more judgment and care. When I try to prepare the English list, I cannot yet at all please myself. Our language, mixed of Saxon, Norman, and Latin, is too copious, and the senses of the Latin part too sharply defined. At any rate I defer this. My ambition at present is, so far as possible, simply to reproduce the ancient Libyan in a concise form, very accessible to all our students. The separation into four or more languages will not mar the result; and to mix them into one, if ever it were wished, is very easy work.

Many phenomena of the Libyan tongues have surprised and pleased me, as superior to Arabic and Hebrew in their primitive formation. In Arabic I have always felt two scandals; the crippled condition of the relative pronoun, and the dire want of a particle for *of*. As to the latter, it would seem that the Northern Libyans have viciously imitated the clumsiness of modern Arabic, and have neglected (but have not lost) the particle *En, Ne* (of) which they have in common with Hāusa and Songhay. The Tuarik have no other mode of expressing our *of*. And here is a curious remark, as to the intense contrariety of Tuarik to Songhay construction. Barth gives us as the Songhay of Aghadez—

Gengen hamu, wild animals.

Gengi n haia, king of the desert.

Gengi n hani, wild buffalo.

Gengi n yoes, giraffe.

Evidently we see that in these Gengi means *the wilderness*; and, indeed, in the same page we come upon Gengi, *desert*. Thus Haia means *king*, and Hamu, *animals*; Hani, *bull*; Yoes perhaps *camel*; true, in the preceding page so it stands. Thus, *n* meaning *of*, where the Tuarik, like the English,

would say: king of wilderness, bull of wilderness, camel of wilderness, etc., the Songhay precisely reverses the order, saying: wilderness of camel, in precisely the same sense. I explain this to myself thus. The *n*, which means *of*, is comparable to Latin and Greek genitive termination -is, -os. This in Songhay, as in Greek, *follows* the noun which it affects; in English and in Libyan *precedes* it. Thus Gengi *n* yoes has the structure of Solitudin-*is* camelus, or if we accept the genitive as a possessive adjective, *Ἀγριος καμηλος*, wild camel, giraffe. In short, the *n* which is a *preposition* to the Tuarik is a *postposition* to the Songhay; a fact which at once suggests a general diversity of syntax. I think this diversity must cause repulsion between the languages.

Next, as to the relatives, the Libyan has as many as can be wished, unrestricted by Arab rules, and capable, as in Latin or Greek, of accepting a preposition, which here becomes a postposition; as *Ma* 'which;' *Mas* 'by which;' *Maq* 'on which,' etc. Not only is the completeness of the relative system a power to construction, but the existence of three participles in the verb, past, present, and future, as in Greek, is a great advantage over Hebrew and Arabic. Moreover the relative or definite article (whichever in this connexion it is to be called) by junction with the participle makes a compact result as in Greek or German. The formulas *ὁ γράψας*, *ὁ γράφων*, *ὁ γράψων*, can be literally reproduced in Libyan. Nay, if I mistake not, it has a double imperative, like *γράφε* (write, *habitually* or *continuously*), *γράφον*, write, i.e. *finish* the writing. In spite of the present barbarous vagueness of the particles which define and subserve reasoning, it seems clear to me that under native cultivation the language would be as superior to Arabic in flexible syntax as it is in melody.

Another point of interest to me is the causative form of the verb, induced by prefixing *s*, as *Ers* 'come down'; *Sers* 'cause to come down,' 'bring down.' In Amharic *s* has the same force; as *Kabara* 'he was honourable,' *Askabara* 'he made honourable,' or 'caused to honour' (Isenberg). I have read in some Arabic grammar that by reason of the tenth

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ART. XVIII.—*The Early History of Tibet. From Chinese Sources.* By S. W. BUSHELL, M.D., Physician to H.B.M. Legation, Peking.

INTRODUCTION.

TIBET, according to the Chinese, was inhabited by many scattered tribes up to the end of the sixth century, when they first heard of the establishment of a kingdom in their midst by Luntsansolungtsan, who, according to the 'Researches' of Ma Tuanlin, during the period K'aihuang, (A.D. 581-600) of the Sui Dynasty, extended his dominion on the south-west as far as P'olomên (Brâhmaṇa—Central India), till at the beginning of the T'ang Dynasty their army numbered 100,000 warriors, and they became a powerful state. He is probably the Luntsansu of the genealogy on p. 443. It was his son Ch'itsunglungtsan who sent the first mission to the Emperor T'aitzung of the T'ang Dynasty in 634, and was given a Chinese princess in marriage in 641.

The kingdom is described in the History of the T'ang under the name T'ufan. The second character *fan*, as first shown by Remusat, ought properly to be read *po*, being written with a phonetic which has the two sounds *fan* and *po*. This is confirmed by the inscription of the year 822 given in the Appendix, in which the native Tibetan name *Bod* is rendered in Chinese by the same character *Fan*. T'ufan is therefore equivalent to T'ubod. In the Sung History T'ufan is still used, but in the History of the Liao,

a Tatar dynasty reigning at the same time over the north of China, it is recorded that the Emperor Taotsung (1055-1100) gave a princess to be married to the son of the sovereign of T'upot'ê. During the Mongolian Yuan Dynasty both Chinese forms T'ufan and T'upot'ê were used, the last being equivalent to T'ubod, which is still the Mongol name of Tibet. During the Ming Dynasty the country was generally called Wussütsang, a name which occurs also in the preceding Yuan History, and which is compounded of the native names of the two principal provinces, *Dbus* and *Gtsang*; the modern name Weitsang is the same, the final *s* being mute in the Lhasa pronunciation of the present day. The names of Hsi (Western) Tsang and Hsi Fan are also used in Chinese books, and the natives are called T'upot'ê and Tangkut'ê. The European name of Tibet is derived from Mohammedan sources, and occurs in the *Eastern Travels* of the Arab merchant Soleyman, published according to M. Reinaud in 851. Marco Polo uses the form Tebet, and devotes two chapters to its description.

The accompanying paper is a literal translation from the official histories of the T'ang dynasty, which was founded in 618, and the notes are mainly derived from the same. There are two histories of this dynasty, distinguished as old and new, which constitute Nos. 16, 17, of the series of twenty-four dynastic histories. These histories are compiled from the records of events written at the time of their occurrence by the officials of the State Historiographer's office, an important department of the Hanlin College of Literature, the duties of which are the custody and preparation of the historical archives, and the composition of official biographies of all eminent public servants, as well as a relation of the foreign states which send tributary missions. These archives are collected after the fall of the dynasty, and given to a commission appointed by the emperor of the new dynasty to be arranged after a uniform model. They are generally divided into three sections: (1) 'Imperial Records,' containing a succinct chronicle of the several emperors; (2) a series of 'Memoirs' on chronology, rites, music, juria-

prudence, political economy, state sacrifices, astronomy, elemental influences, geography, government offices, vehicles and costume, literature and bibliography; (3) 'Narratives' of the lives of persons of eminence, and of what is known about foreign nations of the period. Should the dynasty last long, the archives are often compiled into book form by officials during its reign.

The Old T'ang History was first compiled by Wei Ching in 110 books, extending from the beginning of the dynasty to the period K'aiyuan (713-741). Wei Shu copied this with additions, cutting out the biographies of corrupt ministers. The life of the emperor Sutsung (756-762) was written by one of the historiographers, and the various sections written up to date by others till it comprised 130 books. As we have it now it was compiled by a commission, headed by Liu Chü, appointed by the founder of the After Chin dynasty, and completed in 200 books about the middle of the tenth century. After the period Ch'angch'ing (821-824), when the dynasty began to decline, the historiographers neglected their duties, and the history had to be completed from miscellaneous sources. During the Sung dynasty it was thought desirable to have a more perfect history, and a new commission was appointed to remodel the work about the middle of the eleventh century, the result of which was the New T'ang History in 255 books, written chiefly by Ouyang Hsiu and Sung Ch'i.

These two voluminous compilations circulated together, each having its school of admirers, until the middle of the last century, when the Emperor Ch'ienlung happily had the two combined, the one being appended to the other as a running commentary in small type, and note being made of any discrepancy. This edition is in 260 books, of which the 256th and 257th are devoted to Tibet. The text of this is from the Old History, and is in large type, while the paragraphs from the New History are in smaller type, and the two sources are similarly distinguished in the translation.

This lengthened introduction is intended to show the authenticity of the narrative, most of the events having been

recorded at the time, so that the relation as far as it goes is contemporary. The names of the sovereigns have a general resemblance to those given in the books on Tibetan history: the fifth on the list, for example, Ch'ilisulungliehtsan, who died in 755, being about as near as Chinese cumbrous nomenclature would allow to Khri srang lde btsan, who, according to Csoma de Korös' list, was born in 728, *ch'i* having been formerly *k'i*, and *l* being used for *r*, a letter absent from the Chinese syllabary. There are so many discrepancies, however, in the tables given by different authors, that it is difficult to find a correct standard for comparison; for instance, in Georgii Alphabetum Tibetanum, Schmidt's translation of Ssanang Setzen, Csoma de Korös' Tibetan Grammar and Emil Schlagintweit's Könige von Tibet, the genealogical lists differ very widely both from each other and from the dates of the T'ang Histories. These tables are all derived from Buddhist sources, where chronology appears always to be deemed of minor importance. A table of some of the principal dates given in the paper may perhaps be useful for future comparison.

	A.D.
<i>Ch'itsunglungtsan</i> sent the first mission to China	634
Married to the Chinese Princess Wênch'êng	641
Invaded Central India	648
<i>Ch'ilipapu</i> , grandson of <i>Ch'itsunglungtsan</i> , succeeded...	650
<i>Ch'inushsilung</i> , son of <i>Ch'ilipapu</i> , succeeded, aged 8 ...	679
Princess Wênch'êng died	680
The regent <i>Ch'inling</i> was attacked and killed himself.....	699
<i>Ch'lisotsan</i> , son of <i>Ch'inushsilung</i> , who was killed on an expedition against Nepâl and India, succeeded, aged 7	705
Married to the Chinese Princess of Chinch'êng...	710
Treaty concluded with China recorded on stones, which were afterwards erected on the frontier at <i>Ch'ihling</i>	730
Princess of Chinch'êng died.....	741
<i>Ch'ilisulungliehtsan</i> died	755

Tsong Betzen

<i>Sohsilungliehtsan</i> , son of Ch'ilisulungliehtsan, succeeded	755
After conquest of N. W. China, W. of Lung Mountains, made a sworn treaty at Ch'angan ...	756
Took Ch'angan, the capital of China	763
<i>Ch'ilitsan</i> reigning. A mission of peace sent from China	780
Sworn treaty concluded at Ch'ingshuihsien	783
Ceremony at P'ingliang treacherously broken through	787
<i>Tsuchihchien</i> , eldest son of Ch'ilitsan, succeeded.....	797
Died the next year. Succeeded by second son of Ch'ilitsan.....	798
The Tsanp'u died	804
<i>K'olik'otsu</i> , who reigned under the title Yit'ai, succeeded	816
Sworn ceremony at Ch'angan.....	821
Treaty ratified in Tibet and monument erected..	822
<i>Tamo</i> (Dharma), brother of K'olik'otsu, succeeded.....	838
On Tamo's death <i>Ch'ilihu</i> , of the house of Lin, a nephew of his consort, was set up, and civil war ensued	842
<i>Shangk'ungje</i> , who had declared himself <i>tsanp'u</i> , surrendered several cities and passes to China	849
<i>Shangk'ungje</i> killed in battle by the Ouigour Turks	866

T'ANG HISTORY. BOOKS 256, 257.

T'ufan is situated eight thousand li west of Ch'angan(1). It was formerly, during the Han dynasty, the territory of the Western Ch'iang. The original source from which the natives sprang is unknown.

Formerly the Western Ch'iang(2) comprised a hundred and fifty tribes, scattered over the lands of Ho, Huang, Chiang, and Min. Included among them were the Fa Ch'iang, and T'angmao, who, however, had then no intercourse with China. They were settled on the west of the Hsichih river. Their ancestor (founder of the dynasty), named Hut'ip'usuyeh, was a powerful warrior, and most politic, and by degrees united the different Ch'iang tribes, and ruled over their territory. *Fan* resembles *fa* in sound, hence his descendants acquired the name of T'ufan, their surname being P'usuyeh.

Some say that they are descended from T'ufo Liluku of the Southern Liang Dynasty(3). Liluku had a son named

Fanni. When Liluku died, Fanni was still a boy, and his younger brother Jut'an succeeded to the throne. He appointed Fanni governor of Anhsi. During the After Wei dynasty, in the first year of the period Shênjui (A.D. 414), Jut'an was overthrown by Ch'ifuch'ihp'an, of the Western Ch'in dynasty, and Fanni collected the remnant of the people, and submitted to Tsuch'ü Mêngsun, by whom he was appointed Governor of Linsung (Kanchou). When Mêngsun in turn was slain, Fanni at the head of his people fled westwards across the Yellow River, and beyond Chishih founded a state in the midst of the Ch'iang, with territory extending over a thousand li. Fanni was celebrated for his power and wisdom, and all the Ch'iang tribes placed themselves under his rule, and, being governed mildly and justly, ran to his standard as it were to market. Then he changed his surname to Sup'uyeh, and adopted T'ufo as the name of his state, which became afterwards corrupted into Tufan. His descendants increased in number and power, and continued to acquire land and fame till their territory became of vast extent. During the Chou and Sui dynasties (557-618), the Ch'iang tribes still blocked the way, and they did not communicate with China.

The natives style their sovereign *tsanp'u*; the ministers of state, called great *lun* and small *lun*, are appointed to control state affairs.

They call a famous hero *tsan*, and man *p'u*, hence the title of the sovereign, *tsanp'u*(4). The consort of the *tsanp'u* is styled *momêng*. The officials include one chief minister, called *lunch'ai*, with one assistant, called *lunch'aihumang*, who are also styled great *lun* and small *lun*; and one commander-in-chief, called *Hsapiench'ep'u*. Also a chief minister of the interior, called *Nanglunch'ep'u*, also called *Lunmangjê*, an assistant minister, *Nanglunmilungp'u*, and a lesser minister, *Nanglunch'ung*. Also a chief consulting minister, called *Yuhanpoch'ep'u*, an assistant, *Yuhanmilungp'u*, and a lesser minister, *Yuhanpoch'ung*. These have the control of state affairs, and are styled collectively *Shanglunch'ep'ul'uchü*.

They have no written characters. Notched pieces of wood and knotted strings are used in covenants. Although there are officers, they are not constantly employed, being only appointed when there is stress of business. For collecting warriors they use gold arrows.

They use a gold arrow seven inches long as a sign of office. There is a post

station every hundred *li*. If the war be important the courier carries also on his breast a silver hawk, if of urgent importance several of these hawks.

When the country is invaded the smoke-fires are lighted, there being a tower every hundred *li*.

Their punishments are most severe, and even for small crimes the eyes are scooped out, and the nose cut off, or stripes inflicted with a leather whip. They differ according to caprice, there being no fixed code. They imprison men in holes several tens of feet under the ground, and release them only after two or three years.

When they entertain envoys from foreign countries, they always bring out a yak for the guest himself to shoot, the flesh of which is afterwards served at the banquet.

The officers are assembled once every year for the lesser oath of fealty. They sacrifice sheep, dogs, and monkeys, first breaking their legs and then killing them, afterwards exposing the intestines and cutting them into pieces. The sorcerers having been summoned, they call on the gods of heaven and earth, of the mountains and rivers, of the sun, moon, stars, and planets, saying: "Should your hearts become changed, and your thoughts disloyal, the gods will see clearly and make you like these sheep and dogs." Every three years there is a grand ceremony, during which all are assembled in the middle of the night on a raised altar, on which are spread savoury meats. The victims sacrificed are men, horses, oxen, and asses, and prayers are offered in this form: "Do you all with one heart and united strength cherish our native country. The god of heaven, and the spirit of the earth, will both know your thoughts, and if you break this oath they will cause your bodies to be cut into pieces like unto these victims."

The climate of the country is extremely cold.

With frequent thunder, lightning, wind, and hail. The snow remains, the height of summer being like the springtime of China, and there is always ice in the mountain valleys. There is a cold malaria in the soil which causes the natives to have enlarged spleens, but is not dangerous to life.

They grow no rice, but have black oats, red pulse, barley, and buckwheat. The principal domestic animals are the yak, pig, dog, sheep, and horse. There are flying squirrels, re-

sembling in shape those of our own country, but as large as cats, the fur of which is used for clothes. They have abundance of gold, silver, copper, and tin.

The natives generally follow their flocks to pasture, and have no fixed dwelling-place.

Many live to a great age, a hundred years and upwards. They are commonly clothed in felt and leather. They are fond of painting their faces red. The women gather their hair in a single plait, and coil it round the head. The officers in full costume wear as ornaments—those of the highest rank *sê-sê*(5), the next gold, then gilded silver, then silver, and the lowest copper—which hang in large and small strings from the shoulder, and distinguish the rank of the wearer.

They have, however, some walled cities. The capital of the state is called the city of Lohsieh(6).

The tsanp'u resides in the Papu valley or in the Loso valley.

The houses are all flat-roofed, and often reach to the height of several tens of feet. The men of rank live in large felt tents, which are called *fulu*. The rooms in which they live and sleep are filthily dirty, and they never comb their hair nor wash. They join their hands to hold wine, and make plates of felt, and knead dough into cups, which they fill with broth and cream and eat the whole together.

They worship the *yuanti*(7) god, and believe in witches and seers.

They are fond of the doctrine of Buddha, and no important state affairs are settled without consulting the Buddhist monks.

They have no knowledge of the seasons, and barley harvest is reckoned the beginning of the year. Their games are chess and bowls, trumpet-blowing and beating drums. The bow and sword are never separated from the body. They honour the strong and neglect the old, so that mothers bow down to their sons, and sons rule over their fathers, and whether going out or coming in the young men are always in front, the old men placed behind. The general's orders are sternly enforced, and in battle when the front rank is annihilated, the rear rank still presses on.

The armies carry no provision of grain, and live on plunder. The armour and helmet are very strong and cover the whole body, with holes for the eyes only, so that the strongest bow and sharpest sword can hardly do them much harm.

They consider death in war as more honourable than death from disease, and if several generations have been killed in

battle the family is ennobled. If any one turns his back on the foe, they hang a fox's tail on his head, to show that he is as cowardly as a fox, and exhibit him in crowded places as a warning to others. They are extremely ashamed of this, and deem death preferable. When they do homage, the two hands must touch the ground, they bark like dogs, and after rising again prostrate themselves.

When mourning for father or mother, they cut off their hair, paint their faces black, and put on black clothes; as soon as the body has been buried the mourning is put off. When the tsanp'u dies, they bury men with him.

The sovereign has five or six chosen friends among his officers, who are styled *comrades*, and when the sovereign dies all these kill themselves to be buried with him(8).

His clothes, jewels and valuables, the horses he was in the habit of riding, his bow, sword and other weapons, all are buried at the same time. Then upon the grave a large building is erected, and a tumulus of earth thrown up, which is planted with trees as the place for ancestral worship.

After him reigned a sovereign named Hsiahsitungmo; Tungmo begat T'ot'utu; T'utu begat Chiehlishihjo; Chiehli begat P'umungjo; P'umung begat Chüsujo; Chüsu begat Luntsansu; Luntsan begat Ch'itsunglungtsan, also called Ch'isumung, and styled Fuyehshih.

In the 8th year of the period Chênkuan (634) the tsanp'u Ch'itsunglungtsan first sent envoys to the emperor with tribute. Lungtsan was still a minor when he succeeded to the throne. He was by nature fond of war, as well as a clever tactician, and the neighbouring states, the Yangt'ung(9), and other Ch'iang tribes, all went to him to do homage. The emperor T'aitzung despatched the envoy Fêng Têhsia on a peaceful mission to him, and he received Têhsia most joyfully. Having heard that the T'uchüeh(10) and T'ukuhun(11) had both been given princesses in marriage, he sent a return mission which accompanied Têhsia on his return, with rich presents of gold and precious things and a respectful letter petitioning for a matrimonial alliance. The emperor refused. When the envoy returned, he reported to Lungtsan: "When we first arrived at court they received us most honourably and promised a princess in marriage, but just then the T'ukuhun Prince happened to come to court and interfered to

break off the negotiation. Thereupon we were treated with scant ceremony, and the alliance was declined."

Lungtsan thereupon, together with the Yangt'ung, led the united armies to attack the T'ukuhun. The T'ukuhun were unable to withstand him, and fled to the banks of the Ch'inghai to escape the edge of the sword. The inhabitants and their herds were all carried off by the T'ufan. He next led on his troops, attacked and defeated the Tanghsiang(12), the Pailan(13), and other Ch'iang tribes, and at the head of an army of over 200,000 men, encamped on the western border of Sungchou(14), whence he sent envoys to the emperor, who brought as tribute a suit of gold armour, and said: "We are come to receive the princess." At the same time he announced to his soldiers: "If the great empire refuses to give me a princess in marriage, we will invade and plunder the country." Thereupon they advanced and assaulted Sungchou. The Governor-General Han Wei proceeded with all speed to look after the enemy, but was himself defeated by them, and the inhabitants of the frontier were in great trouble. The emperor T'aitsung despatched the President of the Board of Civil Office, Hou Chünchi, as Commander-in-Chief, with three other generals and an army of 50,000 horse and foot, to attack them. The general Niu Chinta led the van from Sungchou, assaulted their camp in the night and killed more than 1,000 men. Lungtsan was greatly alarmed and led his army back.

From the date of his eastern invasion he remained several years without returning. His chief ministers begged him to come back to his own country, but he would not listen to them, whereupon eight killed themselves.

He sent a mission to apologize for his misdeeds, and again begged for an alliance. T'aitsung granted it. Lungtsan then sent his minister of state, Lutungtsan, with the presents, offering five thousand ounces of gold, and, besides, several hundred precious articles of value.

In the 15th year of Chênkuan (641), the Emperor gave the Princess Wênch'êng, of the imperial house, in marriage. He appointed the President of the Board of Rites, Taotsung, Prince of Chianghsia, to preside over the ceremony, and he was given special credentials, and escorted the princess to

T'ufan. Lungtsan led his warriors to await her arrival at Pohai, and went himself to receive her at Hoyuan. He received Taotsung most respectfully, with the rites due from a son-in-law. From this time he praised the costume of the great empire, and the perfection of their manners, and was ashamed of the barbarism of his own people. After he had returned to his own country with the princess, he addressed his relatives thus: "Among our ancestors not one has been allied to the sovereign empire, and now that I have been honoured with the gift of a princess of the great T'ang, I esteem myself highly fortunate, and will build a walled city for the princess to proclaim my glory to after generations." Thereupon he built a city, and erected inside the walls a palace for her residence. As the princess disliked their custom of painting their faces red, Lungtsan ordered his people to put a stop to the practice, and it was no longer done. He also discarded his felt and skins, put on brocade and silk, and gradually copied Chinese civilization. He also sent the children of his chiefs and rich men to request admittance into the national schools to be taught the classics, and invited learned scholars from China to compose his official reports to the emperor.

When T'aitsung returned from his expedition to Liaotung, he sent Lutungtsan on a mission of congratulation, who presented this respectful despatch: "The holy Son of Heaven has pacified the four quarters of the world and all the states that the sun and moon shine upon are alike his obedient vassals. When Kaoli (Corea), relying on its great distance, broke off its tributary relations, the Son of Heaven himself led a million warriors across the Liao to chastise it, overthrew its cities and destroyed its armies, and after a few days has returned victorious. The barbarians had but just heard that the imperial chariot had started when the news arrived that it had reached home again. The wild goose flies most swiftly, but not when compared with the speed of the emperor. His slave and unworthy son-in-law rejoicing a hundred-fold above ordinary barbarians, in that the common goose is not unlike the wild goose, has made a gold goose,

and respectfully offers it." This goose was moulded of pure gold, it was seven feet high, and held when full of wine about ten gallons.

In the 22nd year (648) the imperial envoy Wang Yuants'ê(15), who had been sent on a mission to the western countries, was plundered in Chung T'ienchu. The T'u-fan sent an army of brave warriors, and accompanied by Yuants'ê attacked T'ienchu and inflicted a great defeat, and despatched envoys who brought to the emperor the news of the victory. Kaotsung had succeeded to the throne. He gave Lungtsan the title of Fuma Tuyü, appointed him Prince of Hsihai, and presented to him two thousand pieces of silk. Lungtsan replied by a letter to the ministers: "The Son of Heaven has just begun to reign, and if any one of his officers is disloyal, I will lead warriors into the country to expel and punish him." He offered also fifteen presents of gold, silver, pearl, and precious things, begging that they might be deposited before the ancestral tablet of the late emperor. Kaotsung praised him, added to his titles that of Tsungwang, and bestowed on him three thousand pieces of variously coloured silks. He then asked for silkworms' eggs, mortars and presses for making wine, and workmen to manufacture paper and ink. Everything was granted, whereupon he had a statue of himself carved in stone to be erected below the gateway of the imperial mausoleum(16).

In the first year of Yunghui (650) Lungtsan died. Kaotsung went into mourning for him, and despatched the general, Hsienyü Ch'ênchi, with special credentials and an autograph sealed letter, to take part in the funeral ceremonies. The son of Lungtsan died early, and his grandson succeeded to the throne with the same title of tsanp'u. At this time he was quite young, and state affairs were controlled by Lutungtsan, whose surname (tribal name) was Ch'üshih. Although he was ignorant of letters, yet being naturally wise, resolute, strict, and honourable, a brave warrior and skilful general, he made a most successful regent. It was due chiefly to his policy that the T'u-fan absorbed the Ch'iang tribes, and became pre-eminent in their native land. When

T'aitsung consented to give in marriage the Princess Wênch'êng, it was Lutungtsan who was sent by the tsanp'u to receive her. When he had audience the emperor asked him several questions, and was so pleased with his answers that he treated him with more ceremony than the other foreigners. He also conferred on him the title of chief general of the guards, and gave him in marriage a granddaughter of the Princess-imperial Langya, named Tuan. Lutungtsan declined the alliance, saying: "Your slave has a wife in his own country who was chosen for him by his parents, and he could not bear to turn her away. Moreover, the tsanp'u has not yet seen the princess his bride, and his humble subject could not presume to be married first." T'aitsung was pleased, and wished to be still more gracious, he marvelled at his answers, but yet would not permit him to refuse.

Lutungtsan had five sons; the eldest named Tsanhsijo died young, next came Ch'inling, next Tsanp'o, next Hsitokan, next P'ulun. After the death of Lutungtsan, Ch'inling and his brothers succeeded him in the management of the state.

Afterwards there was a quarrel with the T'ukuhun.

In the third year of Hiench'ing (658), they offered presents, including a gold basin and a gold basket, and begged for a matrimonial alliance. Soon after the T'ukuhun gave in their allegiance to China.

During the periods Lungso and Lintê (661-665) the two nations sent alternate memorials, in which each claimed to be in the right. The Chinese government temporized, and declined to judge between them. The T'ufan were dissatisfied and angry, and led troops to attack the T'ukuhun.

The T'ukuhun chief minister Suhokuei fled to T'ufan, and divulged all their weak points, so that the T'ufan succeeded in destroying his state.

The T'ukuhun were totally defeated, and the Prince of Hoyuan, Muyung Nohopo, with his consort, the Chinese Princess Hunghua, to save their lives, fled to Liangchou, and sent to the emperor the news of their calamities.

The Governor-general of Liangchou was ordered by decree to encamp troops at Liangchou and Shanchou(17), and a large army sent to quell the disturbance. The T'ufan sent an envoy, Luchungtsung, with a memorial detailing the misdeeds of the T'ukuhun, and the Emperor sent a mission to reprove them, whereupon envoys arrived begging a settlement of the quarrel with the T'ukuhun.

At the same time they asked for the Ch'ihshui(18) territory as pasturage ground for their horses, but it was refused. During the Tsungchang period (668-669), the council deliberated on the question of moving the T'ukuhun people to Liangchou beside the Nanshan. The emperor, wishing to check the invasions of the T'ufan, summoned the ministers of state, Chiang K'o and Yen Lipên, with the general Ch'ipi Holi, to consult as to whether they should first attack the T'ufan. Lipên said: "The people are famished, and war is impossible." Holi said: "The T'ufan country is in the far west, and your servant fears that at the approach of our army they would fly like wild beasts and hide in the mountains, so that it would be impossible to capture and punish them. Next spring when they again attack the T'ukuhun, your servant begs you not to assist the latter so as to induce the T'ufan to doubt our power. They will thus become arrogant, and we will destroy them in one campaign." K'o said: "Not so. The T'ukuhun are now weak, the T'ufan rich and powerful, and to encourage weakness to withstand powerful warriors must lead to a profitless war. If they be not succoured they will be destroyed, and your servant advises the immediate despatch of the imperial army, so that the state may not be lost. We can afterwards consult about future measures." They deliberated without ceasing, but did not move the T'ukuhun.

In the first year of Hsienshêng (670), in the 4th month,

They invaded and destroyed eighteen of the subject chou (outside the frontier), and led the people of Yutien (Khotan) to capture the Chiutzu Pohuan ch'êng(19). Thereupon the four military governments of Anhsi were all given up.

a decree appointed Hsüeh Jênkuei commander-in-chief of the Loso army with two other generals, to lead over 100,000 men to chastise the enemy. The army advanced to the Tafeich'uan(20), and was there defeated by the T'ufan chief general, Lunch'inling. Jênkuei and his colleagues were all degraded. The T'ukuhun state was completely annihilated, only Mujung Nohopo, with his relatives and adherents, comprising some thousands of tents, came to offer their allegiance to China, and were removed to Liangchou. From this date the T'ufan, year after year, ravaged the frontier. The Ch'iang tribes of Tangchou and Hsichou all submitted to them.

A decree appointed Chiangk'o commander-in-chief of the army of Liangchou, to go and punish them, but he died on the way, and his army returned. The T'ufan sent the minister of state, Chungtsung, to the emperor. Chungtsung, as a boy, had been a scholar in the National College, and was well versed in literature. When the emperor received him, he asked, "If the tsanp'u be compared with his grandfather, is he the more talented of the two?" He replied, "In valour and resolution, as well as in good policy, he is not equal, yet he is diligent in the rule of the state, and a subject would not presume to find fault with so excellent a sovereign. Moreover the T'ufan dwell in cold and misty wilds, the natural productions of which are poor and scant, and to the north of

the Wuhai(21) even in the height of summer snow remains. In hot weather they wear cloth, in winter fur. They follow their herds wherever there are water and grass, and in cold weather they spread their round tents within city walls, the furniture and utensils of which do not amount to one ten thousandth part of those used in China. Although the ruler and people are united, all measures are first deliberated by the people, and if advantageous to the nation they are carried out, thus conducing to durability and power." The emperor then said, "The T'ukuhun and T'ufan dynasties were originally allied by marriage, yet when Suhokuei deserted his sovereign, the T'ufan employed him as an officer, and took possession of their territory. When Hsüeh Jênkuei was sent to settle the affairs of Mjung, they also secretly attacked him, and ravaged our Liangchou. How is this?" Chungtsung, bowing his head, replied, "Your servant was commissioned by his sovereign to offer presents, and has no instructions about other subjects." The emperor approved of this answer, but seeing that Chungtsung was not an envoy plenipotentiary, he treated him with less ceremony.

In the 2nd year of Shangyuan (675) they sent the chief minister, Lunt'uhunmi, to ask for peace, and also to propose a renewal of friendly relations with the T'ukuhun. The emperor would not listen.

In the 3rd year of Shangyuan (676) they invaded and plundered Shanchou and K'uocho(22), killing and carrying off people and officers.

A decree appointed Hsien, Prince of Chou, with twelve generals under his command, including the President of the Board of Works, and Lien, Prince of Hsiang, with others, to lead armies to chastise them. The two princes were unsuccessful, and the T'ufan advanced and attacked Tiehchou, taking the two district cities, Mikung and Tanling. They also attacked Fuchou, and defeated the general in command. The T'ufan and the Western T'achüeh united their forces and attacked Anhsi.

In the 3rd year of Yifêng (678), Li Chingyuan was appointed Governor of Shanchou, and sent to take command at T'aoho. The bravest of the inhabitants of the provinces of Kuannui and Hotung and of the different cities were enlisted so as to collect resolute warriors without regard to former avocations, and both civil and military officers were bidden to the palace, entertained at a banquet, and sent on to the attack. The governors of Yichou and Chünchou were ordered to lead the soldiers and militia of the provinces of Chiennan and Shannan to assist in the defence. In the autumn of the year Li Chingyuan, accompanied by the President of the Board of Works, Liu Shênli, led on their troops and fought a battle with the T'ufan at the Ch'inghai. The imperial army was desperately beaten and Liu Shênli killed in the fight. Li Chingyuan halted his army, not

daring to go to the rescue. After he had collected his forces he encamped at the Ch'êngfêngling, where a mud creek prevented further advance. The enemy encamped on high ground commanding his position. One of his generals, Heich'ih Ch'angchih, at the head of five hundred fearless warriors, stormed the hostile camp in the night; the enemy were demoralized and thrown into confusion, and over three hundred were trampled to death. Then Chingyuan led back his army to Shanchou. He was degraded to be governor of Hengchou.

In Chiennan province the soldiers and militia built to the south-west of Maochou(23), a new city called Anjung, to defend the frontier, but shortly after the wild Ch'iang guide the T'ufan, who assaulted and took the city and garrisoned with their own soldiers.

At this time the T'ufan acquired all the territory of Yangt'ung, Tanghsiang, and different Ch'iang tribes, so that on the east they touched the chou cities of Liang, Sung, and Chün(24), on the south stretched to P'olomên(25), the west they had besieged and captured the four military governments Chintzü, Sulo and the rest, while on the north they were bounded by the T'uchueh. Their country extended over more than ten thousand li, and from the Han and dynasties downwards there had been no people among nations of the west so powerful.

The Emperor Kaotsung, when he received the intelligence of the defeat and death of Shênli and the rest, called a council to consult on the question of peace or war. Empress Ts'ao Chêngyi said: "The T'ufan have been a thorn in our side many years, generals have been commissioned and sent in annual succession, so that our soldiers and horses are distressed and our grain and stores exhausted. A further invasion would be a vain tax on the strength of our empire, it would be impossible to pursue them to their lairs, that only a few troops and militia should be sent, enough to guard the frontier, to light the watch, and prevent plunder. If we wait till the nation's minds are at rest, a

able to destroy them in one expedition." The others agreed on the advisability of garrisoning the frontier.

Soon after Heich'ih Ch'angchih defeated the T'ufan chief general Tsanp'o and Suhokuei at Liangfeich'uan, killing and making prisoners over 2,000 men. T'ufan then retreated. An imperial decree appointed Ch'angchih Commander of the Hoyuan army to garrison the country against them.

According to the memoir of Kaotsung Ch'angchih fought the battle at Liangfeich'uan in the 1st year of Yunglung (680), and it ought not to come before the 4th year of Yifêng (679), so that the official document must have got misplaced here.

In the 4th year of Yifêng (679), the tsanp'u died. His son, Ch'inuhsilung, succeeded to the throne with the same title of tsanp'u. He was eight years old at the time, and the government of the state was still in the hands of Ch'inling. He sent the chief minister, Lunhant'iaopang, who brought the news of the death of the tsanp'u, and also asked for peace. Kaotsung commissioned the general Sung Lingwên to proceed to Fan to assist at the funeral.

In the 1st year of Yunglung (680), the Princess Wên-ch'êng died. Kaotsung despatched another envoy to take part in the funeral ceremony.

He brought back with him the body of our Ch'ên Hsingyen. When Hsingyen was sent on a mission to the enemy, Lunc'h'iling wanted him to bow down, and threatened him with the sword, but he refused to kneel. They detained him ten years, and now his body was brought back. He was canonized as governor of Muchou. Tsanp'o again invaded as far as Liangfeich'uan, where Ch'angchih attacked and drove him away.

When the Empress Tsêt'ien ruled, she appointed the minister, Wei Taichia, commander-in-chief, with the governor-general of Anhsi, Yen Wênku, as his deputy. In the 1st year of Yungch'ang (689), they led troops to attack the T'ufan, but after delaying long, made no way. He was punished by banishment to Hsiuchou, and Wênku was beheaded. Taichia had no military capacity, and proved himself helpless and incompetent, so that his soldiers were famished, and all wandered about to die in ditches. The year after the minister, Ts'êng Ch'angch'ien, was appointed to chief command against the T'ufan, but returned after going half way, so that his army never reached.

In the 1st year of Juyi (692), the T'ufan chief Hosu, at the head of his own followers, together with the tribes of Kueich'uan, and 30,000 of the Tanghsiang, offered his allegiance. Tsêt'ien ordered the general Chang Yuanyü to lead 20,000 picked warriors to receive him. The army waited for him at the Tatu river, but Hosu's project had leaked out, and he had been carried off to his own country. Another chief, Tsanch'ui, at the head of over 8,000 of the Ch'iang and Man tribes, came to Yuanyü to offer submission. Yuanyü established in their country the Yehch'uanchou, and appointed Tsanch'ui governor. Finally, on the hill to the west of the Tatu, he carved in stone a record of his fame and returned.

In the 1st year of Ch'angshou (692), the commander-in-chief, Wang Hsiaochieh, inflicted a great defeat on the T'ufan army, and re-conquered the four military governments Chintz'ü, Yütien, Sulê and Suiyeh. There was then established at Chintz'ü, the governor-general of Anhsi(26), and troops were sent to garrison the city.

It was advised in council to abolish these four chên, and give up the country, but Ts'ui Sung presented this memorial: "For a long time have the barbarians been dangerous to our central state. The five ancient emperors and the three dynasties did not subdue them. The Han, with an army of a million men, invested P'ingch'êng, and afterwards, the emperor Wuti, with determined resolution, pacified the barbarians of the four quarters. Chang Ch'ien first penetrated to the countries of the west, established four garrisons, and fortified two passes, cutting off the right arm of the Hsiungnu. Gradually the Ho and Huang were crossed, and a city, Lingchü, was built as a defence against the southern Ch'iang. Then barriers, guard-houses, towers, and smoke-fires, extended several thousand li beyond the Great Wall. The treasures were emptied, soldiers and horses exhausted, and envoys despatched in yearly and monthly succession, till money was made of leather, and coins reckoned by the string, while boats and carts were taxed, and duties levied on wine distillers, all with the view of keeping up the above permanently. Thus were the Hsiungnu compelled to flee alone to distant parts, the western countries opened up, and officers appointed to rule them. When the Emperor Kuangwu re-established the dynasty, all again gave in their allegiance; and during the following century there were three breaks and three renewals of intercourse. Our own Emperor T'aitung, following in the old footsteps of the Han, ruled the southern mountains as far as the Tsungling range, and divided the country into cities and districts, so that watch-fires blazed throughout, and the T'ufan dared not trouble the empire. In the reign of Kaotsung the generals were feeble, the four chên were lost and abandoned, and the T'ufan waxed strong, and invaded to the west

of Yench'i(27), their long drums advancing on the right beyond Kaoeh'ang, while they passed Chüshih, plundered Ch'angle, cut off the Mohoyench'i, and penetrated to T'unhuang(28). Now Hsiaoehieh, in one expedition, has reconquered the four chên, and re-established the old boundaries of the late emperor, and if all be given up, his finished work will be destroyed, and his excellent policy upset. If the four chên be not garrisoned, the foreign warriors will invade the western countries; and if these be disturbed, the southern Ch'iang will be attacked in turn; and should these join, our province of Hohsi will be in difficulties. Moreover, the Mohoyench'i is a desert 2000 li wide, with no water nor grass, and should the north become a prey to the enemy, the T'ang armies will not be able to cross to the north, and then the natives of Yi, Hsi, Pei'ing(29), and Anhsi will all be lost." This led to the rejection of the advice of the council.

Then the chief, P'uluntsan, accompanied by the usurping K'ohan of the T'uchüeh, Ashihna T'otzü, invaded from the south, and fought a battle with Hsiaoehieh at Lingch'uan, where they were defeated and driven away. The governor of Suiyeh despatched Han Ssüchung, who destroyed the city Nishumussü.

In the 1st year of Wansuitêngfêng, Hsiaoehieh was appointed commander-in-chief, and fought with the T'ufan generals, Lunch'inling and Tsanp'o, at the Sulahanshan, where the imperial army was totally defeated. Hsiaoehieh was, in consequence, stripped of his rank.

In the 1st year of Wansuit'ung't'ien (696) a T'ufan army of over 40,000 men suddenly appeared under the walls of Liangchou. The governor, taken completely by surprise, hurriedly came out at the head of his troops and engaged the enemy. The battle lasted long, until their strength was exhausted, and they were slain by the rebels.

At this time the T'ufan sent another mission to ask for peace. The Empress was inclined to grant it, but Lunch'inling asked also for the withdrawal of the troops from the four chên of Anhsi, and also for a gift of the territory of the Ten Hordes(30).

The Empress despatched Kuo Yuanchên on a mission to them. On the road he met Ch'inling, and said to him: "Tungtsan was loyal to the empire and never broke his oath of fealty, but you are now become hostile, and yearly harass the frontier. Your father was friendly, and his son is an enemy. Is this filial piety? Your father was faithful, and his son is a traitor. Is this loyalty?" Ch'inling replied: "Certainly! but were the Son of Heaven to grant peace, the armies of both countries would be disbanded; and were he to allow the Ten hordes of the T'uchüeh and the four chên to appoint their own rulers, the countries would defend themselves. How would this do?" Yuanchên said: "The T'ang use the Ten hordes and the four chên to control the western countries as a road for the sovereigns of the different states, and for no other

purpose. Moreover, these people have no kinship with the T'ufan, while they have long been frontier subjects of the T'ang." Ch'inling replied: "Does the minister think that I wish to sever these people so as to be enabled to harass the frontier of the T'ang? If I coveted territory and revenues, Ch'inghai and Huangch'uan are much nearer, and should I not rather strive after this land? The T'uchüeh tribes have stony deserts and broad steppes, and are very far distant from our central kingdom, and it is not likely that land 10,000 li away would be coveted. Moreover, the foreigners on all sides have been subdued and absorbed by the T'ang till even beyond the ocean no land has escaped destruction. T'ufan alone remains, and only because I and my brothers are diligent and united in protecting our country. Of the Ten hordes the Five ch'o are near Anhsi, but far from T'ufan, while the Ssüchin are separated from us by one desert only, which horsemen can canter across in ten days, so that there is ground for anxiety here. At Wuhai and Huangho the passes and rivers make formidable obstacles, and the land is pestilential, so that the T'ang cannot penetrate, whereas, on the other side, feeble generals and unarmed troops would be dangerous to Fan; hence my anxiety to acquire this territory; it is not with an eye to these tribes. The road to Kanchou and Liangchou is 2000 li across the Chishih desert, which at its broadest is only some hundreds of li across, at its narrowest only one hundred, so that if we come from Changyeh and Yümên we shall prevent the empire from sowing in the spring or reaping in the autumn, and in some five or six years succeed in cutting off its right. Now we do not intend to do this, so that you need not be anxious about us. After the war at Ch'inghai, Huang Jênssu made a treaty of peace, and frontier guards were removed, whereupon Ts'ui Chihpien crossed Ssüchin and carried off ten thousand of our oxen and sheep. I ask you about this." The envoys he sent strongly urged his request, but Yuanchên answered as firmly that it could not be granted.

The Empress altogether refused to grant this. In T'ufan, from the time when Lunch'inling and his brothers had sole control of the troops, Ch'inling always resided in the centre in charge of affairs, while his younger brothers divided the rule of the outlying countries. Tsanp'o governed the eastern frontier, and was next neighbour to China, and for more than thirty years was a constant danger to the border. The brothers were all men of power and genius, and the Fan people feared them. In the 2nd year of Shêngli (699) the tsanp'u Ch'inuhsilung, having come to years of discretion, held a secret council with his chief minister, Lunyen, and others, at a time when Ch'inling was abroad. The tsanp'u then announced that he was going on a hunting expedition, collected warriors, and having taken over 2000 of the relatives and confederates of Ch'inling, put them to death. He then sent messengers to summon Ch'inling, Tsanp'o, and the rest. Ch'inling collected troops, and refused to obey the

summons, whereupon the tsanp'u himself led an army to chastise him. Ch'inling was deserted by his troops before the battle, and he killed himself, while more than a hundred of his relatives and intimate adherents committed suicide on the same day. Tsanp'o, at the head of over a thousand of his people, accompanied by his brothers, including Mangpuchih, came to offer allegiance. The Empress Tsêt'ien sent some swift horsemen of the imperial guard to meet them outside the city. She appointed Tsanp'o Prince of Kueitê, with the rank of general, and Mangpuchih Duke of Ankuo, giving to each an iron tablet of office, and rewarding them with many valuable presents. She afterwards ordered Tsanp'o to lead his warriors to Hungyuanku to take part in the fight. Shortly after he died, and was canonized by special decree as Governor-general of Anhsi.

In the 1st year of Chinshih (700) the T'ufan again sent one of their generals, Ch'ü mangpuchih, who invaded Liangchou, and closely invested Ch'angsunghsien. The governor-general of the armies and cities of Lungyu, T'ang Hsiuching, fought a battle with Mangpuchih at Hungyuanku, and killed two of his lieutenant-generals and 2500 men.

In the 2nd year of Ch'angan (702) the tsanp'u, at the head of an army of over 10,000 men, invaded Hsichou. The governor, Ch'ên Tatz'ü, fought in all four battles with the rebels, defeated them on each occasion, and cut off more than 1000 heads. Thereupon the T'ufan sent Lunmisa and others on a mission to the imperial court to beg for peace. The Empress entertained them in one of the halls of the palace, and exhibited a hundred games in the courtyard. Lunmisa said, "Your servant was born in border wastes, and has never heard before the music of China; may your servant be permitted to look more closely?" The Empress allowed his request. Thereupon Lunmisa and his colleagues all laughed and danced for joy. He bowed his thanks, saying, "Your slave kneels to your sacred Majesty, who has treated him from first to last with magnificent ceremony, and also allowed him a close inspection of wonderful music, such as he has

never seen in his life. He is a mean thing, of no account, and how can he look up to acknowledge celestial favour? He can only wish in his heart that your great house may endure for a myriad years."

The next year they sent another mission with a thousand horses and two thousand ounces of gold, to beg for a matrimonial alliance. The Empress granted it. At this time the subject states on the southern border of T'ufan, ^{*}Nepâl(31), and P'olomên (Central India), both revolted, and the tsanp'u went himself to punish them, but died during the war. His sons disputed for the throne a long time, till the people elected the son of Ch'inuhsilung, Ch'ilisotsan, to be tsanp'u, who was at the time seven years old. In the reign of Chungtsung, in the 1st year of Shênlung (705), a T'ufan mission arrived to announce the death of their ruler. The emperor went into mourning for him, and closed the court for one day.

They again sent the chief minister, Hsitungjêku, to ask for a matrimonial alliance. No reply was given. Li Chihku had proposed to attack the Man tribes of Yaochou(32), so as to cut off the T'ufan guides, and, in obedience to a decree, had led the Chiennan levies against them. The Man chief reported the affair to the enemy, killed Chihku, offering his body in sacrifice to heaven, and invaded Shu Han. A decree appointed T'ang Chiuchêng commander of the army of Yaochou and Chünchou, to lead an army to attack them. The enemy had bridged the river Yangpi (Chinsha R.) with iron chains as a means of communication with the Hsi Erh Man, and built a walled city to protect the bridge. Chiuchêng broke the chains and levelled the walls, and erected an iron pillar on the T'iench'ih (lake), engraved with a record of his prowess.

✓ In the 2nd year of Chinglung (708) the mission of alliance was sent back. Some proposed that, as they had come to receive a princess, and besides to learn the Chinese language, they should not be sent back, but the Emperor replied that China must be just in its relations with barbarians, and refused.

Soon afterwards the grandmother of the tsanp'u sent the chief minister, Hsitungjê, who offered to the Emperor productions of the country, and asked for a matrimonial alliance for her grandson. Chungtsung gave his adopted child the daughter of Shouli, prince of Yung, with the title of Princess of Chinch'êng. From this date tribute was offered every year. In the 3rd year of Chinglung (709), in the 11th month, they sent a mission headed by the chief minister Shangtsanch'o (whose surname was Hsila), to receive the

bride. The Emperor entertained them in the ball-grounds within the park, and ordered his own son-in-law Yang Shênchiaio to play with the T'ufan envoy at the ball-game, Chungtsung at the head of his Court looking on.

In the 1st month of the 4th year (710), the Emperor wrote, "The sages spread civilization with the welfare of the people in their hearts, the kings of old extended benevolence to the eight points of the compass without excluding foreigners, so that their fame was diffused far and near and all things flourished. Afterwards the glorious Chou ruled the empire and adopted measures for conciliating distant people. When the powerful Han flourished they originated a policy of peace and alliance with special view to permanence, and they are an excellent model for imperial rulers. We have received from the spirits above the rule of the empire, and are anxious to follow the good deeds of our predecessors and institute a lasting concord. As regards the T'ufan, their abode is in the west country, from which, soon after the rise of our imperial house, they came early with tribute. The learned, warlike and holy Emperor T'aitsung, whose virtue was wide as heaven and earth, with anxious care for the myriads of his people, determined to put away weapons and armour, and maintain relations of alliance and friendship, and for some tens of years the world was calm and peaceful. Since this time, when the Princess Wênch'êng went and civilized this country, many of their customs have been changed. But our borders have been constantly full of troops, and their Fan tribes have often experienced loss and disaster. Now however the tsanp'u, and the k'otun(33) his grandmother, and the chiefs have for several years shown true submission, and with a view to cement the ancient bonds of kinship they now ask to renew friendship. The Princess of Chinch'êng is our little daughter, and we are very fond of her, but, as the father and mother of our subjects, we compassionate the black-haired people; and, as by granting their request and strengthening the bonds of peace, the border lands will be untroubled and the officers and soldiers at rest, we sever the bond of affection for the good of the

state. We found for her a foreign home, and with due employment of all ceremony bestow her on the T'ufan tsanp'u. In this present month the cortège will start, and we purpose ourselves to accompany it outside the city."

The Emperor ordered Chi Ch'una to escort the princess, as the Prince of Chianghsia formerly did on the occasion of the marriage of the Princess Wênch'êng, but he declined to go. A second appointment was made with the same result, until finally the general Yang Chü was despatched. In the same month the Emperor proceeded to Shihp'inghsien to escort the princess, and the imperial tent was pitched beside the Paich'ingp'a, where he entertained the princes and high ministers and the T'ufan envoy at a banquet, during which, when the wine had circulated, he called the T'ufan envoy to the front, and told him what a young child the princess was, and how he had severed the bonds of love to send her to be married so far away. The sovereign wept and sobbed for a long time.

The presents were several tens of thousand pieces of brocaded and plain silks, and comprised various kinds of apparatus, with skilled workmen, as well as Chintz'ü musical instruments.

He then commanded the ministers of his court to compose farewell verses. He specially pardoned the Shihp'inghsien criminals, and remitted the taxes of the inhabitants for one year. He changed the name of Shihp'inghsien to Chinch'ênghsien, the lake to Phunin lake, and ordered the spot to be called henceforward the place of sad parting. After the princess had reached T'ufan, they built a new city for her residence.

When Chang Yuanpiao was governor-general of Anhsi, he frequently attacked and plundered the northern borders of the T'ufan. They were inwardly very angry in consequence, although outwardly all was peace. When Yang Chü was governor of Shanchou, the T'ufan sent envoys to him with many valuable presents, and asked for the Chiuch'ü(34) territory in Hohsi, as dowry for the princess of Chinch'êng. Chü then wrote a memorial to recommend that it should be given. Thus the T'ufan gained possession of Chiuch'ü, a fertile and rich territory, where they could encamp troops and

pasture their herds, which was also close to the T'ang border, and from this time they again revolted and began to lead warriors to invade and plunder.

In the 2nd year of K'aiyuan (714),

Their minister Fëntayen sent a letter to the ministers of state to ask them to conclude a sworn treaty fixing the boundary at Hoyuan, and proposed the officer Hsieh Wan to be sent for the purpose. The Emperor ordered Yao Ch'ung and his colleagues to answer the despatch, and appointed Hsieh Wan to take the treaty of the Shênlung period to them. The T'ufan afterwards sent the historiographer Shangch'intsang, named Hsila, to offer to the emperor the text of the treaty, but it was not concluded.

in the autumn, the T'ufan generals Fëntayen and Ch'ilihsü, at the head of an army of over 100,000 men, plundered Lint'aochün, and also invaded and plundered Lanchou and Weichou, carrying off with them the government sheep and horses. Yang Ch'ü, repentant and afraid, killed himself by drinking poison. The Emperor Yuantsung appointed Hsüeh No commander-in-chief in Lungyu, with Wang Chün to lead troops to attack them in the rear; and issued a decree to collect a large army for him to go in person to chastise them. The generals and warriors were enlisted, and the day fixed for the start. Meanwhile, however, Chün and the rest fell in with the robbers at Wuchiehyi in Weiyuan. The general in command of the van, Wang Haiping, was killed fighting bravely, but Chün advanced at the head of his troops, and inflicted a great defeat on the T'ufan army, killing some tens of thousands and recovering all the sheep and horses that they were carrying off. The remnant of the enemy fled to the north and died in heaps, one followed on the other, so that the current of the T'ao river was stopped. The sovereign then gave up his project of proceeding himself, and appointed Ni Joshui to go to report on the condition of the army, and also to sacrifice at the funeral of Wang Haiping before his return. The T'ufan sent their chief minister Tsungêyintzü to the T'ao river to sacrifice to their dead and lost warriors, and also to call at the barrier to ask for peace, which the Emperor refused.

The ministers of state reported as follows: The T'ufan originally had the (Yellow) river as the boundary, but on account of the princess the river was bridged, a wall and two camps established at Tushan and Chiuch'ü,

200 li distant from Chishih. Now that they have broken the treaty, we propose to destroy the bridge, and again guard the river according to treaty. A decree was issued accordingly. The general Weich'ih Huai was despatched as envoy to T'ufan to calm the fears of the princess.

From this date they annually harassed the borders. Kuo Chihyün and Wang Chün were in turn appointed Governor-general of Hohsi to oppose them. The T'ufan, exulting in the strength of their warriors, whenever they sent despatches to court, asked for the ceremonies of equal nations, and used rude and disrespectful language, so that the Emperor was very angry.

A mission came as far as Lint'ao, but a decree refused them admittance. The Princess of Chinch'êng sent a letter to ask the Emperor to listen to them and to renew friendly relations, concluding with the words: "The tsanp'u and his officers wish to make a sworn treaty and to engrave it on stone." The T'ufan sent another mission to the Emperor with this despatch: "The Emperor Hsiaoho granted a sworn treaty, and at that time the T'ang ministers of state, Lu Ch'in-wang, Wei Yuanchung, Li Chiao, Chi Ch'una and others, in all twenty-two persons, concluded a sworn ceremony with the T'ufan sovereign and officers. When the Emperor Hsiaoho died and the exalted Emperor succeeded, he kept up peaceful relations as of old. But the chief ministers of the T'ang, whose names are engraved on the treaty, are all dead, and the present ministers do not follow the former treaty; therefore it is necessary to repeat the ceremony. The envoy Luch'ili and others, from first to last seven missions, have been sent, but we have not been honoured with a favourable reply. Moreover, Chang Yuanpiao and Li Chihku have led troops to plunder and oppress the state of your son-in-law, so that the oaths have been broken and war ensued. Should my father-in-law be pleased to wash away and pardon bygone faults, and let all be merged in a great peace, your son-in-law will keep it faithfully. But if the sworn ceremony be not repeated, there will be no trust; and we are waiting to make a new oath. Your son-in-law himself manages state affairs, and leaves nothing to subordinates, and he is anxious to give to the people a lasting peace. Although my father-in-law is at peace with us, yet his heart is at variance with his words. Why is this?" He also said: "My father-in-law blames Ch'ilihü for enlisting warriors, but these were only new soldiers sent to replace old, and they were not specially enlisted. Formerly, all the border land was neutral from Paishui, until lately the general Kuo encamped troops there and built a walled city, and your son-in-law in consequence also erected a city. If there be peace between the two countries, these will be available for the reception of missions, if there be no intercourse for guarding the frontier. He is also suspicious of our friendship with the T'uchüch Kuch'olu(35). Our intercourse is of long standing, and our houses were once allied, but now there is no communication." He sent precious vases and cups as offerings. The Emperor replied: "When the old alliance was made, the document was drawn up, and it will be sufficient to keep this old sworn treaty;" and he refused to allow a new ceremony. Having entertained the envoy, he sent him back with valuable gifts for the tsanp'u. From this time they sent yearly tribute, and did not trouble the borders.

In the 10th year (722) they attacked the small Pulu(36) state, the sovereign of which, Muchinmang, sent a letter to Chang Hsiaosung, the governor-general of Peit'ing, in which he said: "Pulu is the west gate of the T'ang, and if it be lost the states of the western country will all be subdued by the T'ufan. Your Excellency must devise a plan to prevent this." Hsiaosung assented, and sent the lieutenant-governor of Sulê Kashyar Chang Sstüli with 4000 foot and horse. They marched night and day, joined the army of Muchinmang, and attacked the T'ufan on two sides, killing some tens of thousands, capturing many suits of armour, weapons, horses and sheep, and recovering all the old territory of the nine cities which had been lost. When the Pulu prince first came to the imperial court, he treated the Emperor as his own father, and after returning to his country he established the Suiyuanchün to oppose the T'ufan, and then resulted constant battles every year. The T'ufan always said: "We do not covet your state, but only want to borrow a road to attack the four chên." On this account, for a succession of years, they sent no armies. Thereupon, the governor-general of Lungyu Wang Chünp'i proposed a deep invasion by way of retaliation. In the 12th year (724) he defeated the T'ufan, and presented captives to the Emperor.

Then he sacrificed to the mountains. When the ceremony was over, the high officer Chang Yueh memorialized: "The T'ufan are hostile and rebellious, and deserve to be destroyed by the myriad. But another punitive expedition would surely result in distress and loss. For ten years and more the soldiers of Kan, Liang, Ho, and Shan have been marched and sent abroad without ceasing, and although they have been victorious, yet there has been no opportunity to recuperate the losses. I hear that they have repented of their misdeeds and beg for peace, and trust that your majesty will despatch envoys to accept their kotous of submission so as to give rest to the borders, that the black-haired race may prosper accordingly." The Emperor replied: "Wait till we have consulted Wang Chünp'i." Yueh, as he went out, said to Yuan Ch'ienyo: "Chünp'i is brave, but devoid of judgment, and thinks himself capable of anything. If there be peace between the two countries, how can he acquire fame? As soon as he comes and details his plans, my advice will be disregarded." Chünp'i afterwards had audience and memorialized on the subject, begging to send troops to invade their country deeply and punish them.

In the 1st month of the 15th year (727) Chünp'i led an army and defeated the T'ufan to the west of the Ch'inghai (Kokonor), and returned carrying off their

baggage waggons, sheep, and horses. Before this, the T'ufan general Hsinolo, at the head of an army, had invaded and attacked Tatonku, and he afterwards marched to assault Kanchou, burning towns and villages. Chünp'i was afraid of their prowess, and dared not go out to fight. Meanwhile, there was a great fall of snow, and a large number of the rebels were frozen to death, so that they retired by the west road of the Chishihchün. Chünp'i had previously ordered men to go secretly into the enemy's borders and burn all the grass along the road by which they were returning, so that when the retreating army of Hsinolo reached Tafeich'uan, and the warriors put off their armour and turned out their horses, the herbage was all destroyed, and more than half of the horses were starved to death. Chünp'i, with the governor of Ch'inchou and others, led troops to attack them in the rear, and pursued them as far as the west of the Ch'inghai. The water of the sea was frozen at the time, and the troops marched across upon the ice. At the same time, Hsinolo had crossed the Tafeich'uan, having left behind on the banks of the Ch'inghai his baggage waggons, and disabled soldiers. Chünp'i let loose his troops, and returned with the captives and booty.

In the 9th month of the same year the T'ufan generals, Hsinolo Kunglu and Chulung Mangpuchih, assaulted and destroyed the city of Kuachou(37), capturing the governor, T'ien Yuanhsien, and Shou, the father of Chünp'i. They carried off the army stores and provisions from the city, demolished the walls and then returned. They next attacked the Yümen garrison, and Ch'anglohsien, the governor of which city, Chia Shihshun, bravely defended it for 80 days until they retired.

On the way back they ravaged Anhsi. The lieutenant-governor, Chao Yichên, attacked, and drove them away.

Soon after, Wang Chünp'i was killed by one of the tribes of the Huiho (Ouigours). The Emperor appointed the President of the Board of War, Hsiao Sung, governor-general of Hohsi, and commissioned the general, Chang Shoukuei, appointed governor of Kuachou, to rebuild the

city walls, and call back the inhabitants to resume their former occupations. At this time the fame and prowess of Hsinolo Kunglu was much dreaded, and Hsiao Sung sent back deserters to T'ufan to report that he was in secret communication with China, whereupon the tsanp'u recalled, and put him to death.

Next year in the autumn the T'ufan general Hsimolang led another army to attack Kuachou, the governor of which led out his troops and drove them back. The governor-general of Lungyu, governor of Shanchou, Chang Chihliang, led troops to K'opoku on the S.W. of the Ch'inghai, and fought there a battle with the T'ufan, greatly defeating them. Soon after the infantry and cavalry of the armies of Chishih and Momên came up together and united with Chihliang in the pursuit. They captured the city of Tamomên, taking over 1000 prisoners, capturing 1000 horses, 500 yaks and a large quantity of material, weapons, clothes and property. They afterwards burnt the Lotoch'iao (camel bridge) and returned.

In the 8th month he again sent the lieutenant-general Tu Pink'o with 4000 crossbow-men, who engaged the T'ufan under the walls of the city of Ch'ilien and fought from morn to sunset, separating and again meeting in battle, the rebels suffering severe loss, while their assistant-general was killed. Five thousand heads were presented. The rebels defeated fled in confusion into the mountains, and cries of lamentation resounded from the four quarters. When the Emperor first heard of the repeated invasions of the T'ufan, he said to the ministers of his court: "The T'ufan, overbearing and blood-thirsty, are come, presuming on their strength. We have just examined the maps of the country, to find the strong and weak points, and ourselves indicated them to the generals in command, and they will surely be defeated." In a few days the open despatch (to announce victory) arrived.

In the 17th year (729) the commander-in-chief of Sofang, Wei, Prince of Hsinan, led another army to Lungyu and captured their Shihp'uch'êng(38), cutting off over 400 heads and taking over 200 prisoners. He then garrisoned the

city of Shihp'u and presented the captives bound at the imperial ancestral temple.

The Emperor wrote a despatch to the general P'ei Ming, in which he said: "Should any one dare to hide fame acquired in battle and prevent its being rewarded, let the warrior himself report it, and the general and civil officer shall both be executed. If any hang back from the fight, the whole rank shall be punished by martial law. The successful capturer of the prince shall be appointed a chief general." Thereupon the warriors pressed on yet more bravely. The T'ufan sent a Nangku (a civil officer) to present this letter at the barrier: "Lunmangjê and Lunch'ijê, both commanders of 10,000 men, have been commissioned by the tsanp'u to ask pardon of the governor. Our two nations are allied by bonds of affinity, but yesterday the Mipunung Ch'iang and the Tanghsiang quarrelled, and in consequence our two nations lost their good understanding. We did not listen, the T'ang also ought not to listen. Let the governor send a confidential officer to return with the nangku to discuss a sworn treaty."

Thereupon the T'ufan sent successive missions to ask for peace. Yu Prince of Chung and Huangfu Weiming reported on the subject and personally pressed the advantages of friendly intercourse. The Emperor replied: "The T'ufan tsan'pu sent to us the other year a despatch couched in disrespectful and improper terms, and we resolved to punish him. How then can there be peace?" Weiming answered: "In the beginning of the present reign the tsanp'u was still a child and could not have behaved in this way. It must have been the general in command of the frontier army, who, wishing to gain temporary fame, forged this letter to excite the anger of your Majesty. The two nations then broke off relations, and armies were set in motion which gained temporary advantage, and they then privately took credit for themselves and sent false reports of their achievements to plot for official promotion. Thus many myriads were wasted and with no gain to the state, and now the people of Hohsi and Lungyu are sick and famished, all from this cause. May your Majesty be pleased to despatch a mission to visit the Princess of Chinch'êng, and to conclude a treaty of peaceful alliance with the tsanp'u personally, ordering him to bow down in acknowledgment of vassalage, and thereby confer lasting tranquillity on the borders. This policy would give peace to the people for long ages." The Emperor approved his words, and sent Weiming and

the eunuch Chang Yuanfang on a mission of inquiry to the T'ufan.

Weiming and Yuanfang went to T'ufan, and when they had seen the tsanp'u and the princess, they made known the resolution of the Emperor. The tsanp'u and the rest were rejoiced that their request for peace had been accepted, and produced all the imperial despatches they had received from the period Chênkuan downwards, for the inspection of Weiming. He ordered his high minister, Minghsilie, to accompany Weiming and his colleagues to court, and to present this humble despatch: "Your son-in-law's relationship with his father-in-law is of long standing, being derived from a former emperor, and he has, moreover, been honoured with the gift of the princess of Chinch'êng, so that we were allied as one family, and all people under heaven enjoyed the blessings of peace. Meanwhile, however, Chang Yuanpiao and La Chihku, both in the east and west, first moved soldiers and horses, and invaded and plundered T'ufan, and consequently, the frontier generals have been constantly attacking each other, and down to the present day there have been battle and strife. Your nephew, on account of the aforetime Princess Wênch'êng, and of the present Princess of Chinch'êng, is deeply mindful of the duties of relationship, and would not dare to be disrespectful. But when quite young he was deceived by the generals on the frontier, who concocted quarrels and disturbance; he submits to the correction of his father-in-law, and begs him to investigate the affair in virtue of the ancient alliance; ten thousand deaths would be a sufficient atonement. He has before sent several envoys to the imperial court, but all have been turned back by the frontier generals. Therefore he did not dare to send a memorial himself, but last winter the Princess sent as envoy Louchungshihjo on a special mission, and the envoy sent in return to see the princess has been gratefully received. Your son-in-law, rejoiced beyond measure at this mark of favour, sends as bearer of this letter Minghsilie, with the general Lianghsiehhoyeh as assistant envoy. When Minghsilie is admitted to audience, he will report clearly

never seen in his life. He is a mean thing, of no account, and how can he look up to acknowledge celestial favour? He can only wish in his heart that your great house may endure for a myriad years."

The next year they sent another mission with a thousand horses and two thousand ounces of gold, to beg for a matrimonial alliance. The Empress granted it. At this time the subject states on the southern border of T'ufan, ^{*}Nepâl(31), and P'olomên (Central India), both revolted, and the tsanp'u went himself to punish them, but died during the war. His sons disputed for the throne a long time, till the people elected the son of Ch'ínuhsilung, Ch'ilisotsan, to be tsanp'u, who was at the time seven years old. In the reign of Chungtsung, in the 1st year of Shênlung (705), a T'ufan mission arrived to announce the death of their ruler. The emperor went into mourning for him, and closed the court for one day.

They again sent the chief minister, Hsitungjêku, to ask for a matrimonial alliance. No reply was given. Li Chihku had proposed to attack the Man tribes of Yaochou(32), so as to cut off the T'ufan guides, and, in obedience to a decree, had led the Chiennan levies against them. The Man chief reported the affair to the enemy, killed Chihku, offering his body in sacrifice to heaven, and invaded Shu Han. A decree appointed T'ang Chiuchêng commander of the army of Yaochou and Chünchou, to lead an army to attack them. The enemy had bridged the river Yangpi (Chinsha R.) with iron chains as a means of communication with the Hsi Erh Man, and built a walled city to protect the bridge. Chiuchêng broke the chains and levelled the walls, and erected an iron pillar on the T'iench'ih (lake), engraved with a record of his prowess.

✓ In the 2nd year of Chinglung (708) the mission of alliance was sent back. Some proposed that, as they had come to receive a princess, and besides to learn the Chinese language, they should not be sent back, but the Emperor replied that China must be just in its relations with barbarians, and refused.

Soon afterwards the grandmother of the tsanp'u sent the chief minister, Hsitungjê, who offered to the Emperor productions of the country, and asked for a matrimonial alliance for her grandson. Chungtsung gave his adopted child the daughter of Shouli, prince of Yung, with the title of Princess of Chinch'êng. From this date tribute was offered every year. In the 3rd year of Chinglung (709), in the 11th month, they sent a mission headed by the chief minister Shangtsanch'o (whose surname was Hsila), to receive the

bride. The Emperor entertained them in the ball-grounds within the park, and ordered his own son-in-law Yang Shénchiao to play with the T'ufan envoy at the ball-game, Chungtsung at the head of his Court looking on.

In the 1st month of the 4th year (710), the Emperor wrote, "The sages spread civilization with the welfare of the people in their hearts, the kings of old extended benevolence to the eight points of the compass without excluding foreigners, so that their fame was diffused far and near and all things flourished. Afterwards the glorious Chou ruled the empire and adopted measures for conciliating distant people. When the powerful Han flourished they originated a policy of peace and alliance with special view to permanence, and they are an excellent model for imperial rulers. We have received from the spirits above the rule of the empire, and are anxious to follow the good deeds of our predecessors and institute a lasting concord. As regards the T'ufan, their abode is in the west country, from which, soon after the rise of our imperial house, they came early with tribute. The learned, warlike and holy Emperor T'aitung, whose virtue was wide as heaven and earth, with anxious care for the myriads of his people, determined to put away weapons and armour, and maintain relations of alliance and friendship, and for some tens of years the world was calm and peaceful. Since this time, when the Princess Wénch'êng went and civilized this country, many of their customs have been changed. But our borders have been constantly full of troops, and their Fan tribes have often experienced loss and disaster. Now however the tsanp'u, and the k'otun(33) his grandmother, and the chiefs have for several years shown true submission, and with a view to cement the ancient bonds of kinship they now ask to renew friendship. The Princess of Chinch'êng is our little daughter, and we are very fond of her, but, as the father and mother of our subjects, we compassionate the black-haired people; and, as by granting their request and strengthening the bonds of peace, the border lands will be untroubled and the officers and soldiers at rest, we sever the bond of affection for the good of the

as to what shall be kept or dropped, he being conversant with the political relations of the two countries. Your son-in-law will give clear instructions to the frontier generals of the Fan that plunder and robbery are forbidden, and that if any subjects of the Han come for refuge they are immediately to be sent back. He beseechingly implores the Emperor, his father-in-law, to search from afar his red heart, and to grant a renewal of old friendship, so as to confer lasting rest and joy on the people. Should he be the recipient of sacred grace, for thousands and tens of thousands of years your son-in-law will surely not dare to be the first to break the sworn covenant. He reverently offers a gold wine vase, a gold plate, a gold bowl, an agate wine cup, and a piece of goat's hair cloth, as a small tribute from a mean country. The Princess of Chinch'êng also presents separately a gold duck, plate, bowl, and other articles."

In the 18th year (730), the 10th month, Mingsilieh and the rest arrived at the capital. The Emperor received them in the Hsüanchêng palace, surrounded by his armed guards. Mingsilieh was a scholar learned in literature; he had been before to Ch'angan to receive the Princess of Chinch'êng, and at that occasion all the court talked of his ability and eloquence. On his arrival, the Emperor invited him to a banquet in the palace, conversed with him, and treated him most graciously, presenting to him a purple robe and gold girdle with fish-bag, as well as seasonable apparel, a silver plate and wine vase; and afterwards entertained him sumptuously at a separate hotel. Hsilieh kept the robe and girdle as well as the other presents, but declined the fish-bag, excusing himself thus: "In our native country we do not wear this, and I dare not keep such a new and rare gift." The Emperor approved and consented. He appointed Ts'ui Lin to proceed on a mission of reply and congratulation.

They also asked to be allowed to barter horses at Ch'ihling(39), and to have an exchange mart established at Kansungling. The minister P'ei Kuang'ing reported "Kansung is an important defence to China; let it be rather Ch'ihling."

At Ch'ihling both nations erected boundary monuments, and made a covenant never to encroach beyond.

At the same time the T'ufan envoy memorialized: "The

Princess begs for a copy of the Mao Shih, Lichi, Tsochuan and Wênhsüan," and a decree was issued, ordering the officers in charge to write and give them. Yü Hsiulieh presented this memorial of remonstrance: "Your servant has heard that the barbarians are plunderers of the state. The classics and records contain the statutes of the state. The inborn nature of the barbarians must not be left unchecked. The statutes contain constant laws, and ought not to be given away. The Chuan says, 'The barbarians are not plotting against and troubling China, therefore it is necessary to curb their wicked hearts, and if they be guarded against, there will be no cause for sorrow.' Formerly, when the Tungp'ing Wang came to court and asked for the Shihchi and the works of the philosophers, the Emperor of the Han dynasty refused to give them, because in the Shihchi there was much war strategy, and in the philosophers' works passages inculcating deceitful stratagems. Although this prince was a cherished relative of the Han, yet the Emperor was unwilling to give him books on war. Now these western barbarians are plunderers and enemies of the state, and far less ought they to be given the classics and statutes. Moreover, your servant has heard that the T'ufan are naturally endowed with energy and perseverance, that they are intelligent and sharp, and untiring in their love for study. By reading these books they will certainly acquire a knowledge of war. When versed in the Odes they will know the use of armies of defence; by study of the Rites they will know the times of disbanding and enlisting troops; the Records will teach them that in war there are measures of deceit and treachery; while by the Essays they will learn about letters of reprimand in mutual intercourse. What is the advantage of giving weapons to plunderers, and of bestowing provisions on robbers? Your servant has heard that when Lu had the Rites of Chou, Ch'i did not take up arms against them, and that when Wu had learnt the use of chariots in war, Ch'u was utterly defeated; the one from its keeping the statutes was an honoured state, the other from giving up an art lost its territory: these may be instanced as models. Moreover, the princess, after having

been given in marriage, and followed her husband far away to a foreign country, ought to follow the barbarian ceremonial. She asks on the contrary for valuable books, and it is the idea of your stupid servant that this is not the request of the princess herself, but suggested by some refugee who has fled to the north and is living among them. Should your Majesty think that it would lead to a loss of good relations with the Fan to break the faith already pledged, then there is no resource; but I beg that the Ch'un-ch'iu be excluded, when the virtue of the Chou was weak and the vassal princes waxed strong, when each one adopted rites and music, and fought against the other. From this cause falsehood prevailed and deceitful measures originated, so that there are instances of subjects giving orders to the sovereign, and individuals arrogating to themselves the command of the princes. If this book be given, the state will be endangered. The Records say that Yühsü asked for the Ch'uhsuan and P'anying, whereupon Confucius said: 'Better give many cities, for these are celebrated things, and must not be ceded to any one.' The barbarians are covetous and rapacious, value property and disregard territory, and they can be presented with silks and abundance of jade and money, but why need one obey their behest and increase their knowledge? Your servant is the unworthy occupant of a post whose duties are the care of important records, and is deeply pained that the classics should be thrown away on barbarians. Under pain of death he presents this memorial for the careful consideration of your Majesty." The memorial was disregarded.

In the 21st year (733), a decree sent the President of the Board of Works, Li Sung, on a friendly mission to T'ufan. Whenever the T'ang envoys entered their borders, there were marshalled on the spot several lines of mailed warriors and mounted soldiers, to show the power of their arms.

In the 22nd year (734) the general Li Ch'uan was sent to erect a stone monument at Ch'ihling, to mark the T'ufan frontier line.

The T'ufan sent a mission of thanks, and said: "The T'ang and T'ufan are both great nations, and have now determined to make a treaty of lasting peace. Fearing lest the frontier officers should be disorderly, we propose that messenger

be sent from both sides to make them clearly understand this fact." The Emperor appointed officers, the T'ufan sent Mangpuchih. A proclamation was distributed to all the cities of Chiennan and Hohsi to this effect: "The two nations are at peace, and there must be no plundering nor oppression." They then sent Hsinopuhai, who brought tribute, as well as valuable presents for distribution among the high officers.

In the 24th year (736), in the first month, the T'ufan sent a mission with tribute of the productions of their country, including several hundred gold and silver vessels and precious ornaments, all of wonderful and strange form and make. The Emperor ordered them to be exhibited outside one of the palace gates for the inspection of the officers. The same year the T'ufan attacked on the west Pulu (Balti), which sent envoys to the Emperor with the news of their peril. The Emperor sent a despatch to the T'ufan to order them to put down their arms, but the T'ufan paid no attention to the command. They then attacked and conquered the Pulu state, and the Emperor was very angry.

At this time Ts'ui Hsiyi was governor-general of Hohsi. When Liangchou was garrisoned with troops, the T'ufan made a palisade of trees on the Chinese frontier, and stationed guards along it. Hsiyi said to the T'ufan general Ch'ilihsü: "The two nations are at peace, what necessity is there for guards, preventing the men cultivating the soil? I propose that all be disbanded, for us to be united as one family. Is not this good policy?" Ch'ilihsü replied: "The governor is honourable and sincere, and his word is to be trusted, but I fear that his government is not so entirely to be relied on, and if one out of ten thousand be hostile and catch us unprepared, we shall repent to no purpose." Hsiyi strongly urged his proposition, and sent soldiers, who made a sworn covenant with Ch'ilihsü and his people, sacrificing white dogs. Both then removed their guards, and the T'ufan herds were sent out to pasture throughout the country. Soon after Hsiyi sent Sun Hui to court to report the affair. Hui, wishing to gain praise for himself, memorialized: "The T'ufan are unprepared, and if we send troops to surprise them we shall be victorious." The Emperor sent Chao Huitsung to return with all speed with Sun Hui to see what was best to do.

When Huitsung and his party arrived at Liangchou, they forged a decree, ordering Hsiyi to attack them by surprise. Hsiyi had no course but to obey. He inflicted a great defeat on the T'ufan on the banks of the Ch'inghai, killing and capturing large numbers. Ch'ilihsü saved his life by flight. Huitsung and Sun Hui were both rewarded with valuable presents. The T'ufan, on account of this, again stopped sending tribute. Hsiyi, on account of this breach of faith, was discontented with the war, and was unsuccessful, and he was soon after transferred to be governor of Honan. Having arrived at the capital, he and Chao Huitsung both saw the spectre of a white dog, and died one after the other. Sun Hui was punished by execution. A decree appointed the governor of Ch'ichou, Hsiao Lin, to take command at Liangchou, and to be governor-general of Hohsi in place of Hsiyi; the governor of Sanchou, Tu Hsiwang, to be governor-general of Lungyu; the governor of Yichou, Wang Hao, to be governor-general of Chiennan; all three to go by separate roads to attack the T'ufan. The destruction of the boundary monument was also ordered.

In the 26th year (738), the 4th month, Tu Hsiwang led an army to besiege the T'ufan new city, and took it, and established there the Weiwuchün, sending 1000 soldiers to garrison it. In the 7th month, he again despatched troops from Shanchou, which captured the T'ufan bridge, and the city of Yench'uan to the left (east) of the (Yellow) river. The T'ufan sent 30,000 warriors to fight with the imperial troops, which Hsiwang attacked and routed. He then established at the city the Chênhsichün. Meanwhile, Wang Hao also led the Chiennan soldiers and militia to besiege Anjungch'êng(40). He first built two walled cities to the right and left of Anjung, as places of attack and defence, while he encamped troops beneath the P'êngp'oling, and gathered all the stores and provisions of the province for their use. In the 9th month, the T'ufan brought all their strength to the relief of the city. The imperial army was totally defeated, and the two new cities both lost to the enemy. Hao barely escaped with his life, while tens of

thousands of officers and soldiers, as well as the army stores, provisions, and weapons, were all captured by the enemy. Hao was punished by being degraded to be governor of K'uocho. When he first began the war, he squandered on his son money and silks by the myriad, and without authority gave him purple robes, etc., on which were expended several myriads, for which he was degraded to a still lower post in Tuanchou, where he died.

In the 27th year (739), the 7th month, the T'ufan again attacked the garrisons of Paits'ao and Anjên, and a decree ordered troops to be sent from the garrisons of Lint'ao and Sofang to their succour. The T'ufan had encamped troops on the road, so as to block the road from Lint'ao, which were attacked and driven away.

After the defeat of Wang Hao, the governor of Huachou, Chang Yu, was appointed governor of Yichou, and commander-in-chief in Chiennan, with Changch'in Chiench'iung as deputy. Yu was a civilian, and ignorant of war, so that Chiench'iung took sole command of the army. The latter soon memorialized to recommend strongly the siege and capture of Anjung. The Emperor was delighted, removed Chang Yu to a post in the capital, and promoted Chiench'iung to be governor-general of the province. He also personally drew plans for the capture of the city.

In the spring of the 28th year (740), Chiench'iung entered into secret relations with Tsaitachu and other T'ufans within the city, who induced the citizens to return to their allegiance, and to admit the imperial troops into the city. He slew all the T'ufan generals and warriors, and sent troops to garrison it. The Emperor, when he heard the news, was much pleased. The high officers memorialized: "In our humble opinion, this city of the T'ufan, being placed in a commanding situation, they have trusted in its strength, and been able to steal into our borders, which for years they have harassed like a nest of ants, so that even with armies of millions we have gained no success. Your majesty himself devised a secret plan, and, without recourse to arms, sent Li Ssüching to proclaim it to the Ch'iang tribes, and all were

city of Shihp'u and presented the captives bound at the imperial ancestral temple.

The Emperor wrote a despatch to the general P'ei Ming, in which he said: "Should any one dare to hide fame acquired in battle and prevent its being rewarded, let the warrior himself report it, and the general and civil officer shall both be executed. If any hang back from the fight, the whole rank shall be punished by martial law. The successful capturer of the prince shall be appointed a chief general." Thereupon the warriors pressed on yet more bravely. The T'ufan sent a Nangku (a civil officer) to present this letter at the barrier: "Lunmangjê and Lunch'ijê, both commanders of 10,000 men, have been commissioned by the tsanp'u to ask pardon of the governor. Our two nations are allied by bonds of affinity, but yesterday the Mipnung Ch'iang and the Tanghsiang quarrelled, and in consequence our two nations lost their good understanding. We did not listen, the T'ang also ought not to listen. Let the governor send a confidential officer to return with the nangku to discuss a sworn treaty."

Thereupon the T'ufan sent successive missions to ask for peace. Yu Prince of Chung and Huangfu Weiming reported on the subject and personally pressed the advantages of friendly intercourse. The Emperor replied: "The T'ufan tsan'pu sent to us the other year a despatch couched in disrespectful and improper terms, and we resolved to punish him. How then can there be peace?" Weiming answered: "In the beginning of the present reign the tsanp'u was still a child and could not have behaved in this way. It must have been the general in command of the frontier army, who, wishing to gain temporary fame, forged this letter to excite the anger of your Majesty. The two nations then broke off relations, and armies were set in motion which gained temporary advantage, and they then privately took credit for themselves and sent false reports of their achievements to plot for official promotion. Thus many myriads were wasted and with no gain to the state, and now the people of Hohai and Lungyu are sick and famished, all from this cause. May your Majesty be pleased to despatch a mission to visit the Princess of Chinch'êng, and to conclude a treaty of peaceful alliance with the tsanp'u personally, ordering him to bow down in acknowledgment of vassalage, and thereby confer lasting tranquillity on the borders. This policy would give peace to the people for long ages." The Emperor approved his words, and sent Weiming and

the news of her death. They also asked for peace, which the Emperor refused. It was not till some months after the arrival of the missions that the mourning ceremonies for the princess were performed outside one of the palace gates, the court being closed for three days.

In the 6th month a T'ufan army of 400,000 men assaulted the fortified town of Ch'êngfêng, advanced to the Ch'angning bridge on the west of the garrison of Hoyuan and to the peak of Hunyai in Anjên. The cavalry general, Tsang Hsiyeh, with an army of 5,000, attacked and defeated them. In the 12th month the T'ufan again invaded the city of Shihp'u, which the governor-general failed to defend, and the Emperor Yuantsung was still more angry.

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Before their arrival the general of the six armies, Chang Chihch'ieh, with some hundreds of his own standard, had fled from the city to Shangchou, and they had plundered the officers of the court and scholars, who were trying to escape, as well as robbed the inhabitants of money, property, saddles, and horses; and this had been going on for days. They remonstrated with the general, saying: "You have the post of general of the imperial army, yet when your troops were defeated, you did not march to the imperial residence, but allowed your subordinates to plunder. Is this the part of a loyal subject? Now that his Excellency Kuo, the commander-in-chief, is trying to reach Lonan, let the general restore the discipline of his soldiers and promise them punishment or reward, and beg his Excellency to take command, to plan the recovery of Ch'angan. This would redound to the fame of the general." Chihch'ieh gladly consented. The other generals hastened to place themselves under the orders of Kuo Tzūyi, as soon as he reached Shangchou.

When the T'ufan were about to enter the capital, a former high official, Ying Chungch'ing, escaped the danger, leaving his saddle, horse, and robes in the hands of the robbers. Chungch'ing, when he reached Lant'ien, gathered together scattered troops, and brave recruits, till he had over a hundred followers, and defended Lant'ien on the south against the T'ufan. His army gradually increased till it mounted up to over a thousand. When Tzūyi reached Shangchou, he knew nothing of this affair of Chungch'ing.

When Huitsung and his party arrived at Liangchou, they forged a decree, ordering Hsiyi to attack them by surprise. Hsiyi had no course but to obey. He inflicted a great defeat on the T'ufan on the banks of the Ch'inghai, killing and capturing large numbers. Ch'ilihsü saved his life by flight. Huitsung and Sun Hui were both rewarded with valuable presents. The T'ufan, on account of this, again stopped sending tribute. Hsiyi, on account of this breach of faith, was discontented with the war, and was unsuccessful, and he was soon after transferred to be governor of Honan. Having arrived at the capital, he and Chao Huitsung both saw the spectre of a white dog, and died one after the other. Sun Hui was punished by execution. A decree appointed the governor of Ch'ichou, Hsiao Lin, to take command at Liangchou, and to be governor-general of Hohsi in place of Hsiyi; the governor of Sanchou, Tu Hsiwang, to be governor-general of Lungyu; the governor of Yichou, Wang Hao, to be governor-general of Chiennan; all three to go by separate roads to attack the T'ufan. The destruction of the boundary monument was also ordered.

In the 26th year (738), the 4th month, Tu Hsiwang led an army to besiege the T'ufan new city, and took it, and established there the Weiwuchün, sending 1000 soldiers to garrison it. In the 7th month, he again despatched troops from Shanchou, which captured the T'ufan bridge, and the city of Yench'uan to the left (east) of the (Yellow) river. The T'ufan sent 30,000 warriors to fight with the imperial troops, which Hsiwang attacked and routed. He then established at the city the Chênhsichün. Meanwhile, Wang Hao also led the Chiennan soldiers and militia to besiege Anjungch'êng(40). He first built two walled cities to the right and left of Anjung, as places of attack and defence, while he encamped troops beneath the P'êngp'oling, and gathered all the stores and provisions of the province for their use. In the 9th month, the T'ufan brought all their strength to the relief of the city. The imperial army was totally defeated, and the two new cities both lost to the enemy. Hao barely escaped with his life, while tens of

thousands of officers and soldiers, as well as the army stores, provisions, and weapons, were all captured by the enemy. Hao was punished by being degraded to be governor of K'uocho. When he first began the war, he squandered on his son money and silks by the myriad, and without authority gave him purple robes, etc., on which were expended several myriads, for which he was degraded to a still lower post in Tuanchou, where he died.

In the 27th year (739), the 7th month, the T'ufan again attacked the garrisons of Paits'ao and Anjên, and a decree ordered troops to be sent from the garrisons of Lint'ao and Sofang to their succour. The T'ufan had encamped troops on the road, so as to block the road from Lint'ao, which were attacked and driven away.

After the defeat of Wang Hao, the governor of Huachou, Chang Yu, was appointed governor of Yichou, and commander-in-chief in Chiennan, with Changch'in Chiench'iung as deputy. Yu was a civilian, and ignorant of war, so that Chiench'iung took sole command of the army. The latter soon memorialized to recommend strongly the siege and capture of Anjung. The Emperor was delighted, removed Chang Yu to a post in the capital, and promoted Chiench'iung to be governor-general of the province. He also personally drew plans for the capture of the city.

In the spring of the 28th year (740), Chiench'iung entered into secret relations with Tsaituchu and other T'ufans within the city, who induced the citizens to return to their allegiance, and to admit the imperial troops into the city. He slew all the T'ufan generals and warriors, and sent troops to garrison it. The Emperor, when he heard the news, was much pleased. The high officers memorialized: "In our humble opinion, this city of the T'ufan, being placed in a commanding situation, they have trusted in its strength, and been able to steal into our borders, which for years they have harassed like a nest of ants, so that even with armies of millions we have gained no success. Your majesty himself devised a secret plan, and, without recourse to arms, sent Li Ssüching to proclaim it to the Ch'iang tribes, and all were

grateful for your favour, so that they changed their designs, and only plotted to prey on each other. Your divine policy is unfathomable, your wise measures incomprehensible. For years they had braved punishment, and now have been swept away in a single day. Your servants again memorialize to-day that your Majesty may simply say: 'Look at the barbarians of the four quarters, in a short time they will be one by one uprooted and destroyed.' The virtuous words once vouchsafed, there is immediately reported a victory over the barbarians, so that your Majesty is seen to be equal to heaven in holiness; the answer comes as quickly as the sound of a musical stone when struck; from ancient times to the present its like has not been seen. We pray you to proclaim it to all the officers, so that it may be recorded in the annals." The imperial pencil replied: "Into this city, in the period Yifêng (676-678), the Ch'iang led the T'ufan, who garrisoned it strongly. Yearly and monthly for a long time, it had been constantly besieged, but the situation is so impregnable that all our efforts were fruitless, and the court all decided that it was not to be conquered. But we, relying on the ignorance of the small Fan, resolved to carry through the affair, and devised a skilful plan by which it has been completed. We have gained the heart of these barbarians, and recovered our fortified city, so that really there is ample cause for rejoicing."

In the 10th month of the same year the T'ufan led another army to assault the city of Anjung,

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as well as Weichou. Changch'iu Chiench'iung sent one of his generals at the head of an army against them, and also despatched valiant horsemen from Kuanchung to the succour. The weather was extremely cold, and the rebels after a long time drew off their troops and retreated of their own accord. A decree was issued to change the name of the city to P'ingjung.

In the spring of the 29th year (741) the Princess of Chinch'êng died, and a mission from T'ufan came to bring

the news of her death. They also asked for peace, which the Emperor refused. It was not till some months after the arrival of the missions that the mourning ceremonies for the princess were performed outside one of the palace gates, the court being closed for three days.

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by the main road would court disaster, and you had better select the Yüshan road to travel by, as they would never guess it." Tzüyi again agreed. The two officers both accompanied him. His body of some thousand men, on account of the narrowness of the mountain road, stretched in a line of a hundred li, and made such slow progress that the other two, fearing pursuit in a narrow path where the van could not help the rear, went to Taohuik'ou by a different way. They crossed difficult torrents, climbed mountain passes, and finally reached Shangchou.

Before their arrival the general of the six armies, Chang Chihch'ieh, with some hundreds of his own standard, had fled from the city to Shangchou, and they had plundered the officers of the court and scholars, who were trying to escape, as well as robbed the inhabitants of money, property, saddles, and horses; and this had been going on for days. They remonstrated with the general, saying: "You have the post of general of the imperial army, yet when your troops were defeated, you did not march to the imperial residence, but allowed your subordinates to plunder. Is this the part of a loyal subject? Now that his Excellency Kuo, the commander-in-chief, is trying to reach Lonan, let the general restore the discipline of his soldiers and promise them punishment or reward, and beg his Excellency to take command, to plan the recovery of Ch'angan. This would redound to the fame of the general." Chihch'ieh gladly consented. The other generals hastened to place themselves under the orders of Kuo Tzüyi, as soon as he reached Shangchou.

When the T'ufan were about to enter the capital, a former high official, Ying Chungch'ing, escaped the danger, leaving his saddle, horse, and robes in the hands of the robbers. Chungch'ing, when he reached Lant'ien, gathered together scattered troops, and brave recruits, till he had over a hundred followers, and defended Lant'ien on the south against the T'ufan. His army gradually increased till it mounted up to over a thousand. When Tzüyi reached Shangchou, he knew nothing of this affair of Chungch'ing.

He enlisted men to enquire into the strength of the rebels. The general, Changsun Ch'üanhsü, volunteered, and was sent with a company of 200 horsemen ; Ti Wuch'i was appointed governor of the capital to assist in the recovery of Ch'angan. As soon as Ch'üanhsü reached Hankungtui, in the daytime he beat drums, and spread abroad flags and banners, and in the night lit many fires, to deceive the T'ufan. When he heard of the existence of the imperial troops, his energies were redoubled, and they opened up mutual communication, and sent to inform Tzüyi of their strength. Chungch'ing, with over 200 horsemen, made a detour and crossed the Ch'anshui. The T'ufan, alarmed, questioned the people, who, in order to deceive them, replied: "His Excellency Kuo is leading an army from Shangchou, with the project of retaking Ch'angan, a large army the number of which we know not." The rebels, believing in the truth of this, withdrew their army and retired, a remnant being left in the city. The general Wang Fu led his troops from the hunting-park into the city with drums beating and loud shouts, and Chungch'ing's force also entered. The T'ufan all fled away, and the imperial capital was recovered. Kuo Tzüyi took advantage of the opportunity, and entered Ch'angan with beat of drum, so that men's minds were at rest.

The T'ufan retreated to Fênghsiang, where the governor-general shut the gates against them. They besieged it for some days, till the governor-general of Chênhsai, Ma Lin, led over 1000 valiant horsemen from Hohsi to relieve Yang Chihlieh, and conducted his troops into the city. On the morrow at dawn he rode fully armed straight into the midst of the rebel army, supported on either side by some hundred of his horsemen. Lin fought desperately, with loud shouts, and the enemy fell down, unable to withstand him ; they were defeated, and retired. On the next day the rebel army, boasting of the valour of their braves, came up again to the walls to provoke a battle. Lin put on his armour and let down the hanging gate, whereupon they drew back, and all retreated, saying: "This general has no fear of death, there

is no resisting him, let us withdraw." They returned to their quarters in the lands of Yuan, Hui, Ch'êng, and Wei.

In the 12th month the Emperor returned to his capital.

This year they invaded on the south Sungchou, Weichou, and Paochou, and the city of Hsinglung in Yunshan.

In the 2nd year (763), the 5th month, they released Li Chihfang, who returned. In the 9th month, the traitor general, P'uku Huaiên(47), Prince of Taning, despatched from Lingwu his confederates, Fan Chichêng and Jên Fu, to lead the armies of the T'ufan and T'ukuhun to attack the imperial residence. In the 10th month, Huaiên's army reached Pinchou and offered battle. The governor-general, Pai Hsiaotê, defended the city against them, and blunted the edge of their power. The rebel army next approached Fêngt'ienhsien, and encamped twenty li to the west of the city. Kuo Tzüyi was encamped at Fêngt'ien, but kept his army in garrison, and would not fight. A general from thirty li to the west of Pinchou despatched 250 swift horsemen and 50 foot-soldiers to destroy the camp of Huaiên; they defeated an army of 5000, cut off several thousand heads and took 85 prisoners, including four chief generals, as well as 500 horses. In the 11th month, Huaiên led the T'ufan army back.

In the 2nd year of Kuangtê (764), the governor-general of Hohsi, Yang Chihlieh, was besieged in Liangchou, and defended the city several years, but it was isolated with no help; he escaped alive, and fled westwards to Kanchou, and Liangchou was also lost to the enemy.

In the 1st year of Yungt'ai (765), the 3rd month, the T'ufan asked for peace. The ministers of state, Yuan Tsai and Tu Hungchien, were sent to the Hsingt'angssü, to make a sworn covenant with them, and the ceremony was performed.

In the autumn, the 9th month, P'uku Huaiên enticed the T'ufan and Huiho to attack on the south the imperial residence. The T'ufan generals, Shangchiehhsitsanmo, Shanghsitungtsan, Shangyehhsi, and Machungying, at the head of an army of 200,000 men, came to the borders of Fêngt'ien. The governor-general of Pinchou was unable to withstand

them, and the capital was strictly guarded. The generals of Sofang had previously encamped their troops at Fêngt'ien to resist them. A decree recalled the assistant commander-in-chief, Kuo Tzüyi, from Hochungfu, to lead his forces with all speed to the rescue, and he encamped at Chingyang. The other generals all encamped their troops to garrison vital positions.

When the T'ufan first pitched their tents at Fêngt'ien the general Hun Jihchin rode alone into their midst, followed closely by 200 valiant horsemen, and surprised their camp, shooting and spearing right and left till the rebels fled in alarm, and none escaped the point of the arrow. Jihchin seized a Fan general, and galloped back with him. During the struggles of this general he lost his quiver, but not one of his men was wounded by spear or arrow. When the army saw this, their bravery was redoubled.

On the morrow the whole T'ufan force besieged him. Jihchin ordered stones to be projected from the carriage-engines, and made ready the bows and crossbows, killing and wounding heaps of the enemy, and after some days they collected their troops and returned to camp. Soon after Jihchin attacked the rebel camp in the night below Liang-mushên, and killed over a thousand, captured 500 prisoners, with camels, horses, stores, and weapons. He sent to the Emperor an open despatch with the news of his victory. He then encamped at Mawetien in Fêngt'ien, and between the 19th and 25th day of the same month fought more than two hundred engagements, in which he defeated 100,000 of the T'ufan, cut off 5,000 heads, and took 160 prisoners, 1,242 horses, 115 camels, with stores, weapons, umbrellas, in all some 30,000 articles.

The Emperor next decided himself to take command, requisitioned the horses of the court officials, and established recruiting stations in the capital. The capital was in great alarm, and the citizens all deserted their houses, the large gates being pierced with holes for exit. The court officials also trembled with fear, and eight or nine tenths of their families went into hiding, in spite of prohibitory decrees.

The governor-general, Ma Lin, fell in with some 400 T'ufan scouts riding over the eastern plains of Wukung, and despatched a body of 50 against them, who killed them all without leaving one alive.

Rain fell on the 17th day, and did not stop till the evening of the 25th; it was considered to be aid from heaven. The T'ufan moved their camp to Lich'uanhsien, north of the Chintsungshan, attacking and plundering Lich'uan. They then retreated to the north of Yungshou, where they met the army of the Huiho, and returned to plunder Fêngt'ien. The T'ufan again came to Maweitien, where they burnt the dwellings of the inhabitants and then retreated. The traitor Jên Fu, with over 5000 men, attacked Paishuihsien, and sacked T'ungchou.

From the year before, when the T'ufan attacked the imperial residence, and afterwards, when their troops were encamped at the Chungweich'iao and Shufêngch'eng, till now, their attacks continued. As soon as they heard of the death of Huaiên, his troops rebelled, quarrelled among themselves, and fled. The two nations, suspicious and divided, disputed for supremacy, and camped in separate places. The Huiho were angry, and the T'ufan roamed to Yaoti. Three thousand mounted Huiho came to Chingyang to give in their allegiance, and offered to aid in an attack on the T'ufan; and Kuo Tzüyi accepted their offer. Thereupon the Prince Pai Yuankuang united his forces with the Huiho, and in Chingyang, fifty li east of Lingt'aihsien, they attacked and defeated the T'ufan, killing and taking prisoners, and capturing camels, horses, oxen and sheep in large numbers. Puku Mingch'ên surrendered. The Emperor gave up the project of a personal expedition, the capital was released from its state of siege, and the ministers and officials presented memorials of congratulation.

In the 2nd year of Yungt'ai (766), the 2nd month, the Emperor appointed Yang Chi to conclude a new peace with the T'ufan. In the 4th month the T'ufan sent the chief Lunhsitsang, accompanied by over a hundred men, to go with Chi to court and offer thanks for the renewal of good relations.

In the 2nd year of Tali (767) they invaded Lingchou, where, in the 10th month, 20,000 T'ufan were defeated, 500 made prisoners, and 1500 horses taken. In the 11th month the envoy Hsieh Chingsien returned from a mission to T'ufan, and the chief Lunhsiling accompanied him to court. Chinghsien memorialized that the tsanp'u asked for Fêng-linkuan to be made the boundary. Shortly after they sent another envoy, Luhsi, with fifteen men, to court.

In the 3rd year (768), the 8th month, 100,000 Tu'fan invaded Lingwu, and their great general Shangtsanmo invaded Pinchou.

Before this time Shanghsichieh, from the period Paoying, had several times invaded the borders, and when, having acquired great fame, he retired from old age, he was replaced by Shangtsanmo as governor-general of the east, with rule over the provinces of Ho and Lung.

The governor-general of Pining, Ma Lin, defeated an army of over 20,000, and presented the prisoners taken to the Emperor. In the 9th month they invaded Lingchou, where the Sofang cavalry general, Pai Yuankuang, defeated them, and soon after again defeated them, capturing several thousand sheep and horses. The Kuannui assistant commander-in-chief, Kuo Tzŭyi, defeated an army of 60,000 T'ufan in Lingwu. In the 12th month, on account of the Fan invasions and yearly plunder of the western borders, the garrisons were reinforced, and Ma Lin was moved to defend Chingchou with the appointment of governor-general of Chingyuan. In Chiennan, at Hsich'uan, there was another defeat of 10,000 T'ufan.

In the 5th year (770), the 5th month, the five chou An, Hsi, T'o, Ching, and Kung, were moved to vital positions in the mountains to resist the T'ufan.

In the autumn of the 8th year (773) 60,000 T'ufan horsemen invaded Lingwu, trampled down our corn and retired. In the 10th month they invaded Chingchou and Pinchou. Kuo Tzŭyi sent the general of the van, Hun Hsien, who engaged the rebels at Yilu, but our army was unsuccessful, Shih Chi was killed, with two other lieutenant-generals, and more than a thousand of the inhabitants of the country were driven off. The same night Hun Hsien, having collected

together the scattered soldiers, invaded the enemy's camp, while Ma Lin at the same time fell upon the baggage-train, slaughtering several thousands, and the rebels were dispersed. Kuo Tzūyi totally defeated a T'ufan army of 100,000 men.

When the T'ufan first attacked our Pinchou territory, Ma Lin, with some 2,000 valiant warriors, made a secret night foray on the rebel camp, and shot a rebel leopard-skin general in the eye; the rebels supporting him broke out into loud cries of lamentation, and the whole camp was evacuated. Ma Lin thereby recovered over 200 of the brave troops of Sofang, and 700 of the common people, as well as several hundreds of camels and horses.

In the 9th year (774), the 4th month, on account of the T'ufan invasions and troubles, the frontier guards were reinforced, and the Emperor issued a decree: "We hereby command Tzūyi with 50,000 foot and horse of Shangchün, Peiti, Ssūsai, Wuyuan, Yich'ü, Chihu, and Hsienpi, to take up a strong position in Hsünyi, and reinforce the old troops: Paoyü with 30,000 men from Kaotu in Chin and Shangtang in Han, the loyal natives of Hohuang, and the young men of Ch'ienlung, to form a line on the high ground, in a continuous series of camps: Ma Lin, with 30,000 men of Hsiyü Ch'ient'ing and Chüshih Houpu, with the warriors of Kuangwu and the levies of Hsiachi, to encamp at Yuanchou, a strong reserve for the great army: Chungch'êng, with 20,000 men of the trained bands of Wulo, and the brave army of Yuti, to go from Ch'iyang to the north: and Hsijang, with the trained bands of the capital, and the sons of the brave men of the imperial armies, to go from Weishang to the west. Let a united army of 40,000 men from Pien, Sung, Tzū, Ch'ing, Ho, Yang, Yu, and Chi, be divided and marshalled in the front and rear, and 60,000 from Wei, Ch'êng, Tê, Chao, Yi, and Yung, be massed to the left and right. We will, in our palace, take command of the guards, and ourselves issue orders to the generals. We give thousands of ounces of gold for expenses, and bestow the horses of the imperial stud. For the armour and weapons, army equipment and frontier stores, the officials in charge of

each will carefully provide everything. We will give to you generals and ministers, officers both civil and military, of ability and energy. The victory of an army depends on union, and good fighters do not wait to be marshalled. Each one must guard his own frontier, camping on and defending the important posts, and the smoke-towers must be lighted, the front and rear answering each other. Should they repent of their misdeeds, there will be no need for troubling the people; but if still contumacious we must ourselves punish them, and they will afterwards ask to surrender to the empire. For the orders of the various armies and plans of invasion and conquest, further commands will be issued."

In the 11th year (776), the 1st month, the governor-general of Chiennan, Ts'ui Ning, inflicted a great defeat on four T'ufan governors, with T'uchüeh, T'uhun, Ti, Man, Ch'iang and Tanghsiang, an allied army of over 200,000 men, cutting off 10,000 heads, taking alive the commander of the forces of Lach'eng and 1,350 prisoners, who were presented at the gate of the palace, and oxen, sheep, war stores, material and weapons more than could be counted.

The T'ufan, having failed in their projects, invaded Li and Ya, whereupon the Chiennan troops, in union with the Nanchao, fought with and defeated them, capturing the great 'lung' officer Lunch'ijan.

In the 12th year (777), the 9th month, they invaded Fang-chou, plundered the Tanghsiang sheep and horses and retired. In the 11th month Ts'ui Ning took the T'ufan Wanghan city.

The governor-general of Shannan Hsitao, Chang Hsienkung, fought a battle at Minchou, where the T'ufan fled. Ts'ui Ning defeated the Sanlu of the Western Hills and the soldiers of Ch'iuungnan, and cut off 8,000 heads.

In the 13th year (778), the enemy's great chief, Machungying, with 40,000 horsemen, invaded the Lingchou barrier. The officer in charge of the military colonies was dismissed on account of his mismanagement. Machungying ravaged Yen and Ch'ing and withdrew.

In the 14th year (779), the 8th month, the Emperor appointed Wei Lun, with special credentials, envoy to T'ufan, to take with him 500 Fan captives back to their country.

In the 10th month the T'ufan, at the head of an army of 200,000 of the Southern Man, invaded in three bodies, one into Maochou, across the Wench'uan and the Kuank'ou,

another into Fuwên past Fangwei and Paipa, a third from Li and Yu through the Ch'iunglai pass, destroying a number of cities in succession. Four thousand imperial troops and five thousand men from Yuchou were despatched, who attacked them together and greatly defeated them.

In the 1st year of Chienchung (780), the 4th month, Wei Lun reached his destination. During the latter part of the Tali period several of their missions of inquiry had been successively detained, and not sent back. When captives were taken, eunuchs were always sent in charge of them to take them to Chiangling, and they demanded money from them in addition to the expenses of their maintenance, so that they were distressed beyond measure. Last year, in the winter, when the T'ufan levied a great army and invaded the empire by three roads, Têtsung had but just succeeded to the throne. He determined to rule the four quarters with virtue, and collected five hundred of the chained captives, gave to each a suit of clothes, and sent Wei Lun to take them back to their country, and to conclude a treaty of peace, and also commanded the frontier generals to put a stop to plunder and invasion.

When the T'ufan first heard of the return of these men, they were incredulous, but as soon as the Fan captives entered their borders the people were all awed with the power, and grateful for the grace of the Emperor. The tsanp'u, Ch'ilitsan, addressing Wei Lun, said :

The surname of Ch'ilitsan was Hulut'i.

"I did not know of your coming, and I have three causes of sorrow. What am I to do?" Wei Lun replied: "I do not understand what you refer to." Ch'ilitsan said: "I was ignorant of the loss the empire had sustained, and was unable to condole and mourn—this is the first. I knew not the day of the imperial funeral, and was unable to present offerings, and fulfil the proper rites—this is the second. I knew not of the holy and wise accession of the Emperor, my father-in-law, and despatched armies by three parallel roads. The army of Lingwu, having already heard of your appointment, has halted. But the army of Shannan has invaded Fuwên, and

the army of Shu marched past Kuank'ou, and they have not yet been overtaken—this is my third sorrow.” He then sent envoys with despatches and presents to the Emperor, and in less than twenty days they returned with the imperial commands.

The commander-in-chief in Shu sent to the Emperor the captives which he had taken in battle, and the officers petitioned that they should be treated in accordance with the old practice, and sent to be slaves, but the sovereign replied: “Our wish for a treaty is on record, and can our words be double?” He therefore bestowed on each two pieces of silk, and a suit of clothes, and sent them back.

In the 5th month, Wei Lun was promoted, and again sent on a mission to T'ufan. In the winter they sent the chief minister, Lunch'inmingssü, and suite, fifty-five persons in all, who accompanied Wei Lun on his return, and offered productions of their country. When the T'ufan saw Lun on his second arrival, they were greatly rejoiced, and as soon as he reached his hotel entertained him with a band of music. After detaining him nine days, they sent him back, together with their chief minister, with the answer to the imperial command.

In the 2nd year (781), the 12th month, the secretary of the mission to T'ufan, Ch'ang Lu, in company with a T'ufan envoy, Lunhsinolo, came back from the Fan country. When Ch'ang Lu, with the envoy Ts'ui Hanhêng, first arrived at their hotel, the Tsanp'u ordered them to stop, and made them first produce the official despatch. That having been done, he sent this message to Hanhêng: “The imperial despatch you bring says: ‘The things offered as tribute have all been accepted, and now we bestow on our son-in-law a few presents for him to take when they arrive.’ Our great Fan and the Tang nations are allied by marriage, and how is it that we are treated with the rites due to a subject? Again, you wish to fix the boundary to the west of Yunchou, but we propose that Holanshan be made the boundary. For the sworn ceremony we propose to follow that of the 2nd year of Chinglung (708), when the imperial despatch said: ‘When

the T'ang envoy arrives there, the son-in-law shall first conclude the sworn ceremony with him; and when the Fan envoy arrives here, we, the father-in-law, will ourselves take part in the ceremony with him.' Let, then, Hanhêng send a messenger to report to the Emperor that he may act."

Lu was sent back to report, and the imperial despatch was accordingly altered, the words 'offered as tribute' changed to 'presented,' 'bestowed' to 'given,' and 'for him to take' to 'for his acceptance,' the following sentences being added: "The former minister, Yang Yen, departed from the old practice, and is responsible for these errors. For the fixing of the boundaries, and the sworn ceremony, everything is conceded."

In the 3rd year (782), the 4th month, they released the generals, warriors, and Buddhist monks, who had been carried off to the Fan country, in all 800 persons, and sent them back in return for the delivery of the Fan captives.

In the 9th month, the envoy appointed to make peace with T'ufan, Ts'ui Hanhêng, accompanied by a Fan envoy, Ch'üleitsan, arrived. At this time the T'ufan chief minister, Shanghsichieh, who was tyrannical and fond of slaughter, having been overthrown and beaten in Chiennan, was anxious to wipe away his disgrace, and unwilling to make peace. The second minister, Shangchiehtsan, an able and politic man, reported to the tsanp'u to ask him to fix the boundary, and to conclude a treaty, so as to give rest to the inhabitants of the borders. The tsanp'u consented, and appointed Chiehtsan chief minister in place of Hichieh to negotiate the treaty of peace and friendship. The 15th day of the 6th month was fixed for the performance of the ceremony on the border, Ts'ui Hanhêng was appointed president of the court of entertainment; and Fan Tsê sent as envoy to T'ufan to conclude the negotiations. When Hanhêng first made the agreement with the T'ufan, the day for the performance of the ceremony was fixed; but when Hanhêng arrived, the negotiations were not finished, till the day was passed. Therefore the Emperor ordered Fan Tsê to go to Chiehtsan to fix another day for the ceremony, and

also sent the governor-general of Lungyu, Chang Yi, to take part with them on the occasion. Fan Tsé went to the old Yuanchou(48), where he had an interview with Shangchiehtsan, and they chose the 15th day of the first month of the coming year for the performance of the ceremony to the west of Ch'ingshui(49).

In the 1st month of the 4th year (783), the imperial decree was issued that Chang Yi and Shangchiehtsan should make a sworn compact at Ch'ingshui(49). When the time approached, Yi and Chiehtsan agreed that each party should proceed to the place where the altar was raised with 2,000 men, half of them to be armed and drawn up two hundred paces outside the altar, half unarmed attendants to be distributed below the altar. Chang Yi, with the masters of ceremony Ch'iyang and Ch'ik'ang, and the treaty officials Ts'ui Hanhêng, Fan Tsé, Ch'ang Lu and Yü Yu, seven persons all in court costume; Shangchiehtsan with the generals and ministers of his nation, Lunhsichiatang, Luntsangjê, Lunli, T'ossü, Kuanchê and Lunlihsü, also seven persons; ascended the altar together to perform the sworn ceremony. It had at first been agreed that the Han should sacrifice an ox, the Fan a horse; but Yi, ashamed of his part in the ceremony, wished to depreciate the rites, and as to Chiehtsan: "The Han cannot cultivate the ground without oxen, the Fan cannot travel without horses; propose therefore to substitute a sheep, pig and do the three victims." Chiehtsan consented. But there were no pigs outside the barrier, and Chiehtsan determined to sacrifice a wild ram, while Yi took a dog and a sheep. These were sacrificed on the north of the altar, the blood in two vessels and smeared on the lips. The sworn compact was: "The T'ang possess all under heaven, wherever there is no one that does not obey them. Under sovereigns their fame has increased, and its years prolonged, and the great empire of its sovereigns till all within the four seas listen to its command the T'ufan tsanp'u it has made matrimonial

strengthen the bonds of neighbourly friendship and unite the two countries, and the sovereigns have been allied as father and son-in-law for nearly two hundred years. Meanwhile, however, in consequence of minor disagreements, their good relations have been broken off by war, so that the borderland has been troubled and without a quiet year. The Emperor on his recent accession compassionated his black-haired people, and sent back the enslaved captives to their own country, and the Fan nation has exhibited good feeling and agreed to a mutual peace. Envoys have gone and returned, carrying in succession the orders of their sovereign, who has determined to put a stop to secret plotting and put by the chariots of war. They have, with the view of making the covenant of the two countries lasting, proposed to use the ancient sworn treaty, and the government, resolved to give rest to the natives of the border, have alienated their ancient territory, preferring good deeds to profit, and have made a solemn treaty in accordance with the agreement. The boundaries that the government now keep are: on the west of Chingchou the western mouth of the T'antsên pass, on the west of Lungchou the city Ch'ingshuihsien, and on the west of Fêngchou the city T'ungkuhsien; while in the western mountains of Chiennan, the east bank of the Tatu River is the Han boundary. The Fan nation rule over Lan, Wei, Yuan and Hui, reaching on the west to Lint'ao, and on the east as far as Ch'êngchou; and on the western frontier of Chiennan, the land of the Mo, Hsieh, and other Man, the south-west of the Tatu River is the Fan boundary. The places garrisoned by regular troops, the walled cities which are inhabited, and the Man tribes between the two borders subject to the Han, according to the present distribution of their lands, all are to remain as heretofore. On the north of the Yellow River from the ancient Hsinch'uanchün, to the north as far as the Taling, to the south as far as the Lot'oling of the Holanshan, shall be border-land, and all be neutral territory. With regard to the places not included in the covenant, wherever the Fan have garrisons the Fan shall keep, wherever the Han have garrisons the Han shall keep,

each retaining its present possessions, and not seeking to encroach on the other. The places that heretofore have not been garrisoned, shall not have troops stationed in them, nor shall walled cities be built, nor land cultivated. Now the generals and ministers of the two countries having been commissioned to meet, and having fasted and purified themselves in preparation for the ceremony, proclaim to the gods of heaven and earth, of the mountains and rivers, and call the gods to witness that their oath shall not be broken. The text of the covenant shall be preserved in the ancestral temple, and the officers in charge according to the regulations of the two nations shall always keep it."

Chiehtsan also produced a sworn covenant which he did not put into the pit where only the victims were buried.

After the conclusion of the sworn ceremony, Chiehtsan proposed to Yi to go to the south-west corner of the altar into a Buddhist tent to burn incense and make oath. When this was finished, they again ascended the altar, when they drank wine and both gave and received ceremonial presents, each offering the products of his country, as a mark of liberal friendship. Finally they returned home.

In the second month, the Emperor appointed Ts'ui Hanhêng to go with special credentials on a return mission to the Fan, and sent Ch'üchiatsan back with him. The Emperor had originally ordered the ministers and presidents of the boards to make a sworn covenant with the Fan minister Ch'üchiatsan on the altar at Fêngyili; but this covenant, on account of the meeting at Ch'ingshui, was not concluded, and the decree was withdrawn. Consequently Chiehtsan was detained, and Hanhêng again sent on a mission to the tsan'ü.

In the 6th month the secretary of the return mission to Fan, Yü Yu, accompanied by the Fan envoy Lunchiamutsang, arrived from Ch'ingshui.

In the 7th month the President of the Board of Rites, Li K'uei, was appointed envoy to Fan to conclude the sworn covenant. The Emperor also ordered the ministers of state, Li Chungah'en, Lu Ch'i, Kuan Po, and Ts'ui Ning, the pre-

sident of the Board of Works, Ch'iao Ling, with six other high officials, to make a sworn covenant with Ch'uchiatsan and his colleagues on the altar. When Yü Yu first came back from the Fan country he had agreed with Shangchiehtsan that as soon as the boundaries were fixed, they would send back the envoy; which was done. Because the altar at Fêngyi was within the walls of the city, it was inconvenient, and it was proposed to fix by divination a propitious site for an altar to the west of the capital. The rites were like those employed at the ceremony at Ch'ingshui. Two days before the ceremony the Emperor ordered the proper officers to announce it in the ancestral temple. The officials who took part in the sworn covenant fasted for three days and ascended the altar in court costume, where Kuan Po on his knees read aloud the covenant. When the ceremony was concluded the Emperor entertained them at a banquet, bestowed presents and sent them back.

In the 1st year of Hsingyuan (784), the 2nd month, Yü Ch'i was sent to Chingchou to superintend the T'ufan, and to consult with the governors of the cities as to encamping or leading them on. The T'ufan had come to the barrier to offer troops to help to settle the difficulties of the state; hence the despatch of this envoy. In the 4th month Shên Fang was sent to the Fan to devise a plan of campaign and to be superintendent of Anhsi and Peit'ing. In the same month Hun Hsien and the T'ufan Lunmanglo led an army and greatly defeated the generals of Chu Tzŭ(50), Han Ming, Chang T'ingchih and Sung Kueich'ao, at the Wutingch'uan at Wukung, where they cut off over 10,000 heads.

It was originally agreed with the enemy that after Ch'angan had been conquered, four chou, including Ching and Ling, should be given to them. There was a great pestilence, and in consequence they withdrew their men; yet after the conquest of Chu Tzŭ, they asked for the territory in accordance with the old agreement. The Son of Heaven made light of their services, and merely bestowed a decree, rewarding Chiehtsan and Manglo with 10,000 pieces of silk. Thereupon the enemy was dissatisfied.

In the 2nd year of Chênnyuan (786), Chao Yü was sent on a mission to the Fan. In the 8th month the T'ufan invaded the districts of Ching, Lung, Pin, and Ning, carrying off

men and herds, and plundering the crops, so that the borders were in great distress. The governors and the generals closed the gates of the cities and defended themselves, and nothing else. The capital was strictly guarded, and the Emperor despatched generals with troops to encamp at Hsienyang, and ordered the governor-general of Hochung to lead an army to the relief of Hsienyang. In the 9th month, when T'ufan light horsemen had penetrated as far as Haossü, the Emperor sent another army to encamp at Hsienyang, and ordered the general K'ang Ch'êng to be sent as envoy to the T'ufan. The T'ufan chief minister, Shangchiehsan, had previously sent a succession of missions to ask for a solemn meeting to fix the boundaries. Thereupon Ch'êng was appointed envoy, and went to Joyuan, when he had an interview with Chiehsan, who sent Lunch'it'o to return with Ch'êng.

In the same month the governor-general of Fênghsiang, Li Ch'êng, on account of the continued invasion of the T'ufan, sent his general Wang Pi to make a night attack on the enemy's camp, and to lead 3,000 picked braves into Ch'ienyang. His final instructions were: "The main army of the enemy must pass under the city walls. Be careful not to attack the front or rear; for even if the front or rear be defeated, the strength of the centre will be unimpaired, so that they will assault you in force, and you will certainly meet with disaster. Only wait till the front of the army has passed, and you see the five-square banner, and the tiger and leopard robes. This will be the main army; go out and take them by surprise, and you will gain rare fame." Wang Pi followed this advice, sallied out and attacked them, and the enemy was totally defeated. Our lieutenant-general was killed fighting bravely. They also invaded Fênghsiang up to the walls of the city, when Li O'hêng led out his troops against them, and they retired the same night.

In the 10th month Li Ch'êng sent troops which captured the T'ufan fortified town Tuishap'u, and greatly defeated them, burning the military stores, and slaying Huch'ülü-shêtsan and six other Fan chiefs, and sending their heads to the capital.

In the 11th month the T'ufan took Yenchou(51). As soon as the enemy reached this city, the governor, Tu Yenkuang sent out oxen and wine to feast them. The T'ufan said to him: "We want to occupy the city, will you lead your men away?" Yenkuang, at the head of his troops, fled to Fuchou. In the 12th month they took Hsiachou(52), the governor of the city retiring with his troops, whereupon they took possession. Then they invaded Yinchou, which was an un-walled city, and the inhabitants all scattered and fled.

The Son of Heaven, on account of the distress and loss of the natives of the borders, decreed to remove from the principal halls of the palace, humbly confessing his faults, and ordered Lo Yuankuang to take measures for the recovery of Yen and Hsia.

In the spring of the 3rd year (787), Ts'ui Huan was appointed to go on a mission to the T'ufan; and afterwards another envoy, La T'ien, was in turn sent. The governor-general of Hotung and Paoning, Ma Sui, came to have audience. Shangchiehtsan, when he took Yenchou and Hsiachou, left in each city a garrison of about 1,000 men, while he encamped with his main army at Mingsha, where he remained from last winter to this spring, during which time many of his sheep and horses died, so that his provisions were exhausted. The Emperor now sent the governor-general of Huachou and T'ungkuan Lo Yuankuang, and the governor-general of Pinning Han Yukuai, with their own troops, and the soldiers of Fenghsiang, Fu, and Pin, and the other districts, to encamp on the frontier, while he ordered Ma Sui to lead his army to wait at Shihchou, and occupy the opposite bank of the river to Lo Yuankuang, so as to attack them between two horns. As soon as Chiehtsan heard of this, he was greatly alarmed, and sent a succession of envoys to ask for peace, and for a renewal of the sworn convention, all of which the Emperor refused. Then he sent his chief general, Lunchiajê with valuable gifts, and humble words, to beg Sui to ask for a treaty. Sui memorialized, but the Emperor again refused, ordering him to attack them with united forces and drive them away. Sui was fond of bribes and easily deceived, and he came to court with Lunchiajê, affirming positively that their words were to be trusted, and

that a sworn treaty should be granted, and at last the Emperor consented. While Sui was at court the armies remained passively intrenched, while Chiehtsan suddenly evacuated Hsiachou, and retreated, although many of the horses had died, so that the men were on foot. In the summer there was a convention at P'ingliang, but immediately afterwards they broke the treaty. On account of all this, Sui was deprived of his command, and kept out of office.

In the 4th month, Ts'ui Huan arrived from Mingsha. When he first reached Mingsha, he had an interview with Shangchiehtsan, and asked him why he had broken the treaty by taking Yenchou and Hsiachou. He replied, "Because of the destruction of the monument fixing the boundary, I feared that the two countries would disregard the convention, and invade each other's territory, therefore I came to the frontier to ask for a renewal of the old friendly relations. Again, the T'ufan troops, which that year defeated the army of Chu Tzū at Wukung, have not received the reward promised; for this reason also we came. As soon as we reached Chingchou, the governor shut himself up in the city, and would give no answer to our questions. We then marched to Fênghsiang, and tried to communicate with His Excellency Li, but he also would not see us or receive our messengers. Finally Kang Ch'êng and Wang Chên were sent to us, but when they arrived neither had authority to speak for the Empire. I daily looked for the appointment of a great minister as envoy, and was ready to explain my conduct, but none really came. Then I led back my troops. The commanders of the two cities of Yen and Hsia, afraid of our army, offered their cities to us, asking quarter, and fled; we did not attack and take them. Now Your Excellency, a relative of the Emperor, has special powers; and if you will cement friendship by a new-sworn ceremony, the Fan are willing. As regards the day of the meeting, and the place for fixing the boundary, we will obey your commands. When you shall have returned and reported, and it be all settled, we will give up to you Yen and Hsia." He also said: "At the meeting at Ch'ingshui too few took part

in the ceremony, therefore the peace has been disregarded, and made light of as not complete. Now let Fan ministers, and commander-in-chief, and other officers—in all twenty-one persons—go to Lingchou, the governor-general of which, Tu Hsich'uan, is a lover of peace and virtue, and is well known outside the border; and I propose that he be appointed to preside over the ceremony, while the governor-general of Chingchou, Li Kuan, might officiate as joint president." They both presented memorials.

The Emperor was informed by Huan that he had bribed some of the Fan officers to tell him the exact number of their troops, and that they amounted to 59,000 men and over 86,000 horses, including however only 30,000 fighting warriors, the rest mere boys, swelling the number to the full total. The same day he appointed Ts'ui Huan President of the Board of Entertainment, and sent him again to the T'ufan with this reply to Shangchiehtsan: "Tu Hsich'uan is on duty at Lingchou, and cannot leave the border, while Li Kuan has been transferred to another post. We have appointed Hun Hsien envoy to conclude a sworn treaty, and have fixed the 24th day of the 5th month to repeat the ceremony at Ch'ingshui." He also ordered him to say that Yen and H'sia must be returned to us before the ceremony. The Emperor was suspicious of the trustworthiness of the Fan, and made the recovery of these cities a test.

In the 5th month Hun Hsien, having been appointed envoy to conclude the sworn treaty, had a final audience to receive instructions. The President of the Board of War, Ts'ui Hanhêng, was appointed assistant-envoy, and Chêng Shuchü secretary. When Hun Hsien proceeded to the place of meeting, the Sovereign ordered him to take with him an army of 20,000 men, and despatched the governor-general of Huachou and T'ungkuan, Lo Yuankuang, to accompany him. The Emperor ordered the ministers of state to invite the T'ufan envoy, Lunhsitsan, and his colleagues, to consult with the grand council on the place to be fixed for the meeting. Ts'ui Huan and Shangchiehtsan had at first agreed to repeat the sworn ceremony at Ch'ingshui,

and also that our Yenchou and Hsiachou should be previously given up, but Chiehtsan afterwards said : "Ch'ingshui is not an auspicious territory, and I propose that the meeting be held in Yuanchou, at T'ulishu. I also propose after the conclusion of the sworn ceremony to give up the two cities." The envoy sent by Huan and Lunhsitsan reported this in a joint memorial. The Emperor, anxious to show clemency to foreigners, granted everything, and fixed the 15th day of the 5th month for the ceremony at T'ulishu.

The Emperor called the ministers of state to deliberate again, after the general Ma Yulin had reported that the T'ulishu country was full of difficult passes, and that he feared a secret ambush of T'ufan troops and consequent disaster to us; whereas P'ingliang was a plain, open on all sides, and besides close to Chingchou(53), and therefore more advantageous. Thereupon they determined that the place for the ceremony should be the valley of P'ingliang. Meanwhile the Fan envoy, Lunhsitsan, had started, but he was pursued and brought back, told of the new decision, and sent away again.

When Hun Hsien and Shangchiehtsan met at P'ingliang, they agreed at first to draw up 3,000 men on the east and west side of the altar, while 400 unarmed men came forward below the altar. Just before the ceremony they also agreed each to have mounted scouts to watch the movements of the other. Chiehtsan massed several tens of thousands of picked horsemen on the west of the altar; and the Fan scouts rode through and through our ranks, while as soon as Hsien's general, Liang Fêngchên, at the head of sixty horsemen, rode into the centre of the Fan army, they were all immediately seized and bound; Hsien had provided for nothing. Chiehtsan sent messengers to Hsien to say: "I propose that the minister and his subordinates put on their official robes and hats, swords and jewels, and wait for instructions." This was to induce them to dismount from their horses so that they might be captured. Hsien, Ts'ui Hanhêng and Sung Fêngch'ao all entered the tent together, calm and unsuspecting. Chiehtsan ordered the drums to be

beaten three times, and his army came on shouting wildly. Hsien rushed out from the back of the tent and succeeded in catching a stray horse on which he mounted and galloped away. The horse had no bit in its mouth, and Hsien had to lean over its mane to guide it with his hands, and it was only after he had ridden for several miles that he got the bit into its mouth, and it was owing to this that the arrows of the pursuing horsemen passed by without wounding him. Only one of his generals, Hsin Jung, collected some hundreds of men, and occupying a hillock on the north fought with the enemy, and he was soon surrounded by the whole army, overpowered and forced to surrender. Fêngch'ao and the Secretary were both killed by soldiers during the tumult. Hanhêng and three eunuchs and a number of high officials, generals and secretaries, in all some sixty persons, were captured. Four or five hundred other officers, warriors and followers were killed, and over a thousand men carried away captive, all of whom had their clothes stripped off. When Hanhêng was attacked by a crowd of warriors, his officer Lü Wên threw himself between and was wounded by the sword which Hanhêng thus escaped. The latter said to those who had taken him prisoner in the foreign tongue: "I am the Han envoy, the president Ts'ui. Chiehtsan and I are friends, and if you kill me Chiehtsan will also kill you." Therefore they saved his life.

The captives were all driven off to the west, with their hands bound behind them, each one with a piece of wood reaching from the neck to the feet tied to his body with three pieces of hair rope, while they were fastened together by the hair with another rope. At night they were all thrown on the ground with the ropes fastened to the hair pegged down, and they were covered with pieces of felt, on which the guards lay down to prevent their escape. As soon as they reached the ancient Yuanchou, Chiehtsan, who was seated in his tent, had them brought before him, and repeatedly abused the government, and, enraged with Hun Hsien, said: "The victory at Wukung was due entirely to our power, and you promised us in return Chingchou and Lingchou, but you have

all eaten your words and shown the deepest ingratitude, so that our whole nation is enraged. I broke through the ceremony in order to capture Hun Hsien, for whom I had had gilded fetters made, in which to present him to the tsanp'u. But he escaped, and I only succeeded in taking you. I will send three of you back." Lü Wên, still suffering from his wound, was also brought forward, and Chiehtsan praised his devotion and gave him valuable presents. Chiehtsan next led his army to Shihmên, and sent back to us the eunuch Chü Wênchên, the generals Ma Ning and Ma An. He sent Hanhêng and his secretary to be imprisoned in Hochou, while the rest were shut up either in the ancient K'uochou or Shanchou.

Chiehtsan originally invited Tu Hsich'uan and Li Kuan to take part in a sworn ceremony in order to capture the two governors-general, and to lead his bravest warriors to assault the capital. When they did not go, he then tried to capture Hun Hsien, and rode many times invading our borders, and plotting similar designs. The Emperor sent the eunuch Wang Tzühêng with despatches to Chiehtsan, but he was not admitted in the Fan borders and returned. When first Hsien and Lo Yuankuang were about to go to Chingchou, the latter said to Hsien: "I am ordered by the Emperor to encamp at P'anyuanp'u, so as to be ready to help your Excellency. But this town is over twenty miles from the place of meeting, and the Fan are treacherous, so that if your Excellency should be in danger, I shall not know it; I propose therefore to pitch my camp closer, so as to be prepared for an emergency." But Hsien would not allow this in that it was contrary to the decree. Yuankuang, however, advanced simultaneously. Hsien's camp was some seven miles to the east of the place fixed for the sworn ceremony, while Yuankuang's camp was adjoining, encircled by deep trenches and high palisades, while the defences of the former could be crossed by a jump. When Hsien came flying back alone on horseback, the general he had left in command of his camp had lost control over his troops, and they had scattered and fled, so that when Hsien rode up there was only an empty camp, the material, weapons, money and provisions had all

disappeared. Happily Yuankuang's troops remained at their posts within his camp, and as soon as Hsien gained it the rebel horsemen who were in pursuit at once retired. Yuankuang sent on in front his baggage waggons and followed himself with Hsien, all obeyed his clear orders, kept steadily in their ranks and returned. Hsien afterwards fortified himself in Fêngt'ien.

In the 6th month, on account of a great epidemic, the T'ufan burnt the city gates of Yenchou and Hsiachou, demolished the walls and withdrew, whereupon Tu Hsich'uan detached troops to occupy the cities.

In the 7th month this decree was issued: "Of late the T'ufan have harassed the borders and destroyed the lives of the people, they have ravaged Lungtung and invaded far into Hoch'ü. Having but just put down the sword and spear, our wounded not yet healed, we resolved on a policy of rest from fighting and attack, and consented to their request for peace, in spite of our knowledge that the villainous barbarians were devoted to gain and covetous, and had often broken their bonds of alliance. We agreed to have a meeting for a sworn ceremony, but their secret guile was manifested, and they desecrated the solemn altar like a wicked and lying herd of sheep or dogs, and took advantage of the trusting faith of our civil and military officers who have thus fallen unprepared into danger. We are deeply grieved, for it is due entirely to our own want of understanding that things have come to such a pass; we have failed in virtue before the myriads of our people, and become a byword to the four quarters of the world. We mourn early and late, but repentance is unavailing, for now the President of the Board of War, Ts'ui Hanhêng, and his colleagues, all good scholars of the nation and loyal ministers of our dynasty, are lying bound in round tents or lost in foreign countries. Compassionating their families, who are haply exposed to daily want, we hereby give posts to their children, so that some means of subsistence may be provided. Let Hanhêng's son be promoted to an office of the seventh grade, and the sons of all the officers civil and military be

given an official post, and let the proper officers immediately draw up a list of the names and rank and report to us."

Afterwards T'ang Liangch'ên was sent with 600 men to garrison P'anyuanp'u, and Su Taip'ing with 500 men to garrison Lungchou.

In the 8th month, Ts'ui Hanhêng arrived from T'ufan. At first Hanhêng and his fellow-captives were all taken to Hochou, and Shangchiehtsan then ordered Hanhêng, the general Mêng Jihhua, and the eunuch Lin Yenyung, to be brought to Shihmên and sent off, telling off 50 horsemen to escort them to the frontier, who also brought despatches and asked to be admitted, but as soon as they reached P'anyuan, Li Kuan sent to stop them and tell them that a decree had been issued forbidding the reception of Fan envoys. The despatches were retained, the men sent back. Thereupon, the T'ufan led an army of the Ch'iang and Hun(54) to attack the borders, encamping both at P'ank'ou and at Ch'ingshihling. The T'ufan army had previously marched from P'ank'ou eastwards in three divisions, the first to Lungchou, the second to the east of Ch'ienyang, the third to T'aokanyuan, and at this time they were all encamped in the places indicated, their tents stretching over several tens of li. The enemies' camp at Ch'ienyang was only thirteen miles from Fênghsiang, and the capital trembled with fear, the scholars and citizens running about distracted. They despatched Ch'iang and Hun troops dressed in Chinese armour, who pretended to belong to the army of Hsing Chunyu, and suddenly appeared at Wushan, and the northern border of Paochi, where they burnt the dwelling-houses, carried off the inhabitants and their flocks, and decapitated the Wushan god. The able-bodied of the people were driven off, the sick and old massacred or thrown aside with hands cut off or eyes pierced. Li Ch'êng had had large trees felled at Fênghsiang to block the Anhua pass, but the enemy now burnt them all.

In the 9th month, the general Shih Chichang was ordered to take 3,000 men to garrison Wukung, and T'ang Liangch'ên summoned from P'anyuan to garrison the city Poli. During this month, the T'ufan ravaged the lands of Ch'ienyang,

Wushan, and Huat'ing, and carried off over 10,000 men and women, all of whom were sent through the Anhua pass to the west to be distributed as slaves among the Ch'iang and Hun, who said to them: "Look towards the east and weep a last farewell of your native country." All broke out into loud lamentation, several hundred died of grief on the spot, while more than a thousand threw themselves over precipices and were killed. When the news arrived, the whole nation mourned.

Hun Hsien despatched a general with 3,000 men to defend Haossü. This month the T'ufan army came again, and encamped at Fêngyi and at Huat'ing. The council deliberated on a plan for raising the T'ufan siege. The governor of Lungchou, Han Ch'ingmien, and Su T'ai'ping, led out troops in the night, who hid at Tahsiangk'an, and at midnight had fires lighted, both here and within the city, in answer to each other. The rebels were greatly alarmed, and when the camp was attacked, they retreated in disorder.

At this time, the T'ufan attacked and took Huat'ing. When they began the siege of Huat'ing, they first cut off the water-supply. The general in command, who was besieged with his garrison, and the people, in all some 3,000 men, sent messengers by a bye-path to ask aid from Lungchou, the governor of which despatched Su T'ai'ping at the head of 1,500 men. On the road some hundred straggling horsemen were destroyed by the enemy, and Su T'ai'ping, who was naturally timorous, and had no aptitude for war, at once led his army back. The enemy, thereupon, every day sent some thousand light horse to Lungchou, and the city troops dared not sally out again. Four days after the water had been cut off, no troops coming to their succour, and the enemy having piled up wood to burn the city gates, the commandant surrendered. They burnt all the houses, dismantled the walls of the city, carried off three or four tenths of the inhabitants, taking the young and refusing the aged, and retired.

On the north they attacked and took Lienyunp'u. This town was protected on three sides by lofty hills, and on the

north, which looked on a plain, it was defended by a moat. The enemy built on the north side towers of seven stories for projecting stones into the town. There was only one well within the walls, and the stones in a little while choked this. They threw a flying bridge over the moat and crossing attacked energetically. The general and his people, some thousand men and women, turning to the east, wept bitterly and surrendered. This was the last remaining stronghold on the west of Chingchou, and every one waited to see whether the enemy would advance or retire after its capture. At Chingchou they dared not open the west gate, as all outside it was rebel territory. No one could go out to cut firewood, and to harvest the grain crops it was necessary to marshal troops in the night to gather them in, and as the corn was not ripe, most of the ears were empty, so that the citizens began to suffer from famine. When the T'ufan carried off the people of Lienyungp'u, the country people of Pinchou and Chingchou all fled to the mountains, with 10,000 head of oxen. The troops were removed to T'antsênchia, and wherever the enemy came within the borders of the chou of Pin, Lung, and Ching, they almost depopulated the districts. This autumn the inhabitants of these cities were famished for want of food, but the frontier generals did nothing but send reports of congratulation on the retreat of the enemy.

In the 10th month several thousand T'ufan horsemen again came to the city of Ch'angwu. Han Ch'üanyi led troops against them; he was a general of Yu Huai, and asked the latter for reinforcements, but was refused. At sunset the enemy retreated, and Ch'üanyi also retired. From this time the rebel horsemen passed and repassed through Chingchou and Pinchou, the west gates of which they dared not open. The enemy rebuilt the walls of the ancient Yuanchou and occupied it with a large force.

The Emperor collected nearly 200 of the T'ufan captives, and had them executed in the streets to pacify the capital.

In the 4th year (788), the 5th month, over 30,000 T'ufan horsemen invaded the borders, and in separate bodies entered

the chou of Ching, Pin, Ning, Ch'ing and Fu. They burnt the offices and private houses of P'êngyuanhsien, and wherever they went set fire to the dwellings, and drove off some 30,000 head of cattle, retiring after twenty days. Han Ch'üanyi led out troops from the city of Ch'angwu against them, but returned unsuccessful. Yu Huai had had no martial training, and he was besides sick and unable to rise, so that they shut up the city, and dared not come out to fight. On previous occasions, when the T'ufan invaded, they came only in the autumn and winter, returning home in the spring, when many of them were attacked by pestilence. When they came this time, the heat was at its greatest, and there was no danger of malaria; probably Chinese captives, who had been given money and land, and had their wives and children detained as hostages, acted as guides to the barbarians and secretly led them.

In the 9th month the T'ufan generals, Shanghsitunghsing and Lunmanglo, invaded Ningchou, the governor-general of which led an army against them and cut off over a hundred heads. The enemy turned to invade Fuchou and Fangchou and went away with their booty.

In the 5th year (789), the 10th month, the governor-general of Chiennan, Weikao, sent a general, Wang Yutao, and others, to accompany the Eastern Man Lianglin Tsunashih and Wutêng Mêngchung(55), who led troops to the ancient Chünchou, and at the north valley of T'aitêng inflicted a great defeat on the two T'ufan governors-general of Ch'inghai and Liehch'êng, killing the commanders-in-chief, Ch'itsangchéché and Hsitoyangchu, and cutting off more than 2000 heads, while those who fell from precipices, or were drowned in crossing the river, were too many to be counted. They made prisoners forty-five lungkuan, captured over 10,000 pieces of material and weapons, and over 10,000 head of oxen, horses and sheep. Chéché was a most famous warrior among the T'ufan, some said a son of Shangchiehtsan, and had been a constant danger to the borders. After his death, of all the cities and palisades attacked by the government troops, there was not one that did not succumb, and the Fan

army retreated daily, till in a few years all the territory of Chünchou was recovered.

In the 6th year (790) the T'ufan took our Peit'ing vice-royalty. Peit'ing and Anhsi(56) had borrowed a road of communication from the Huiho (Ouigours), the government reports and tribute being thus able to be forwarded. The barbarians are naturally covetous and rapacious, and want everything without exception, and the Ch'iang tribes near to Peit'ing plundered the people of their stores of clothes, material and provisions, so that they wished for death. There were 60,000 tents of the Shat'o(57) people adjacent to Peit'ing, which were also subject to the Huiho, and the Huiho never ceased from plundering them, so that they were reduced to great distress. The Kolu(58) people and the white-robed T'uchüeh were on friendly terms of intercourse with the Huiho, and yet had to complain of their robberies, and consequently, when the T'ufan sent them valuable presents to bribe them, they gave in their allegiance. Thereupon the Tu'fan led the Kolu and the White-robed people, and last year the united forces invaded Peit'ing. The Huiho chief minister, Chiehkanchiassü, led an army to its relief, and fought several battles, but was desperately beaten, and the T'ufan pressed the siege more fiercely. The natives of Peit'ing had suffered bitterly from the Huiho, and during the present year all the cities surrendered to the T'ufan. The Shat'o people also gave in their submission. The governor-general of Peit'ing, Yang Hsiku, having collected some 2,000 of his bannermen, fled away to Hsichou(59). Chiehkanchiassü, having been unsuccessful, returned.

In the autumn of the 7th year (791), all the able-bodied men, amounting to between fifty and sixty thousand, tried to reconquer Peit'ing, and summoned Yang Hsiku to march with them. They were soon attacked by the T'ufan and Kolu, totally defeated, and the greater half killed. Chiehkanchiassü said with deceitful intent: "If you go with me to our sovereign's tent, we will send your Excellency back to your own court." Hsiku consented, but as soon as he arrived, he was detained instead of being sent on, and was afterwards

put to death. In consequence of this loss, Anhsi was blocked and cut off, and we knew not whether it were taken or no; only the men of Hsichou continued to defend their city. While Chiehkanchiassü was still smarting from his defeat, the Kolu followed up their victory by the conquest of the Huiho Fat'ouch'uan(60). The Huiho trembled with fear, and removed the sheep and horses of all the tribes of Hsichou to the south of the sovereign encampment to escape the enemy.

In the 8th year (792), the 4th month, the T'ufan invaded Lingchou(61), and drove away men and animals. They attacked and took the city of Shuik'ou, and advancing besieged the chou city, barricading Shuik'ou and Chihch'ü, and establishing stationary camps there. The Emperor ordered soldiers to be detached from Hotung and Chênwei to relieve the city, and sent over 3,000 soldiers of the imperial armies to garrison the two cities of Tingyuan and Huaiyuan, proceeding himself to one of the palaces to see them start. The T'ufan led their forces away.

In the 6th month several thousand T'ufan horsemen invaded Chingchou from the Ch'ingshihling, and carried off over a thousand of the local militia. As they were returning by Lienyün'p'u, the commandant of the town sent out troops to attack them, and a chief general was killed.

In the 9th month, the governor-general of Hsich'uan Wei Kao besieged the T'ufan Weichou, and took prisoner the great general Luntsanjo and other chiefs, whom he sent to the capital.

In the 11th month, the governor-general of Shannan Hsitao, Yen Chên, attacked and defeated the T'ufan at Fangchou, and at Heishuip'u burnt the stores, and presented all the captive chiefs to the Emperor.

In the 9th year (793), the 2nd month, a decree was issued to wall Yenchou. The city had been demolished by the T'ufan, so that there was no place of refuge outside this barrier, Ling and Wu being too distant. On the west it bordered on Fu and Fang, which harassed the borders exceedingly, therefore the Emperor ordered the city to be rebuilt. The work was finished in twenty days, and the

Emperor ordered Hoka Sui, at the head of 5,000 soldiers, and the army of Su Yenkuang, to garrison it. The sovereign, thinking of the dangerous duty of the officers and warriors, ordered the Treasury to make liberal provision for them. He also commanded the armies of Chingyuan, Hunan and Shannan to invade T'ufan deeply, so as to divert their forces, and consequently, during the process of building the wall, the enemy did not attack the barrier. When all was completed, the citizens and country people were unanimous in praise.

The same month Wei Kao sent from Hsich'uan captive T'ufan chiefs, war material, weapons and banners, oxen and horses, to the Emperor. When he had resolved to wall Yenchow, the sovereign ordered Kao to lead an army as a diversion to the T'ufan troops. Kao sent the chief general Tungmieu Changfên from Hsishan to the southern province, and he defeated the army of T'ungho at the city Eho. The T'ufan commander-in-chief of the southern province, Lun-mangjê (the New History adds Molungch'ihsi), at the head of an army, came to its relief, and he was also defeated, with the loss of several thousands killed and wounded. He burnt the ancient city of Singlien, and stormed over fifty fortified and walled towns.

In the 10th year (794), Mêng Yimouhsün (62), the ruler of the Nanchao Man, inflicted a great defeat on the T'ufan at Shênch'uan, and sent envoys with the news of his victory, as described in the Nanchao Record.

In the 11th year (795), the 8th month, Huang Shaoch'ing attacked and took the four chou—Ch'in, Hung, Hsün, and Fei. The T'ufan generals Lunch'ijan, T'angmutsang, and Hsinolo, with their families and followers, came to offer allegiance, and in the following year they were all appointed generals of the empire.

In the 12th year (796), the 9th month, the T'ufan invaded Ch'ingchou and Huach'ihhsien, and a large number were killed and wounded.

This year Shangchichtsân died. In the 13th year (797) the tsanp'u died, and his son Tsuchihchien succeeded.

In the 13th year (797), the 1st month, Hsing Chunya

memorialized to ask that seventy li to the west of Lungchou a city be built for a defence against the western barbarians, to be called the city of Yunghsin.

The T'ufan tsanp'u sent an envoy, Nungsohsi, with despatches, asking for a renewal of friendly relations. When the frontier generals reported this, the Sovereign, because of their wolfish nature they had repeatedly shown ingratitude for favours, and broken treaties, declined to receive the despatches, and ordered the envoy to be sent back.

On the 17th day of the 5th month the T'ufan, having penetrated the Shanmaling by three roads into Chiennan, pitched three separate camps, and in less than a month advanced their armies as far as the city of Tait'êng. The governor of Chünchou, Ts'ao Kaoshih, at the head of the officers and soldiers of the different armies, and the young men of the Eastern Man, with united forces engaged them, and severely defeated them from early morn to noon. They made prisoners seven chief lung officers, and killed and captured 300 men in the battle, while of the remainder more than could be counted fell to the sword and spear. They took also 500 head of horses and oxen, and 2,000 pieces of war material and weapons.

In the 14th year (798), the 10th month, the governor-general of Hsiachou, Han Ch'üanyi, defeated the T'ufan to the north-west of Yenchou.

In the 16th year (800), the 6th month, the T'ufan were defeated in Yenchou, on the Wulan Bridge.

Wei Kao took the two cities Mokung and Jung.

In the 17th year (801), the 7th month, the T'ufan invaded Yenchou, and took Linchou, killing the governor of the city. They dismantled the city walls, plundered the inhabitants, and drove off as they went away the Tanghsiang tribes. When they had got thirty miles to the west of Yenchou, they encamped their army at Hêngts'aofêng. They summoned from Yenchou the Buddhist monk Yensu, with six of his colleagues, with the message that the officer Hsü wanted to see the brethren. The T'ufan Molêchü fetched Yensu and his companions, and brought them with all speed

before a tent, their hands tied with leathern thongs, and with hair-ropes round their necks. They saw a T'ufan, young in years, over six feet high, with red beard and large eyes, who it appeared was the officer Hsü. He ordered their bonds to be loosed, seated them within the tent, and said to them: "Fear not, reverend sirs! I am by descent a man of Han, a grandson in the fifth generation of the President of the Board of Works, the Duke of Yingkuo. In consequence of the massacre of the imperial house by the Empress Wu Hou, although our ancestor Kaotsu founded his dynasty in China, his descendants have removed to foreign countries, and remained there for three generations. Although we have all accepted office and held military command, yet have we never ceased to remember our origin; but it was the only means of saving the blood of our house. This is the frontier of the Fan and Han, thirty miles farther we shall arrive at Anlêchou, and you will have no chance of returning to the east." Yensu replied: "We are solitary monks, and our relatives are aged; we entreat your pity to save our lives, and are unable to restrain our tears." He then said: "I received orders to lead an army to protect the borders, and in order to get stores and provisions, we marched over the Han frontier, and advanced gradually to the east till we came to the city of Linchou, which was undefended by troops and isolated from succour, so that we succeeded in taking it. I knew that his Excellency the governor Kuo was the descendant of a loyal minister, and was therefore anxious to save his life, but unfortunately he was killed during the confusion. A 'flying bird messenger' (mounted courier) unexpectedly arrived with the message: 'The soothsayers have reported a change in affairs, and the troops are recalled with all speed.' Therefore we are withdrawing."

At this time a decree ordered Wei Kao to despatch generals with a force of 20,000 foot and horse from Ch'êngtu, through the north and south of the western mountains by nine roads, and to advance together to attack the cities Hsichi and Laowêng, and the ancient chou of Wei, Pao, and Sung(63), for the purpose of a diversion from the northern

borders. In the 9th month Wei Kao greatly defeated the T'ufan at Yachou.

In the 18th year (802), the 1st month, the T'ufan great chief, Lunmangjê, having been made prisoner by Wei Kao, was sent to the Emperor, who gave him a house in the Ts'ungjênli to live in. Mangjê is the T'ufan Chief Minister of the Interior. In the 16th year of Chên-yuan (800), Wei Kao had successively defeated an army of over 20,000 Tufan at Lichou and Chünchou. The T'ufan then made a grand levy of warriors, entrenched them, and built boats, with the intention of secretly invading the borders. Wei Kao destroyed everything, and thereupon the T'ufan commander-in-chief and governor-general of nine cities, Yingying, the Lung officer, Matingtê (64), and eighty-seven of their chief generals, with all their people, surrendered. Matingtê was a skilful tactician, and Yingying was versed in the art of war, as well as in the hills, rivers, and formation of the ground. Whenever the T'ufan raised troops, Matingtê used to ride to the spot to consult and advise the generals, all depending on him for the plan of campaign. Now that he had been unsuccessful in the border-war, he was afraid of being punished, and made up his mind to surrender. The following year (801) over 1,000 families of the Kuan Mo and Hsieh Man, of the T'ufan city of K'unming, also gave in their allegiance. The T'ufan, seeing that their people were melting away, invaded on the north Ling and So, and took Línchou; and Wei Kao was ordered to send an expedition from Ch'êngtu as a diversion from the northern frontier. Kao thereupon appointed Ch'en P'o to lead 10,000 soldiers by the Sanch'i road; Ts'in Yaoch'ên to lead 1000 by the Lunghan Shihmên road; the commander-in-chief of Wei and Pao, and the governor of Pao and Pa, to lead 2,000 to assault the T'ufan city of Weichou; Hsing Tz'ü, with the governors of the different chou, at the head of 4,000, to advance and attack the cities of Hsichi and Laowêng; Kao T'i to lead 2,000 to invade the ancient Sungchou; and Yuan Ying to detach generals with 8,000 soldiers from the south by the Ya, Ch'üing, Li, and Chün roads. He also ordered

Wei Liangchin to take 1,300 soldiers to garrison Yachou, Lu Weiming, and the chief of the three tribes, Chao Jihchin, at the head of 3,000 soldiers, to invade and attack the cities P'utsu and P'iensung; Wang Yutao to lead 2,000 of the three tribes with Hochinhsin to cross the Tatu River, and invade deep into T'ufan territory; Ch'ên Hsiaoyang and others, with Chunashih, the chief of the three tribes of the Kuan, Mo, and Hsieh Man, with 4,000 men, to advance and attack the cities of K'unming and Nochi.

From the 8th month till the 12th month they defeated in succession 160,000 men, carried by assault seven cities, and five fortified camps, received the submission of over 3,000 families, took 6,000 prisoners, and cut off more than 10,000 heads. Afterwards they besieged Weichou, to relieve which two armies came, and battles were fought over a thousand li. in which the T'ufan were successively defeated. The armies invading Ling and So were then drawn off and brought down to the south. The tsanp'u despatched Mangjê, the chief minister of the interior, with the appointment of military governor-general of the five provinces of the eastern border, to be generalissimo, with 100,000 men of the different barbarian people under his command, to raise the siege of Weichou. The imperial army of 10,000 men occupied a difficult pass, and lay in ambush to wait for them, while some 1,000 were sent on in front to provoke a battle. Mangjê, seeing the small number of our army, came on in pursuit with his whole force, and fell into the ambush. Our generals attacked desperately on all sides, and captured Mangjê, and the enemy was entirely dispersed.

In the 19th year (803), the 5th month, a T'ufan envoy, Lunchiajê, arrived. In the 6th month the general Hsüeh P'i was sent on a mission to the T'ufan.

In the 20th year (804), the 3rd month, within the first ten days, the tsanp'u died. The imperial court was closed for three days, and the Vice-President of the Board of Works, Chang Chien, was appointed to condole and sacrifice.

The tsanp'u who died in the 4th month of the 13th year (797) of Chên-yuan was succeeded by his eldest son, who

died one year after, when the second son succeeded to the throne.

The Emperor ordered all the civil and military officials above the third grade to condole with the envoy.

In the 4th month, the T'ufan envoys Tsang (some characters lost here) Lunch'ijan, and the Buddhist monk Nanpot'échip'o, in all fifty-four persons, came to court. In the 12th month, their envoys, Lunhsijê and Kuochihts'ung, came to have audience.

In the 21st year (805), the 2nd month, Shuntsung appointed T'ien Chingtu to go with special credentials to T'ufan with the intelligence of the late Emperor's decease, Hsiung Chihyi being sent as assistant-envoy.

In the 7th month a T'ufan mission, headed by Lunhsino, came to court.

In the 1st year of Yungchên (805), the 10th month, the tsanp'u sent Lunch'iloup'utsang, who brought as tribute offerings for the mausoleum of Têtsung, gold and silver, robes, oxen, and horses.

In the 11th month, a mission was sent to inform them of the accession of the new Emperor, etc.

In the 1st year of Yuanho (806), the 1st month, seventeen T'ufan prisoners, sent from Fuchientao, arrived, and the Emperor ordered them to be given post-horses, and sent back to their own country. In the 6th month, their envoy Lunputsang came to court.

With 50,000 horsemen they invaded Fut'ieh'uan in Chênwu, and 10,000 horsemen came to Tashihku in Fêngchou, and plundered the Huihu, who were returning to their country.

In the 5th year (810), Hsü Fu was sent as envoy to them, carrying a despatch also for the Poshanpu. The Poshanpu was a Fut'u (Buddhist) of the barbarians, who had the control of state affairs, also written Poch'ép'u. Hsü Fu went as far as Shanchou, and then came back without leave. The assistant-envoy Li Fêng carried the Emperor's commands to the tsanp'u. Fu was punished by degradation.

In the 5th year (810), the 5th month, their envoy Lunssüyajê came to court, and brought back in coffins the bodies of Chêng Shuchü and Lu Pi, as well as Wên-yen, the son of Shuchü, and others, in all thirteen persons. Shuchü and Pi were taken at the sworn ceremony at P'ingliang,

and during more than twenty years they refused to bow down in homage, and died among the Fan. At this time they asked for peace, and therefore sent them back.

In the 6th month, the Emperor ordered the minister of state, Tu Yu, and his colleagues, to consult on the question with the T'ufan envoy in one of the government halls, and they reported, recommending the return of our territory of the chou of Ch'in, Yuan, and Anlê. In the 7th month, the Emperor sent Li Ming as envoy to the T'ufan, with Wu Hui as assistant-envoy.

From the 6th to the 10th years (811-815), they sent envoys to court with tribute without intermission.

They asked for the establishment of an exchange mart at the Lungchou barrier, which was allowed by decree.

In the 12th year (817), the 4th month, a T'ufan envoy, Lunch'ijan, came to bring the news of the death of the tsanp'u. The Emperor appointed envoys to go on a mission of condolence and sacrifice.

K'olik'otsu succeeded as tsanp'u. The mission brought back with them two officers who had been taken in battle 30 years before, whom the envoy, knowing that they were not dead, sought out.

In the 13th year (818), the 10th month, the T'ufan besieged our Yuchou and Fênghsiang, presenting despatches that they were sending a mission to renew friendly relations. In the same month, the army of Lingwu, at the city of Tingyuan, defeated 20,000 T'ufan, slaying 2,000 men, taking prisoners one lieutenant-governor-general and thirty-nine officers, and capturing large numbers of sheep and horses. The commander of the P'ingliang garrison defeated an army of over 20,000, recovered the city of Yuanchou, and captured innumerable sheep and horses. The governor-general of Hsiachou also defeated an army of 3,000 at Lingwu.

In the 11th month, a despatch was received from Yenchou that the T'ufan had invaded Hoch'ü, and at Hsiachou defeated over 50,000 men, and at Lingwu destroyed Ch'anglochou and Loch'êng, and burnt the dwelling-houses, stores, and weapons.

A decree was issued to detain Lunchütsang and his colleagues, who had been sent on a mission to the Emperor.

The governor-general of Hsich'uan took by assault the cities of Eho and Hsichi.

In the 14th year (819), the 1st month, this decree was issued: "We are endowed with rule over the myriad countries, and keep faithfully our plighted word. The western barbarians have brought tribute for a series of years, and although they have meanwhile been occasionally contumacious, we have overlooked it, and they ought not to forget our manifold virtue towards them. With language requiring several interpreters, and tribute of precious things, they travel in constant succession, and we have shown grace and hospitality to all without exception. Yesterday Fan envoys, bringing despatches, again came to our capital, and in obedience to the command of their sovereign, discussed a policy of friendly alliance. We received them in our audience hall, entertained them liberally in a hotel, rewarded them with special presents, and entrusted to them an official despatch, and they took leave. They had but just reached the suburbs, when it was reported that a swarm of ants had invaded our borders, and were carrying slaughter and confusion throughout Hoch'ü, ungrateful for our benevolence, and in violation of the treaty, conduct for which they give no pretext, and the council and the people ask unanimously that they shall be exterminated. But we grieve deeply that our virtue has not been sufficient to transform them, and how can we be angry with the want of submission of barbarians? The state has broken its faith, but these envoys are not guilty. Let them be released and given their freedom, let them be shown our grand clemency and relieved from anxiety, and when they learn our faithfulness, let them be grateful. The Fan envoy Lunchülitsang, and his colleagues, as well as the mission which came afterwards, are all to be sent back to their own country, and the governor-general of Fênghsiang is to explain clearly to them the grounds of this resolution."

In the 8th month, the T'ufan encamped at Fangch'ü in Ch'ingchou, and a large army came to the borders of Hochou.

In the 10th month, the T'ufan governor-general Lunsanmo,

with the minister of state, Shangt'atsang, and the president of the council, Shangch'ihsin'rh, at the head of an army of about 150,000 men, invested our city of Yenchou in several lines. The chiefs of the Tanghsiang also led warriors to drive sheep and horses for their use. During thirty days the enemy, with flying ladders, goose-carts, and wooden mules, attacked simultaneously on four sides, and the city was well nigh lost several times. But the governor Li Wényueh, at the head of his officers and warriors, fought bravely on the top of the wall. When the wall was pierced, and no longer tenable, they pulled down the houses for planks to repair it, and fought in the breach day and night. When the troops came by surprise and destroyed the enemy's camp, they opened the city gates and sallied out to fight, and slew about 10,000 of the rebel army, but the soldiers sent in aid from the different provinces had not arrived. After twenty-seven days the enemy withdrew.

The governor of Shachou(65), Chou Ting, at first held it strongly for the T'ang. The tsanp'u moved his tent to the Nanshan(66), and despatched Shangch'ihsin'rh to attack it. Ting asked succour of the Huihu, but a year passed without its coming, and they deliberated on the project of burning the city, and fleeing with the troops to the east, but all agreed that this would not do. Ting ordered the commander of the troops, Yen Ch'ao, to lead a strong body out to forage for grass. He called at daybreak for a farewell visit, and engaged Chou Shanu, a confidential officer of the governor, for a shooting match. When the bows were drawn, each invited the other to shoot first. He shot Shanu and killed him, and then made the governor prisoner and strangled him, and undertook himself the government of the city. After having defended the city for eight years, they brought out silk, offering a roll in exchange for a measure of corn, and a great many took advantage of the opportunity, so that Ch'ao was rejoiced, and said: "The people all have food, and we will defend the city to death." But after two years more the provisions and war stores were all used up, and he mounted on the wall and shouted: "If you will not remove us to other lands, we offer to surrender the city." Ch'ihsin'rh consented, and he went out and surrendered. From the attack of the city to this time it was altogether eleven years. The tsanp'u appointed Ch'ihsin'rh in his place as governor, who afterwards, suspecting that Ch'ao was plotting a revolt, put poison in his boots, and killed him. The inhabitants of the city all adopted the foreign dress, and submitted to the enemy; but each year when they worshipped their ancestors, they put on their Chinese clothes, and wept bitterly as they put them by.

In the 15th year (820), the 2nd month, T'ien Ch'i was sent to T'ufan to inform them of the death of the Emperor, and also of the accession of his successor.

In the 3rd month they attacked and plundered our Ch'ingsaifêng, and invaded Chingchou, camping along the river for fifty li.

In the 7th month they sent to court a mission of condolence and sacrifice.

In the 10th month they came secretly to invade Chingchou. The Emperor appointed Liang Shouch'ien commander-in-chief, and sent him with 4,000 of the imperial troops, and all the armies of the eight garrisons, to the relief of the city; and despatched Shao Tung as envoy with special credentials to the T'ufan, in answer to their mission asking for a renewal of peaceful relations.

The preceding envoy to the T'ufan was punished by being degraded to a revenue post at Liuchou. When he went to the Fan on a mission of condolence, they proposed a meeting for a sworn ceremony under the walls of Ch'angwu city. Feeble, and afraid that they would not let him return, he consented to everything; and when now the western barbarians came plundering, they said: "T'ien Ch'i agreed that we should lead troops and march to conclude a sworn treaty." He was degraded in consequence, although the barbarians were really angry for having been troubled by the frontier generals, and only used the envoy as a pretext.

The governor of Chingchou reported that the T'ufan generals had all retired, whereupon the Emperor ordered the army to be disbanded.

From the time that T'ien Chin was made ruler of Hsiachou, he covetously and tyrannically oppressed the people, and the Tanghsiang suffered bitterly, and repeatedly led the barbarians to invade the borders, till now a large army invaded. The frontier general Ho Tz'u several times stormed and invaded the Fan fortifications and slew vast numbers. Afterwards Li Kuangyen arrived with all his army from Pinchou, and the enemy, frightened, retreated. T'ien Chin was the origin of the danger to the state, but happily Kuangyên and Ho Tz'ü drove off and slaughtered them.

In the 11th month the governor-general of Hsiachou led his troops to Ch'angts'ech'en, and the governor-general of

Lingwu led his forces to Ch'anglochau, both having received orders to attack the T'ufan.

In the 12th month, over a thousand T'ufan besieged Wupaich'ih.

In the 1st year of Ch'angch'ing (821), the 6th month, they attacked Ch'ingsaip'u, on account of our having made a treaty and alliance with the Huiho(67). The governor of Yenchou despatched troops to advance against them.

In the 9th month the T'ufan sent an envoy, Shangh'ili-t'ossü, to ask for a sworn treaty. The Emperor consented. The ministers, wishing to add weight to the affair, proposed to proclaim it in the ancestral temple; but the president of the ceremonial court memorialized: "I have respectfully referred, and find that, on the old occasions, when the Emperors Sutsung and Taitsung concluded sworn treaties with the T'ufan, neither proclaimed it in the temple, and that only Têtsung, when, at the end of the Chienchung period, he concluded a sworn treaty with the T'ufan at the Yenping Gate, wishing to make the oaths more binding, specially ordered it to be proclaimed in the temple. In the 3rd year of Chênnyuan (787), when there was a meeting at P'ingliang, there is also no record of its having been proclaimed in the temple. I humbly submit that there is only one solitary instance, and that it has not been the constant practice. I have referred to the ritual statutes, in which there is also no mention of it; and now, after respectful investigation and thought, I fear that it ought not to be so proclaimed." This memorial was followed. The Emperor appointed the director of the court of revision, Lin Yuanting, as envoy, to conclude a sworn treaty with T'ufan, and the secretary of the board of war, Liu Shihlao, assistant envoy, with Li Wu and Li Kungtu as secretaries of the mission.

On the 10th day of the 10th month the sworn ceremony was performed with the T'ufan envoys, the ministers of state, the presidents of the six boards, the directors of the sacrificial worship and revenue courts, the governor of the metropolis, and one of the generals, in all ten high officials, taking part.

The text was: "The T'ang have received from heaven rule

over the eight points of the compass, and wherever their wise commands penetrate, all come to their court, and with awe and reverence, fearful of punishment for their misdeeds. Successors of Wu, and imitators of Wên, each emperor has acquired additional fame, and excelled in showing deeper wisdom, and none have failed in the glorious succession of twelve reigns, during two hundred and four years. The great founder of our dynasty issued wise commands, and his rules are not to be broken; he acquired wide-spreading fame, and it will be handed down for ever. They worship the high god and receive a favourable response; they pray to the souls of their imperial ancestors, and obtain abounding happiness; how can there be a break?

"In the cyclical year kuei ch'ou(68), in the winter, on the cyclical day kuei yu, of the 10th month of the year, the Wên-wu-hsiao-tê Huangti(69) decreed that the ministers of state, his servant Chih, his servant Po, and his servant Yuan-ying, should conclude a sworn treaty with the great general, the Fan envoy, Lunnalo, President of the Board of Rites, and his colleagues, at the capital, on an altar built in the western suburb of the city, with a pit dug on the north side of the altar. We have recited the oaths, sacrificed the victims, and buried them together with the written text, reverently ascended and descended the altar, and performed all the proper ceremonies without omission.

"Now, therefore, weapons shall be put by, and men be given rest, the bonds of kinship be honoured, and friendship re-established; the far-reaching policy has been carried out, and will produce abundant fruit. As the vault of heaven above overspreads the yellow earth below, so the swarming multitude of men look for rulers towards the ministers and high officers, for if left without leaders they would prey on and destroy each other. What the Chinese now rule shall have the T'ang as the sovereign, and the country of their western race shall have the great Fan as ruler. From this time henceforward both shall put by weapons and armour, forget their differences and old grievances, and respect the honoured kinship of their sovereigns and the ancient bonds of mutual

aid. The frontier guard-houses shall be left ungarrisoned, and the watch-fires no longer lighted ; in danger and difficulty they shall think of each other, and oppression and plunder be stopped ; the barrier stations and fortifications shall be disused and invasion and plunder shall cease. The important strong posts of defence shall be carefully kept as of old : they shall not plot against us, and we will make no preparations against them.

"Ah! Love men with benevolence, protect your country with loyalty, worship heaven with wisdom, and serve the gods with reverence; for if any one of these duties be neglected, it will bring down misfortune upon the body.

"The frontier mountains are lofty(70),
The River flows on unceasingly :
On a propitious day and favourable season
Have we fixed the two boundaries,
The west to belong to the great Fan,
The east to be ruled by the grand T'ang :
The great ministers, holding up the sworn treaty,
Proclaim it afar to the autumn country."

The tsanp'u of the great Fan, the state ministers, the Poch'anpu and Shangch'ihsin'rh, had sent the treaty beforehand, the important articles of which were : "The two countries Fan and Han shall keep the borders which each one now rules, and neither shall fight with nor attack the other, they shall allow no plundering raids into each other's border, nor secret plots to acquire territory. If any persons be suspected, they shall be taken alive, and their business inquired into, then they shall be given clothes and food, and sent back to their own country. All now fixed shall be followed, there shall be neither addition nor change. The officers who take part in the sworn ceremony, seventeen persons, shall all sign their names"(71).

When Liu Yuanting and his colleagues accompanied Lunnalo on his return to T'ufan to conclude the sworn treaty in their country, the Emperor commanded Yuanting on his arrival to instruct the ministers and the lesser officers all to write their names below the text of the treaty.

The governor-general of Lingwu defeated an army of 3,000 T'ufan horsemen under the T'aikushan.

In the 2nd year (822), the 2nd month, a mission despatched by them arrived to ask for a settlement of the boundaries. In the 6th month, another mission arrived at court.

The governor of Yenchou reported that over 2,000 T'ufan had invaded the borders of Lingwu, and that he had despatched troops in pursuit and chastised them. He also said that he had captured 150 T'ufan who were carrying despatches to the Tanghsiang.

The same 6th month, Liu Yuanting returned from his mission to T'ufan, and reported to the Emperor: "On the 25th day of the 4th month we arrived at the T'ufan capital (chief camp), and on the 6th day of the 5th month the sworn treaty was concluded."

Yuanting, on his first journey to and from the Fan country, on each occasion passed through Hochou, where he had an interview with their commander-in-chief, the president of the council, Shangch'ihsin'rh (according to the New History Shangt'atsangyü), who said to him: "The Huiho is a petty state, and in the cyclical year ping shên (816), when we crossed the desert to attack them, we drove them before us till within two days' journey of their capital city, which we intended to destroy as soon as we reached it. But at this moment we received the intelligence of the death of our sovereign, and consequently returned. The Huiho being as feeble as this, how is it that the T'ang treat them more honourably than they treat us?" Yuanting replied: "The Huiho have the credit of having rescued the state when in difficulties, and, moreover, they have never robbed us of even one inch of territory. Ought we not therefore to treat them with honour?"

On the present occasion, Yuanting, on his journey to and fro, crossed the upper stream of the Yellow River,

Yuanting crossed the Huang River and came to the Lungch'uan valley, to the north-west of which he saw Shahuch'uan, the ancient fortifications of Koshu Han, of which there was still much remaining. The Huang River flows to Mênghu, and to Lungch'üan, where it joins the Yellow River. more than 2000 li south-west of the Hungchi Bridge(72). The water is here very shallow, and the stream narrow, so

that in the spring it can be forded, although in the summer and autumn boats are required to cross over. Some 300 li to the south of this point, there are three mountains like circular, flat-bottomed coppers in shape.

Called the Tzü (Purple) Mountains, which bound the Greater Yangt'ung(73) country. These are the ancient K'unlun Mountains. They are called by the Tibetans the Mên-moli Mountains. Ch'angan is 5000 li distant to the east.

The source of the Yellow River is in the midst of these mountains. The water is very pure and clear, but as it flows past other streams it changes to red; and afterwards, when it has been joined by more tributaries, it gradually becomes yellow and turbid.

From the source westwards to the Fan Lieh kuan (hotel) is a distance of four days' journey, each day estimated at 200 li(74). North-east of the same lies the Mohoyen Chiwei, which is 50 li broad, becoming gradually narrower and smaller towards the south. This stretches from the west of Shachou on the north, southwards into the T'uhun(75) country, till it reaches this point, where it becomes so small and narrow that it is called Chiwei (Tail of the desert). Geographically it is reckoned to be due west of Ch'ienan (Ssüch'uan).

Yuanting crossed Wuch'uan in Ch'êngchi, and came to Wuliang in Hokuang, the ancient walls of which city had not been destroyed. The country of Lan-chou(76) was full of rice, peach and plum-trees, elms and willows, all of which flourished luxuriantly. The inhabitants were all men of T'ang (Chinese); and when they saw the banners and umbrellas of the envoy, they lined the road to gaze. On his arrival at the city of Lungchih(77), a thousand old men came to visit him, and weeping, asked after the welfare of the Son of Heaven, saying: "We came to this place with the army, and were lost here. To this day our sons and grandsons are unwilling to forget the T'ang dress. Does the Emperor still think of us? What day will the troops come?" When they had spoken, all broke out into loud lamentation. On secret inquiry they were found to be men of Fêngchou. He passed the city of Shihp'u(78), where precipices stand upright like walls, and the path winds and returns. The Tibetans call this Iron-sword city. On the right of the road for some tens of li the earth and rocks are all red, and the Tibetans call this the Ch'ihling(79) (Red Pass). The boundary stones, placed here by Wei, Prince of Hsinan, and by Chang Shoukuei, had both been thrown down, and only the stones erected by the Tibetans remained. Ch'ihling is three thousand and more li distant from Ch'angan, it is in the old territory of Lungyu.

Yuanting had his first interview with the tsanp'u at Mên-chülu ch'uan, where the tsanp'u had his summer residence. This valley is one hundred li south of the valley of Loso, and the Tsang River flows through it.

The country to the south-west of the Yellow River is flat, like a whetstone—an uncultivated plain, richly covered with grass, with many tamarisk and willow-trees on the banks of the river, while the mountains are covered with cypresses. The crests are crowned with sepulchral mounds, with buildings beside them plastered with red earth, on which are painted white tigers—all tombs of Tibetan nobles who had gained fame in battle. When alive they wore the tiger-skin, and it is a sign of their valour when dead; their comrades, who killed themselves at the time, lie buried alongside. He crossed the Hsiehiehlo Pass, where the rocks were cut to make a road for the carts accompanying the Princess of Chinch'eng. When the envoy reached Miku, he came to his hotel. The northern valley of the Tsang(80) River is the summer residence of the tsanp'u. His tent was surrounded by a fence of spears; and a hundred halberds, with long handles and hooked heads, stood upright, with an interval of some ten paces between them; while in the middle large flags were erected. There were three gates, each a hundred paces distant from the other. Armed warriors guarded these gates, and sorcerers recited prayers, with bird-shaped hats and tiger-girdles, beating drums the while. All comers were searched before they were allowed to enter. In the centre there was a high platform, surrounded by a circle of jewelled balusters. The tsanp'u was seated in the centre of the tent, which was ornamented with gold figures of dragons, lizards, tigers, and leopards. He was dressed in a plain cloth costume, his head enveloped in folds of bright red-coloured silk, and he was girt with a sword inlaid with gold. On his right hand stood the Poch'êp'u(81), the ministers of state being stationed below the platform. After the first arrival of the T'ang envoy, the councillor Lunhsitajê had come to negotiate the terms of the sworn treaty. There was a great feast on the right of the tent, at which the food was served and the wine passed round in much the same fashion as in China. The musicians played 'The Prince of Ch'in defeating his enemies(82),' and also Liang-chou foreign airs and other songs; and there were a hundred games exhibited, the performers in which were all Chinamen.

The ceremonial altar was ten paces wide, and two feet high. Our envoys stood opposite the ten and more Tibetan great ministers, while over a hundred chiefs were seated below the altar. Upon the altar was placed a wooden bench, on which stood the Poch'êp'u, as he recited the sworn treaty, a man standing at his side to translate it for those below. When he had finished, the blood was smeared, but the Poch'êp'u did not smear his lips. After the conclusion of this ceremony, another oath was taken before Fut'u (Buddha), when sumbul water was poured out and drunk. Then they exchanged congratulations with the envoys, and finally descended from the altar.

As Yuanting was returning home, the Tibetan commander-in-chief, Shangt'atsang, entertained him as a guest at Tahsiach'uan(83), where he had assembled over a hundred of the governors and generals of the eastern provinces. He placed the text of the sworn treaty on the terrace, and read it through to them, and besides exhorted each to defend his own border, and not to oppress and plunder his neighbours. On the text was written 7th year of Yit'ai(84).

The T'ufan despatched a mission, headed by Lunhsinohsi, which accompanied Yuanting to court, to offer thanks. The Emperor appointed envoys to answer this mission.

This year Shangch'ihsin'rh led troops to attack the Huihu. The lesser minister of the Tanghsiang, Shangshêta, led an army of 3,000 men, who pastured their horses at Mulanliang.

In the 3rd year (823), the first month, their envoy, Luntajê, came to court on a mission of congratulation.

In the 4th year (824), the 9th month, an envoy came to ask for a picture of Wut'aishan(85). In the 10th month, they sent tribute of yaks, and also a yak, sheep, and deer, of cast silver.

In the 1st year of Paoli (825), the 3rd month, their envoy, Shangch'iliijê, came to court, and asked also for a continuance of friendly relations. In the 9th month the Emperor appointed the Director of the Banqueting-court, Li Jui, to go on a mission in reply to the above.

During the period T'aiho, from the 5th to the 8th years (831-834), their envoys came to court with tribute, without intermission, and we also always sent missions in answer.

In the 5th year (831), the general commanding Weichou(86), Hsi't'ieh-mou, offered to surrender the city. The governor-general of Chiennan and Hsieh'uan accepted, took possession of the official seals, weapons, and armour, and despatched a general to occupy it. This chou extended on the south to the Min Mountains in Chiangyang, and on the north to the Lung Mountains; the enemy called it the city of refuge, and it was a most important defence of the south-west. But Min Sêngju then ruled the state, and he decided to send back Hsi't'ieh-mou, and resign the city. The T'ufan massacred all the inhabitants, without exception, as a warning to the other barbarians. From this year their envoys came in succession on tributary missions, bringing jade girdles, gold vessels, otter skins, cloth, yak tails, red carpets, horses, sheep, and camels. The tsunp'u, during his reign of about thirty years, was sick and unable to attend to business, and the government was in the hands of the chief ministers; consequently they were unable to rival China, and the frontier guards were left at peace. After his death, his younger brother, Tamo, succeeded to the throne. Tamo was fond of wine, a lover of field sports, and devoted to women, and, besides, cruel, tyrannical, and ungracious, so that the troubles of the state increased.

In the 1st year of K'aich'êng (836), the 2nd month, missions were sent by both countries.

In the 4th year (839), the Emperor despatched Li Chingju on a mission to the T'ufan, and they sent Lunch'ijê to court with offerings of articles of jade, sheep, and horses. From this time there were earthquakes in their country, the ground opened and water-springs overflowed, the Min Mountain was overthrown, and the T'ao River flowed backwards for three days. Rats ate their corn, and the inhabitants died of hunger and pestilence, so that corpses lay one pillowed on the other. In Shan and K'uo there was heard, after nightfall, the sound of war drums, and the natives were much alarmed.

In the 2nd year of Huich'ang (842), the tsanp'u died. In the 12th month their envoy, Luntsanjê, and suite, arrived with the intelligence of his death, and the Emperor appointed Li Ching to condole and sacrifice.

He had no sons, and Ch'ilihu, a son of Shangyenli, the elder brother of his wife, whose name was Lin, was made tsanp'u. He was only three years old at the time, and the wife was regent of the kingdom. The chief minister Chiehtuna, when he had audience of Ch'ilihu, refused to do homage, saying: "There are many collateral descendants of the tsanp'u still living, and why should a son of the family of Lin be appointed?" and went out weeping. The adherents of the new regime killed him. Another general, Shangk'ungjê, who was the military governor of Lomênch'uan, surnamed Mo, named Nunglijê, which is equivalent to the Chinese 'lang' (a title of respect), an artful deceiver and fond of intrigue, gained over the three tribes, and got together 10,000 horsemen, with which he attacked Shangpipi, the governor-general of Shanchou, and overran the country as far as Weichou. He next fought a battle with the minister of state, Shangyüssülo, at Pohanshan. The latter was defeated and fled to Sungchou, where he collected 80,000 warriors of the Sup'i, T'uhun, and Yangt'ung(87), and entrenched his army on the T'ao River. Shangk'ungjê issued this proclamation to the Sup'i and the rest: "The brothers of the ministers have killed the tsanp'u, and the god of heaven has commissioned me to levy righteous soldiers to chastise the wicked. Will you then help traitors who are in rebellion against their country?" The Sup'i and their allies doubted, and would not fight. Shangk'ungjê led some light horse across the river, the various tribes offered their submission, and his united army amounted to 100,000 men. Having captured Shangyüssülo, he strangled him.

Shangpipi, the governor-general of Shanchou, whose surname was Mulu, and name Tsanhsinya, a native of the Yangt'ung country, was a hereditary noble of the T'ufan. He was a man of liberal mind, and not unversed in literature and history, and was at first unwilling to take office, but the tsanp'u insisted on appointing him. Within three years, the people, in consequence of the illegal election of the tsanp'u, were all in a state of revolt. Shangk'ungjê arrogated the title of chief minister, and at the head of 200,000 warriors attacked Shangpipi, with war drums, oxen, horses, and camels, stretching over a thousand li. When he reached Chênhsichün(88), there was a great storm, with thunder and lightning, and more than ten of his officers were killed by the lightning, together with several hundreds of the sheep, horses, and camels, at which he was alarmed, and halted his troops. When Shangpipi received the intelligence, he sent valuable presents, and despatches, proposing an alliance. Shangk'ungjê was greatly rejoiced, and exclaimed: "Shangpipi is a scholar and knows nothing about war. I will declare myself tsanp'u, and will appoint him my home minister." Thereupon he led back his troops, and encamped at Tabsiach'uan. Shangpipi sent two of his generals to attack him. Having hidden 40,000 soldiers in ambush to the south of Hochou, one of the generals, who was posted on the hill, shot down an extremely abusive letter, at which Shangk'ungjê was enraged, and came out with his best warriors to fight. The general pretended to be beaten, and they pursued him for some ten miles, until the pursuers fell into the ambuscade, and were attacked

on all sides. There was a great rain storm at the time, so that the river was much swollen, and a vast number were drowned. Shang-k'ungjê rode away alone and escaped. Having failed in his projects, he became suspicious and tyrannical, and killed many of his officers; two generals surrendered to Shangpipi, and were treated generously.

The next year he again assaulted Shanchou, the governor-general of which divided his troops into five divisions, and defended it against him, till Shang-k'ungjê took refuge in Tungkushan, where he fortified himself strongly, and would not come out, until he was surrounded by several lines of stockade, and the road to water cut off. After some ten days he fled to Pohanshan, where he enlisted scattered warriors, and gathered together by degrees a few thousands, with which he fought a battle at Hochishan, and afterwards a second at Nanku, being totally defeated on both occasions. His troops fought each year, and were never disbanded.

In the spring of the 3rd year of Tachung (849), the minister Shang-k'ungjê, the governor-general of the eastern province, with three chou, Ch'in, Yuan, and Anlê, and seven fortified passes, including Shihmên and Muhsia, asked for admission at the frontier. The governor-general of Chingyuan reported this to the Emperor, who appointed the Director of the Imperial Stud, Lu Ch'ên, to proceed to welcome him.

Shangpipi encamped troops at Hoyuan, and when he heard that Shang-k'ungjê was preparing to cross the Yellow River, he hastened to attack him, but was himself defeated. He defended the bridge at the head of well-armed troops, but was again unsuccessful, and retired after having burned the bridge. Shang-k'ungjê secretly issued from the Chitungling Pass, having crossed by means of a wooden bridge, to attack Shangpipi. At Pait'uling he defeated one of his generals, Shangt'olot'atsang, and afterwards fought a battle at Hainiuhsia, where he was again victorious. Shangpipi's resources were exhausted, and he led his army to the western borders of Kanchou, leaving T'opahnaikuang to defend his post, to whom many of Shang-k'ungjê's standard deserted. Shang-k'ungjê invaded deep into the chou of Shan, K'uo, Kua, Su, Yi, and Hsi, plundering and slaughtering wherever he went, till dead bodies were heaped up promiscuously, as in a wolf's lair. His adherents secretly hated him, and all wanted to get rid of him, and they clamoured to invite 500,000 T'ang warriors to unite with them to put down the disturbances. He took refuge in Weichou, and asked for the appointment of tsanp'u, sending offers of submission to the T'ang. The Emperor sent the troops of Chingyuan, Lingwu, Fênghsiang, Pinning, and Chênwu, to meet and aid him, and as soon as he arrived despatched the minister Li Chingjang to ask what he wanted. Shang-k'ungjê was haughty and boastful, overestimating himself, and asked to be made governor-general of Ho and Wei, which the Emperor refused. He then returned across the Hsienyang Bridge, exclaiming: "I will do great things, and after having crossed this river, will make it the boundary between me and the T'ang." Then he again marched to Lomênch'nan, and collected scattered soldiers, with the intention of another raid on the frontier.

But it rained a long time, till his provisions were exhausted, and he was obliged to flee to K'uo-chou. Thereupon the governor-general of Fênghsiang reconquered Ch'ingshui; the governor-general of Chingyuan recovered Yuanchou, occupied Shihmên and five other fortified passes, and captured some 10,000 men and cattle; the governor-general of Lingwu took Anlêchou, which was made by decree Weichou; the governor-general of Pinning recovered Hsiaokuan and Fênghsiang, and occupied Ch'inchou; and the governor-general of Shannan Hsitao gained Fuchou. The Fênghsiang troops fought with the T'ufan at Lungchou, and cut off 500 heads.

In the 7th month of this year (849), the old men of Ho and Lung led over a thousand of their men and youths up to the palace gate, and the Emperor went to one of the pavilions to review them, at which they all with one accord shouted for joy and applauded. They then loosened each other's hair, and hurried to the shops to buy hats and girdles. The Emperor ordered them to be given good land to dwell in, and the bystanders all said, "Wan sui" (Live for ever!).

The Emperor ordered the soldiers of the four provinces who had distinguished themselves to be rewarded. The fertile ground within the three chou and seven passes was given to the people to cultivate, all taxes being remitted for five years, and revenue officers were sent to the hot springs to establish custom barriers to tax the salt for the support of the borders. The soldiers of the four provinces who understood cultivation of land were given oxen and seed, while the garrisons were allowed double pay and provisions, and relieved every year. Traders and merchants were not to be stopped at the barriers. The soldiers who wished to cultivate the soil were allowed the same privileges as the people.

Originally, the Emperor T'aitung (627-649) conquered Hsieh Jênkao, and acquired the Lungshang territory, captured Li Kuei, and took possession of Liang-chou, defeated the T'ukuhun and Kaoeh'ang, and established the four chên. When Yuantsung (713-755) succeeded, he recovered the provinces of Huangho, Chishih and Wanhsiu, and no watch-fires were lighted in China for nearly thirty years. At Lunt'ai and Yiwu military colonies were established, and corn and pulse were to be seen everywhere. On the K'aiyuan Gate there was put a stone with the inscription, "The road to the farthest west 9,900 li," to show to the soldiers that there was no journey of 10,000 li. Since the period Ch'ienyuan (758-759), Lungyu, Chiennan and Hsishan, the three chou and seven fortified passes, and some three hundred camps, garrisons and strong places have all been lost. Hsientsung (806-820) examined the map of the empire, and looked at the ancient boundaries of Ho and Huang, being extremely anxious to recover them, but he had no leisure. The council of state now memorialized that the Emperor having gained fame and territory, his glory should be proclaimed to the world, for, without moving a single soldier or spilling a drop of blood, Ho and Huang had, of their own accord, submitted, and they proposed, therefore, to add to the title of honour of the Son of Heaven. The Emperor replied: "Hsientsung thought much about Ho and Huang, but his plans were not perfected when his spirit departed. It is our duty to perpetuate the fame of our ancestors, and do

you consult on an addition to the temple names of the two Emperors Shun and Hsien, so that their praise may be lauded by after-generations."

The next year (850) the governor of Shachou, Chang Yich'ao, sent, as an offering to the Emperor, the maps of eleven chou, including Sha, Yi, Su, and Kan. Yich'ao made a secret arrangement with a band of brave and determined men to surrender the city to the T'ang, and on the day fixed they armed themselves, and shouted at the gates of the city, the Chinese all joining them, and the barbarian guards were frightened and fled. He then took command of the city, repaired the armour and weapons, and cultivated the lands, and afterwards fought a series of battles, till all the other cities were taken. He sent in succession ten officers, with staves, inside which they carried despatches, to the north-east, to the city of T'ientê(89), the military governor of which, Li P'i, reported to the Emperor, who praised the devotion of Yich'ao, and appointed an envoy, the bearer of a decree, to receive his submission and reward him, promoting him to be military governor of Shachou. Soon after it was made the capital of the province of Kueiyi, and he was appointed governor-general.

Afterwards the Tibetan general in command of Ho and Wei, Shangyenhsin, on account of the destruction of his country, offered to surrender, and the governor of Ch'inchou, Kao P'ien, received the submission of this general, together with ten thousand tents of the Hunmo people. Thus these two chou were recovered, and Shangyenhsin was appointed a general in the imperial army. After P'ien had recovered this Fênglin fortified pass, he appointed Shangyenhsin commander-in-chief of the provincial troops of Ho and Wei.

In the 2nd year of Hsient'ung (861), Chang Yich'ao brought back Liangchou to submission.

In the 7th year (866), the Huihu of Peit'ing P'ukuchün attacked and took Hsiehou, and recovered the native tribes.

The governor of Shanchou, Chang Ch'iyung, fought a battle with Shang-k'ungjê, and defeated him, and sent to the Emperor the war material and armour captured. The remnant of the T'ufan army invaded Pinning, the governor-general of which drove them away. Then P'ukuchün fought a great battle with the T'ufan, and cut off the head of Shang-k'ungjê, and sent it to the capital.

In the 8th year (867), Chang Yich'ao came himself to court, and was appointed a general in the imperial army, and given a residence and land, while the Emperor made a son of his house, Weishên, governor-general of Kueiyi. He died in the 13th year (872) at Shachou, and the governor, Ts'ao Yichin, took command of the city, and was afterwards appointed governor-general of Kueiyi.

Afterwards there were great troubles throughout China, and the imperial commands were prevented from reaching. Kanchou was annexed by the Huihu, and most of the cities of Kueiyi were lost to the Hunmo, also called Wênmo, a people who were originally slaves of the T'ufan. It was the Tibetan custom, when they made war, to despatch officers of high rank, accompanied by their slaves and followers, whom they distributed through the conquered districts, to cultivate the land, and pasture herds. During the insurrection of Shang-k'ungjê these were unable to return to their country, and collected together in bands of some thousands, calling themselves Wênmo. They settled within the borders of Kan, Su, Kua, Sha, Ho, Wei, Min, K'uo, Tieh, and Tang. Those nearest to the Fan capital were the most powerful, and possessed the best horses.

NOTES.

(1) The capital of China during the T'ang Dynasty. It was called by Arabian writers of the period Kumdán, supposed by Dr. Edkins to represent the old sound of Chingch'êng, 'capital.' It is the modern Hsianfu in Shensi.

(2) Ch'iang is the general name of tribes of Tibetan race which have been settled on the west of China from the most ancient times. The character is composed of 'man' and 'sheep,' and is said by an ancient dictionary to be descriptive of their occupation as shepherds.

(3) A short-lived petty dynasty founded in 397, in the vicinity of Liangchou, by a scion of the Topa tribe of the Hsienpi, an eastern Tartar race, the same tribe to which the Emperors of the After Wei Dynasty belonged. The connexion with Tibet would seem to be a myth based only on similarity of sound.

(4) Tsanp'u is generally supposed to be the equivalent of the modern rgyalpo, but it seems rather to be the *tsanpo* in the treaty inscription (see Appendix). Some of the other titles are to be found in Tibetan dictionaries, as: *blon*, a magistrate, officer; *nangblon*, a minister of domestic affairs; *chebo* is great, and *chung* small; and *nangblon chebo* therefore chief minister of domestic affairs, etc.

(5) Sê-sê is a kind of precious stone found in the high mountains north-east of Tashkand.

(6) Lohsieh and Loso are two ways of rendering Lhasa. The stone monument, with the inscription given in the Appendix, erected in 822, still stands in front of the Ta Chuo Buddhist temple in the suburbs of the present capital. The position of the Papu Valley is not so definitely fixed; it lay to the south-west of Lhasa on the other side of the Tsang River. An itinerary of the eighth century is given in the Appendix from Shanchou, the modern Hsiningfu, to the Papu Sea or Lake. The name reminds one of Paipu, used in Chinese books on Tibet for Nepal, (Tibetan Balpo).

(7) The *yuanti* is a large kind of sheep, with huge horns, perhaps the *Ovis Poli*.

(8) In the account of an invasion of Yunnan in 799, a high Tibetan officer, Yehtoshuichien, an adopted son of the lately deceased sovereign Ch'ilitan, is mentioned as surrendering to a Chinese general, when he ought to have been buried with the *tsanp'u*.

(9) The Yangt'ung first communicated with China in the year 641, when they sent envoys to the imperial court. They were divided into Lesser and Greater. The latter people were settled on the plateau to the south of Khotan, having the Lesser Yangt'ung on their west, the T'u'fan on the east. Their country was 1000 li from east to west, and they numbered between 80,000 and 90,000 fighting warriors. They were a nomadic people, who plaited their hair into a queue hanging down behind, and dressed in felt and fur. Wind and snow prevailed, and ice more than ten feet thick. They had no written characters, only cut knots in sticks and tied knots in cord. The punishments were most severe. When their chiefs died, their skulls were cleft, the brains scooped out, and the space filled with pearls and jade, the abdomen cut open, the viscera removed, and replaced with pure gold, and finally a false nose of gold and teeth of silver were put on. Men were buried at the same time. Having by divination fixed a propitious day, they buried the body in a cave in some inaccessible place that no one else knew of, and many oxen, sheep, and horses were offered in sacrifice. Mourning was put off as soon as the funeral was over.

(10) The Turks, who conquered the greater part of Central Asia in the sixth century, and established a powerful empire, which was destroyed by the Ouigours, a people of the same race, in 744.

(11) The T'ukuhun were an Eastern Tartar race, who derived their name from the chief T'ukuhun, who migrated with 1,100 families towards the south-west, and settled finally in the neighbourhood of Kungch'angfu in Shensi. His descendants extended their rule westwards as far as the borders of Khotan, until their territory measured 3000 li from E. to W., 1000 li from N. to S., extending on the east as far as the modern Hsiningfu. The capital was Fussüch'êng, situated 15 li to the west of the Ch'inghai (Kokonor). Their territory was bounded on the S.W. by the Pailan, which joined the Tanghsiang on the E., the Tomi on the W. They

were finally conquered by the T'ufan in the 3rd year of Lungso (663), after ruling 350 years, and their sovereign, Nohopo, with his Chinese consort and the remnant of the people, took refuge in China, and were given lands near Lingchou, where Anléchou was founded, of which he was appointed governor.

(12) The Tanghsiang were a people of Tibetan race who first became powerful after the year 564, when the allied T'angch'ang tribes were dispersed by the Chinese. They occupied the mountainous country where the Yellow River and Yangtzu rise, being bounded on the N. by the T'ukuhun, on the S. by Ch'ung tribes called Ch'unsang, Misang, etc., and extending on the E. to Lungchou in modern Ssichuan. They lived on their yaks, horses, asses and sheep, and had no corn, having to borrow barley from their neighbours to make a fermented drink. The son married the wives of his deceased father and uncles, and the brother his sister-in-law, and in such promiscuous connexions they were by far the worst of all barbarians, and yet there was no marriage between persons of the same tribal name. The dead bodies were burned. They had no written characters, and only arranged reeds and pieces of wood to remember the seasons. Once every three years there was a general assembly, at which they sacrificed oxen and sheep to worship heaven. During the Sin dynasty they constantly ravaged the frontier. During the T'ang, from the 3rd year of Chénkuan (629), they gradually became subject, and their tribes were divided into chou and hsien, ruled by their own chiefs, and subject to a governor-general, resident at Sungchou. They were afterwards annexed by the T'ufan. T'opa was the name of the principal tribe, from which were descended the rulers of the Hsi Hsia or Tangut kingdom, which was established in the tenth century, and ruled over Shenai and the lands of Lobnor and Kokonor, till its destruction by Genghis Khan in 1227. Tangut is the Mongolian plural (Tangrod). The name of the modern Mohammedan natives of the same districts, Tungnan, comes probably from the same source.

(13) The Pailan, who were called by the T'ufan Tingling, were bounded east by the Tanghsiang, west by the Tomi. They could furnish 10,000 brave warriors who were fond of fighting and excelled in war. Their customs were similar to those of the Tanghsiang. They submitted to China in 624, and their country was made Weichou and K'ungchou. After they had been conquered by the T'ufan, their warriors were usually placed in the van of the invading armies.

(14) Now Sungpant'ing in Ssüch'uan.

(15) Chung T'ienchu, or Central India, also called Mochiat'o (Magadha). The great King Silāditya, who called himself King of Magadha, is mentioned as having sent a mission to the T'ang Emperor after his interviews with the Buddhist monk Yüanchuang, which arrived in 641, in answer to which a Chinese envoy, Li Yipiao, was sent to India. Another mission arrived with offerings of pearls, incense and p'uti (*Ficus religiosa*) trees, and Wang Yuants'ê was sent to India, the Kings of the other four divisions of which all sent tribute. At this time the King of Central India, Silāditya, died, and one of his ministers, who had usurped the government, led troops against Yuants'ê, who, having only a following of thirty horsemen, fought with them, but their arrows being soon exhausted, they were captured, the foreign troops plundering all the tribute offerings from the other countries. Yuants'ê escaped alone in the night, and fled to the T'ufan, who led 1200 well-armed warriors, together with over 7000 Nepāl horsemen, to follow Yuants'ê. He and the assistant envoy, Chiang Shihjen, led the troops of the two countries, and advanced as far as the capital of Central India, where they fought for three days in succession, and inflicted a great defeat, cutting off 3,000 heads, while some 10,000 were drowned in the river; the minister was taken, and brought back with them to the imperial capital, where they arrived in 648.

(16) It is the practice in China to erect a row of figures of military and civil officers and different kinds of animals on each side of the avenue leading to the imperial tomb. The statues of the last Ouigour king of Kaoch'ang, and of the sovereigns of Kuch'ê, Magadha, and of the T'ukuhun, are recorded among others as having been carved for the same occasion.

(17) The modern Hsüningfu in Kansu. The T'ufan started from Shanchou; the itinerary is given in an Appendix.

(18) The Ch'ihshui (Red River) was at this time occupied by the Black

Tanghsiang. It is the upper course of the Chinsha River, which becomes the Yangtzu. The modern name is from the Mongolian *ulan*, also meaning red.

(19) Pohan was a city 560 li due west of Chintzu, the modern Kuchê. The latter from the Han dynasty was the most powerful of the states of Eastern Turkestan. After its conquest by the Chinese in 648, it was made the seat of a governor-general styled the Anhsi Tuhufu, who ruled also over Yütien (Khotan), Sulê (Kashgar), and Suiyeh, a city on the southern bank of the river of the same name, which runs out of Lake Issikkul on the north of the Celestial Mountains. These four military governments were collectively called the four *chên*.

(20) A valley on the south of Kokonor.

(21) Wuhai' (Black Sea) is probably the Kalach'ih, a lake near the source of the Nukiang.

(22) An ancient city 250 li S.W. of Shanchou, also within the borders of the modern Hsiningfu.

(23) Still has the same name, in Ssüch'uan.

(24) A chow in the south of Ssueh'uan, now Ningyuanfu.

(25) The country of the P'olomen (Brâhmaṇa), a synonym of Central India or Magadha.

(26) After the first conquest of the four *chên*, the governor-generalship of Anhsi had been moved to Kaoch'ang (Turfan).

(27) A state west of Kaoch'ang, the modern Harashar.

(28) This city, called T'unhuang during the Han, was the Kuachou of the T'ang, the modern Ansifu.

(29) Yichou is now Hami; Hsichou, Turfan; and Peit'ing Urumtsi.

(30) These were the ten hordes of the Western Turks, into which Ilshih Khan divided his subjects in the year 637. Five formed the left wing, ruled over by five *ch'o*, and occupied the country to the east of the Suiyeh River, while the other five, ruled by *ssüchin*, were settled on the west of the river. *Ch'o* and *ssüchin* are said to be Turkish titles of officers of high rank.

(31) There is a short account of Népâl in the T'ang History which may be quoted here. The kingdom of Nip'olo is situated to the W. of T'ufan. The natives cut their hair in a straight line level with the eyebrows, and wear earrings of bamboo or horn, and think that thus they are ornamental when they reach out to the shoulders. They use their hands in eating, having no spoons nor chopsticks, and the utensils are all made of copper. There are many merchants among them, few agriculturists. They make copper money, which has the figure of a man on the obverse, a horse and an ox on the reverse, and has no hole in the centre. Their dress is a single piece of stuff wound round the body, and they bathe several times during the day. Their houses are made of wood, the walls all carved and painted. They are fond of games of chance, and delight in trumpet blowing and beating drums. They excel in magic arts, and are clever in astrological calculations. They worship five celestial gods, and carve their images in stone. Every day they wash these gods with pure water and present offerings of cooked mutton. The king, Naling tip'o (deva), is covered with a network of strings of pearls, crystal, precious stones, coral and amber, has earrings of gold with jade pendants, and wears a Buddha carved from a precious stone. He sits on a lion throne, and within the hall, flowers and perfumes are scattered. The ministers of state and the courtiers all seat themselves on the ground, and several hundreds of armed soldiers are marshalled near as guards. Within the palace there is a tower of seven stories, roofed with copper tiles, the balustrades and thresholds, the pillars and beams, all ornamented with precious stones. On each of the four corners of this tower there is suspended a copper pipe which terminates below in a gold dragon spout, and the water from above flows down the pipes and pours out of the mouths of the dragons like so many natural fountains. When the father of Naling deva died, the throne was usurped by an uncle of the rightful claimant, who fled abroad to save his life. The T'ufan gave him refuge, and recovered his kingdom for him, and this was how he became subject to T'ufan. In the period Chênkuan (between 642-647) the envoy Li Yipiao, who was sent on a mission to India, passed on his journey through this kingdom, and Naling deva received him

most joyfully. He went with him to see the Achipochên pond, which is some twenty paces in circumference, the water of which bubbles up and boils; it neither overflows during the torrents of the rainy season, nor is it diminished when the sun is so hot that the rocks are burning and metal red hot; when anything is thrown in, clouds of smoke rise, and if a vessel of rice be put in, it is soon cooked. Afterwards, when Wang Yuants'ê was plundered by the Indians, Nepâl, together with T'ufan, attacked India and gained fame.

In the 2nd year of Yunghui (651) the king, Shih-li-na-lien-to-lo, sent another mission to the imperial court with tribute.

(32) Yaochou was in what is now the province of Yunnan, and was separated from Chünchou by the Chinsha Ching, which must be the Yangpi River alluded to, as the Erh Man were aboriginal tribes of Ssuch'uan. T'iench'ih is the name of the lake on which Yunnanfu now stands.

(33) K'atun is the Turkish title for the wife of the Khan.

(34) The lands on the bend of the Yellow River near the modern Kueitê'ing. The T'ufan built two walled cities, Hungchi and Tamomên.

(35) Ashihna Kuch'olu was Khan of the Turks from 682 to 693, and frequently attacked the borders of China.

(36) Pulu is the modern Balti. At this time it was divided into two states, Greater and Lesser. The Greater Pulu is described in the T'ang History as being due west of T'ufan, contiguous to the Small Pulu, and bounded on the west by the Northern Indian State Wuch'ang (Udyāna). They sent several missions with tribute to China from the year 696, but were finally conquered by the Tibetans in 734. The Lesser Pulu was distant from Ch'angan over 9000 li, from the residence of the T'ufan tsun'p'u 3000 li towards the east, and slightly south. Wuch'ang was 800 li W., Greater Puli 300 li S.E., Koshihmi (Kashmir) 500 li S., the Humi city of Solo 500 li N. In the beginning of the reign of Yuantsung, the sovereign Muchinmang came to court. One of his successors was secretly induced by the T'ufan sovereign to take one of his daughters in marriage, and more than twenty states on the north-west submitted to T'ufan, and no longer sent tribute to China. The governor-general of Anhsi sent three expeditions without success, till, in the year 747, the lieutenant-governor, Kao Hsienchi, was sent by decree. From Anhsi he went through the cities of Polman, Wushihé (Ush), and Sulé (Kashgar), climbed the Tsungling Mountains, and marched through the Pomi (Pamir) valley to Shighnan, where he divided his forces, and penetrated to Balti by three passes. He cut the bridge over the Sori River, on which the capital was situated, so as to cut off the T'ufan, who came the next day. The Prince and his Tibetan wife were brought prisoners to the capital, where he was given a purple robe and gold girdle and appointed a general in the guards. The country was called Kueijenchun and garrisoned with 1000 men. After the first Chinese expedition to Baltistan, Mutopi, the rajah of Kashmir, sent a mission to ask for troops, saying in his letter: "From the foundation of our dynasty we have always been subjects of the celestial Khan, and obeyed the commands he has sent. We have in our country three kinds of troops, foot, horse, and elephants. Your servant, in alliance with the sovereign of Central India, has blocked the five great passes from T'ufan, so as to prevent ingress or egress, and has gained victories in battle; and if the celestial Khan will send troops, as he has done to Pulu, we can furnish provisions even for an army of 200,000. There is in our country a dragon lake named Mohopotamo, where we wish to provide an encampment for the imperial troops."

(37) Now Anhsifu.

(38) This was a most important fortress 300 li S.W. of Shanchou, and 30 li E. of the Ch'ihling Pass, on the Tibetan road which it commanded. It was founded by the T'ufan, and called "Iron-sword city," taken by the Chinese in the Hsienchéng period (670-674), but lost afterwards. It was described as surrounded on all sides by precipices, with many knife-like edges, round which the rocky path wound for more than a mile. The difficulties of the siege are related in the account of a modern campaign against the native tribes of the vicinity, when Yo Chungch'i led 20,000 troops in the year 1724, and took the stronghold by a night assault.

(39) Ch'ihling, 'The Red Hills,' are 320 li from the modern Hsiningfu, and form the boundary between the Choros and Khoit Mongolian Banners. They are described in the T'ungtien as being 30 li W. of the city of Shihp'u, deriving their name from the red colour of the earth and rocks, and as resting on the north on a high range, while on the south they join the Snowy Mountains. During the After Wei Dynasty the Buddhist monk Sungyun, on his way to India, came to Ch'ihling, the boundary of the empire, 4000 li from Loyang. Kansungling is in Ssüeh'uan, 30 miles north of Sungfant'ing, the T'ang Sungchou.

(40) In Ssüeh'uan, south-west of Maochou.

(41) Koloféng was the sovereign of the Nanchao Man, a branch of the Wu (Black) Man, whence the name of Karajang, applied to their state by Marco Polo, as well as by Mohammedan writers. It was founded in Yunnan, and the capital was called Yangchüyang, the modern Talifu. There were at first six chiefs styled chao, but in the period K'aiyuan (713-741) the southern chao absorbed the other five, and conquered the neighbouring Man tribes till his territory extended to T'ufan on the N.W., to Magadha on the S.W., and to Cochín-China on the S.E. The father of Koloféng, who was appointed Prince of Yunnan by the Emperor, fought with the T'ufan, and defeated their army. He died in 748, and his son was appointed by special decree to succeed as Prince of Yunnan. In 752, however, he revolted, and submitted to the T'ufan, who appointed him Tsanp'u chung, with the title of Emperor of the East. Chung is 'younger brother' in the Man tongue.

(42) These were the remnant of a remarkable people of Eastern Tibet who were called the Nü Wang state, from the fact of their being ruled by a woman. They are first mentioned in the Northern History, and are more fully described in the Sui History, after they had sent envoys to the founder of that dynasty in the year 586. It is related: The people in each successive reign make a woman their prince. The surname of the sovereign is Sup'i. They build cities in the mountains with houses of many stories, the sovereign's having nine, in which there are several hundreds of female attendants, and a court is held every five days. The men have nothing to do with the government, only fight and cultivate the land. Both men and women paint their faces of many colours. They live principally by hunting, and the weather is very cold. The natural products are copper and gold ore, cinnabar, musk, yaks and two breeds of horses, in addition to salt in abundance, which they carry to India and gain much by the traffic. They have had frequent wars with the T'anghsiang and with India. When the queen dies they collect a large sum of gold money, and select from her family two clever women, of which one is made queen, the other the lesser sovereign. When a person of rank dies, they strip off the skin, and put the bones and flesh mixed with gold powder into a vase, and then bury it; after a year has passed, they put the skin into an iron vessel and bury it. At the new year they sacrifice men or offer monkeys, and when the ceremony is over, go into the mountains and pray until a bird like a hen pheasant comes and settles on the sorcerer's hand, who cuts open the crop, and if he finds inside grains of corn it will be a fruitful year, if only sand and stones, there will be famine or pestilence. This they call bird divination. During the T'ang they frequently sent tribute. The History describes them under the term Tung (Eastern) Nü state, to distinguish them from a Western people situated somewhere in the Western Ocean, according to Buddhist fable. It also gives the synonym of Sufalanachütalo (Suvrapagôtra, which means golden family), which occurs only in the New History, and seems to be derived from Yuanchuang, who mentions this as a state S. of Kustana (Khotan), E. of Sampaha, W. of Tibet, and wrongly identifies it with the state on the E. of Tibet, which we are discussing (Julien, *Voyages de Pèlerins Bouddhistes*, vol. ii. p. 232). The boundaries of this were, on the E. Maochou in Ssüeh'uan and the Tanghsiang, from which it was divided by a high mountain range; on the S.E. was Yachou, separated by the Lonü Man and the Pailang tribe. From E. to W. was nine days' journey, from S. to N. 20 days. It included over 80 cities large and small. The sovereign resides in the K'angyen Valley, through which the Jê River flows to the S., which they cross by means of ox skins. There are over 40,000 families, 10,000 warriors. They are scattered

in mountain valleys. The title of the queen is Pinchiu, of the female ministers of state, Kaopali. The sovereign wears petticoats of black cloth and silk, and a single upper garment with collar, over which there is a black robe, the sleeves of which trail on the ground, and in winter lamb-skin ornamented with worked embroidery. Her hair is done up in a small braided coil with gold ornaments, she wears earrings, and has on leather boots. The sons take the surname of the mother. The written characters are the same as those of India, and the 11th Chinese month is the beginning of their year. When in mourning for father and mother, they neither comb their hair nor wash for three years, but they do not change their ordinary dress. At the burial of the sovereign several tens of the great ministers and relatives are buried at the same time. In the period Wutü (618-626), the queen named Tang'ang first sent envoys with tribute. The Emperor liberally rewarded them and sent them back, but on their return through Lungyu they met the Turks invading, and were carried off to the enemy's camp, and not brought back till the conquest of the Turk Khan, when they were escorted to their own country. After this time these tribes and the adjoining people frequently sent missions, and their rulers received Chinese titles, but they were gradually broken up by the attacks of the T'u'an, to whom they alternately submitted, so that they came to be called by the Chinese the "Double-faced Ch'iang." Since the year 742, they have elected a man to be their ruler. Afterwards they were known as Sup'i, whose territory extended on the E. to the Tomi, on the W. to the Humanghsia (see Appendix). Their prince Mulingtsan wished to join his country to the Chinese Empire, but he was killed by the T'u'an during the period T'ienpao (742-755). His son Hsino, with his chieftains and followers, fled to Lungyu, the governor-general of which, Koshu Han, sent them with an escort through the Barrier, and the Emperor received them most honourably. Their country was annexed by the T'u'an.

(43) The range of mountains which extends southwards from the Yellow River and divides the modern provinces of Kansu and Shensi.

(44) Kuo Tzuvi (697-781). One of the most renowned among Chinese generals, and greatly distinguished by his services to four successive Emperors of the house of T'ang (Chinese Reader's Manual, p. 96).

(45) A note in the original says that some characters are lost here.

(46) The Court of State Ceremonial.

(47) A Turk, who had mounted to high command in the imperial army. The Emperor gave his daughter to the Ouigour Prince Tengli, who became Khan in 760, and renewed the alliance with Huaiên when the latter was governor-general of Liangchou. The Ouigours were also a Turkish race who were originally settled on the Orkhon and Selenga Rivers, and were subject to China, but they began to invade under Tengri Khan. Their chief camp was on the Orkhon River, near the mountains of Karakorum. They are called at first in the T'ang History Huihu, changed in 788 at the request of the Khan to Huihu, which means in Chinese 'returning falcons,' an allusion to their warlike prowess.

(48) In Shensi, the modern Kuyuan-chou in P'ingliangfu.

(49) A small river which has given its name to the modern city Ch'inghuihsien in the prefecture Kungch'angfu in Shensi. The geographical description of this district city published in 1687 says, that the river is outside the western suburb, near the Hsiao Lung Mountain, which the governor-general of Lungyu made the boundary with the T'u'an. The district was reconquered in 847.

(50) A Chinese rebel, who gained possession of Ch'angan, and besieged the Emperor in Fêngt'ien.

(51) In Kansu, to the south of the angle formed by the Yellow River and the Great Wall.

(52) In the north of Shensi, near the Great Wall, west of the modern Yulinfu.

(53) The modern P'ingliangfu in Shensi is about 60 miles N.W. of Chingchou.

(54) T'ukuhun, see note 11.

(55) Chünchou is the modern Ningyuanfu in the south of the province of Ssüch'uan. The Lianglin and Wutêng were two of the tribes of the Eastern

Man who were scattered through the lands of Lichou, Chünchou and Jungchou in the same province. The chiefs were given Chinese titles during the period T'ienpao (742-755), but after the capture of Chünchou they fell under the rule of the T'ufan, returning, however, to their allegiance afterwards. The campaign alluded to is fully described in the record of the Man in the T'ang History, including a curious account of the way the dead body of Ch'itsangchéché was carried off by his subordinate, the governor-general of Nangkung, named Sulun. He was accompanied by a hundred men, who wept aloud as they went. He detached one man, who stood on the left hand of the corpse, and when one of them asked him: 'Are the wounds painful?' he replied: 'Yes!' and they applied medicine. Again: 'Will you eat?' 'Yes!' and they brought food. 'Will you put on clothes?' 'Yes!' and they called for fur robes. Finally, 'Will you go home?' The same man answered: 'Yes!' whereupon they stretched the dead body on a horse and departed. The Man chiefs were made princes by the Emperor and given seals, robes and girdles, and when they came to have audience later, they were banqueted in the palace and liberally rewarded, and the governors of Lichou and Chünchou were ordered to give to their tribes an annual allowance of salt, clothes and coloured silks.

(56) Peit'ing is near the modern Urumtsi, also called Tihnachou. Anhsi, the modern Kuché, was the chief of the four chên of Eastern Turkestan.

(57) The Shat'o were a separate tribe of the Western T'uchüeh (Turks). They were settled on the south of the Chinso Mountains, in the east of the P'ulei lake (Barkul), where there is a great desert called Shat'o, from which they derived their name. After the conquest of Peit'ing the T'ufan removed them to Kanchou, and appointed their chief military commander, styling him chief lun (olon).

(58) The Kolu, also written Kololu, was another Turkish tribe situated northwest of Peit'ing. They are generally known as Karluks. The white-robed T'uchüeh were the Ten hordes of the Western Turks.

(59) Hsiehou, originally Kaoch'ang, was situated near the modern Turfan.

(60) There was a city in this valley, where an army of the Western Turks camped during the Chinese campaign against Kaoch'ang in 640. It is said by some to be the city which was made T'ingchou, afterwards changed to Peit'ing; by others to have been 50 li distant from the last, which is recorded in the T'ang History to have been established in this vicinity after the conquest (cf. *Histoire générale de la Chine*, tome vi. p. 90).

(61) In Kansu, S. of the Yellow River, S.E. of Ninghsiafu.

(62) Yimouhsün succeeded his grandfather Kolofêng in 779. After his succession in alliance with the T'ufan he invaded Ssüch'uan with a vast army, which marched to Maochou and plundered the country. He was appointed by the T'ufan, Prince of Jihung. He afterwards entered into secret relations with Wei Kao, and in the first month of 794 he sent his son and chief ministers to conclude a sworn treaty with the Chinese envoys who had been despatched to his capital. The ceremony was performed at a temple on the Tientsang Mountain and four copies were made of the sworn text, of which one was kept at the temple, one sunk in the river, one preserved in the ancestral temple, and the other sent to the Son of Heaven. When the T'ufan were trying to conquer Peit'ing, they fought a great battle with the Huihu, in which they lost a vast number of killed and wounded, and they sent to demand reinforcements of 10,000 warriors from Yimouhsün, who was wishing to submit to the empire, and took advantage of the occasion to make a large levy of troops, while he alleged weakness to the T'ufan, and declared that he could only furnish 3000, which on further pressure he increased to 5000. He sent these into their country, and followed himself with several myriads, who marched double stages and surprised the T'ufan army on the Shênch'uan (now the Chinschachiang, the auriferous Brios of Marco Polo). He then cut the Iron Bridge, and thousands were drowned in the river. (The iron bridge, according to the modern descriptions of Yunnan, was 130 li to the north of Chüchinchou, where the rocks are carved into holes for the support of the iron chains, and in the winter months when the water is clear iron rings can still be seen at the bottom.) The T'ufan had two military governors in this district, of Shênch'uan and of T'iehch'iao (Iron Bridge). Five T'ufan princes were taken and a vast quantity of prisoners and booty, and 16

walled cities and fortified camps captured. The Emperor sent an embassy to Yimouhsün with a gold seal inscribed 'Ch'en yuan ts'è Nanchao yin' inclosed in a silver box. The envoy was met at the city of Taho by the brother of the Prince, who brought sixty fine horses, all with gold bridles and jade bells, and soldiers were drawn up on each side of the way ringing bells. Yimouhsün had on gold armour, with a tiger-skin thrown over, and held a bell in each hand; he was surrounded by a thousand men, armed with long spears, and preceded by twelve large elephants, with warriors horse and foot marshalled in rank. He received the seal and patents kneeling.

(63) Sungehau is now Sungpant'ing. Weichou and Paohou within the bounds of Weikut'ing in the north of Ssueh'uan.

(64) Matingtê is called in the Nanchao Record by the Chinese title of Kuoshih, 'State Preceptor,' which is the same title applied to the Buddhist Bâshpa when he was invested by Kublai Khan with the rule of Tibet. In the same record it is related that in the spring of 801 they destroyed one of the enemy's camps by cutting the bank of the Lu River in the night, and fought two battles in succession, in which the enemy was defeated and totally dispersed, and that thereupon the K'ang (Samarkand) and Hciyi Tashih (Black-robed Arabs—the Abbassides) troops with their T'ufan commander all surrendered, and that 20,000 suits of armour were captured. This is interesting as the first mention of Mohammedans in this region. Marco Polo mentions the Saracens in Yunnan, and Rashiduddin says: "All the inhabitants of Yachi are Mohammedans." Yachi being the modern Talifu, called the city of Yangchüyang during the T'ang, when it was the capital of Nanchao. The Mohammedans of this province revolted against the Chinese in 1855, and set up a chief who was called Sultan Suleiman.

(65) A city in modern Kansu, west of the Chiayükuan in the Great Wall, on the verge of the great desert, near the modern Tunkuanghsien.

(66) The range of mountains N. of Kokonor.

(67) In this year a new Khan of the Ouigours succeeded, who was given the Chinese title of Tsungtê, and also a sister of the Emperor, Princess T'aiho, in marriage. The T'ufan, jealous of the honour accorded, prepared to kidnap her en route, but 20,000 mounted Ouigours arrived as escort.

(68) There is a discrepancy here in the cyclical number of the year, and probably the first character is corrupt; a change of this to hsin would give hsin ch'ou, which is the cyclical equivalent of A. D. 821. Calculation shows that November 7th of that year would be the cyclical day kuei yu. Also that the tenth moon of that year began on or about October 30th. Therefore the day kuei yu would really fall within the tenth moon. Say that this moon commenced on October 29th, which was the cyclical day chia tzü, then the day kuei yu would be exactly the 10th of the 10th month as given above. Again, reference to the "Histoire de la Chine" mentions, under the year 821, in connexion with another event, the full names of the three chief ministers of state, Tsui Chih, Tu Yuan-ying and Wang Po, whose second names only, according to custom, are given in the text.

(69) This is the title (Hui hao) of the reigning Emperor who was canonized as Mutsung, when he would have been given a more grandiloquent sacrificial title. This may be translated 'Learned, warlike, filial and virtuous Emperor.' It is the same inscribed in the Tibetan version of the treaty (see Appendix).

(70) A rhyming epilogue in eight lines of four syllables.

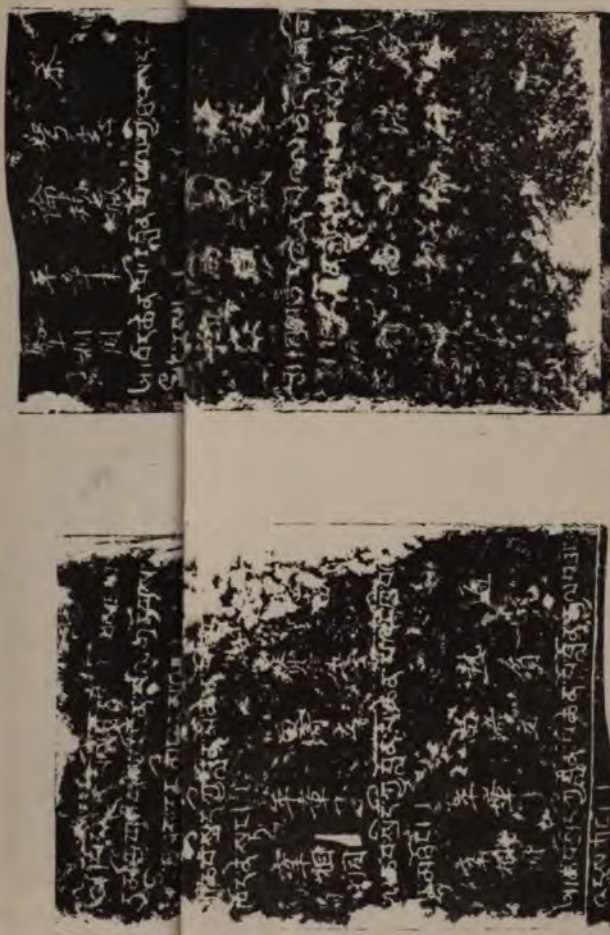
(71) The bilingual (Tibetan and Chinese) text of this treaty is given in the Appendix, from a rubbing obtained from a stone monument erected at the time, which still stands in front of one of the principal Buddhist temples at Lhasa. The names of the seventeen officials alluded to were also engraved on the northern edge of the same stone; eight of whom belonged to the state council, including the commander-in-chief of the forces and the lieutenant-commander.

(72) The Hungchi Bridge crossed the Yellow River on the N.W. of Hoehou, where there was a city called Hungchi.

(73) See Note 9.

(74) The Itinerary in the Appendix has Lieh yi (post-station), the distance of which from the point where the Yellow River was crossed is there 780 li.

INSCRIPTION FROM A STONE MONUMENT AT LHASA.



W. BRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH. PECKHAM, S. E.

W. BRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH. PECKHAM, S. E.

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- (75) T'ukuhun, see Note 11.
- (76) Now Lanchoufu in Kansu.
- (77) A city 130 li S. of Shanchou (Hsiningfu).
- (78) See Note 38.
- (79) See Note 39.
- (80) The Sanpu River, which traverses Tibet from W. to E.
- (81) The Poch'ép'u, called in another place Poch'angp'u, would appear to have been a Buddhist, occupying an important position in the state. On one occasion the Emperor is reported to have written a special despatch to him as well as to the tsanp'u.
- (82) Prince of Ch'in was the title, before he came to the throne, of the famous T'aitung, the son of the founder of the T'ang dynasty.
- (83) Valley of the Tasia River, S.W. of Hochou in Kansu.
- (84) Yit'ai, meaning 'continuous prosperity,' must have been the title of the reign analogous to the "nien hao" of the Chinese. This is, however, the solitary instance recorded of such among the Tibetans. The reigning tsanp'u at this time was K'olik'otsu, who succeeded in the cyclical year pingshen (816). The envoys with the news of his accession came to the Emperor in the 4th month of 817.
- (85) A mountain in the province of Shansi, one of the three in China sacred to Buddhism. In the present day it is a stronghold of the Tibetan church, and covered with monasteries occupied by some two thousand lamas (cf. A Journey to Wutaishan in 1872, in Dr. Edkins' "Religion in China").
- (86) The modern Weikut'ing in Ssüch'uan.
- (87) See Notes 42, 11, 9.
- (88) The city of Hochou, where the Chênhsichün (garrison) was established in 738.
- (89) Situated north of the great bend of the Yellow River, in the district now occupied by the Mongolian Orat tribe; the Tendue of Marco Polo.

APPENDIX I. (WITH FACSIMILES AND RESTORATION).

These rubbings are from a stone monument which still stands in front of the large temple, within the city of Lhasa, called by the Chinese Ta-chao-ssü. This temple is said to have been founded during the T'ang dynasty. The central courtyard is surrounded by pavilions of several stories and pillared central halls, the tiled roofs of which are ornamented with gold. In addition to the central figure of Sâkyamuni Buddha, it contains images of the Chinese Princess, and of her husband, the T'u'fan tsanp'u, as well as of his other consort, the daughter of the King of Nepal. There are inside a myriad sacred Buddhas and an imperial throne, and incense flowers and jade cups brighten up the interior during all the four seasons. On one of the walls are painted the famous monk, Yuanchuang, with three of his disciples, searching for sacred books (Chinese Description of Tibet).

The treaty, of which this is a record, was solemnized in the 2nd year of the period Ch'angch'ing (822), on the 6th day of the 5th month (approximately May 28th Old Style). This was the 7th year of the reigning tsanp'u, who succeeded in 816. He is called

in the New T'ang History, K'olik'otsu, and is said to have reigned under the title (nien-hao) Yit'ai, which means: 'Continuous prosperity.' The Chinese description, quoted just now, says that the inscription is no longer legible. The rubbings were obtained in Peking in 1869, and were said then, from the condition of the paper, to date at least from the last century. The Chinese characters are readily decipherable, with the exception of one portion near the top, where they are completely obliterated, probably by the impact of ladders. This has been filled up from Chinese books, especially the great geography of the empire. The characters so borrowed are distinguished by being written in red. Unfortunately these versions, which all differ from each other, are not exact copies of the original, although they give the sense. They are the source of the two translations already published in Europe by the Jesuit Père Amyot, and the Russian Archimandrite Hyacinthe. The Chinese is a translation of the Tibetan original. I have translated mainly from the former, being more familiar with it, and having, moreover, the assistance of a competent native scholar.

"The learned, warlike, filial, and virtuous Emperor of the Great T'ang, and the divine and all-wise Tsanp'u of the Great Fan(*a*), two sovereigns allied as father and son-in-law(*b*), having consulted to unite the gods of the land, and of grain, have concluded a sworn treaty of grand alliance, which shall never be lost nor changed. Gods and men have been called as witnesses, and, in order that all ages and generations may resound in praise, the sworn text, section by section, has been engraved on a stone monument(*c*).

"The learned, warlike, filial, and virtuous Emperor, and the divine and all-wise Tsanp'u, Tê-chih-li-tsan(*d*), their all-wise Majesties, with intuitive wisdom reaching far, and knowing both present and future, good and evil, with feelings of benevolent pity and imperial grace overspreading all, without distinction of native and foreign, have negotiated an alliance, and resolved to give to the myriad families peace and prosperity, and with like thought have completed a long, lasting, good deed. They have re-connected the bonds of affectionate kinship, strengthened anew the right policy of neighbourly friendship, and made this great peace.

"The two countries, Fan and Han, keeping the lands and boundaries which they now rule: all to the east(*e*) shall be within the borders of the great T'ang, all to the west shall be the territory of the great Fan. Neither the one nor the other shall slaughter or

fight, they shall not move weapons or armour, nor shall they plot to encroach on each other's territory.

"Should any men be liable to suspicion, they shall be taken alive, and their business inquired into, after which they shall be given clothes and food, and sent back to their own country.

"Now the gods of the land, and of grain, have been united to make this great peace, yet to keep up the good relationship of father and son-in-law, there must be constant communication. The one shall rely on the other, and constantly send envoys to and fro. Both Fan and Han shall change horses at the Chiangchün Pass, and to the east of the Suiyung Barrier the great T'ang shall provide for the missions, while to the west of the city of Ch'ingshui(*f*), the great Fan shall entertain them. They shall both be treated with due ceremony, according to the near relationship of the imperial father and son-in-law, so that within the two borders neither smoke nor dust shall rise, no word of invasion or plunder shall be heard, and there shall be no longer anxious fear and trembling. The frontier guards shall be dismissed, and the land have perfect quiet in consequence of this joyful event.

"Their grace shall be handed down to ten thousand generations, and sounds of grateful praise shall extend to wherever the sun and moon shine. The Fan shall be at peace in the Fan country, the Han also shall be joyful in the Han country, and this is truly a great deed of good augury. They shall keep their sworn oaths, and there shall never be any change.

"They have looked up to the three precious ones, to all the holy saints, to the sun, moon, stars, and planets, and begged them to be their witnesses(*g*). A sworn treaty like this, each one has severally written and exposed, having sacrificed the victims for the sworn ceremony, and ratified this text. Should they not keep these oaths, and either Fan or Han disregard the treaty, and break the sworn agreement, may there come to them misfortune and calamity! Provided only that the work of rebels against the state, or secret plotters, shall not be included as a breach of the sworn ceremony.

"The Fan and Han sovereigns and ministers(*h*) have all bowed down and solemnly made oath, and carefully drawn up the written documents. The witnesses of the two sovereigns, the officers who ascended the altar, have reverently written their names below, and the sworn treaty like this has been deposited in the royal treasury."

NOTES TO APPENDIX I.

(a) The beginning of the Tibetan is ཨ།པོ་ཁྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་འབྲུལ་གུལ་
བཅན་པོ་དང། རྒྱ་ལི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་རྒྱ་ཆེ་རྟེན་ཏེ། Bod, the equivalent of the

Chinese Fan, properly read Po, is still the native name of Tibet, and *Rgya* the name they apply to China. The title of the great *rgyal-po*, *tsan-po*, appears to be the equivalent of the Chinese *tsan-p'u*, which is explained to mean champion or hero (Note 4), which agrees with the corresponding adjective defined as firm, strong. The title of the Chinese Emperor is 'Lord of China, *Hang-te*' (now *Huang-ti*). The blank space in the original is a sign of respect before the names of sovereigns.

(b) *Dbon zhang* may mean uncle and nephew, like the Chinese equivalents.

(c) The stone monument called *pei* in Chinese is a large oblong slab, which is usually erected on the back of a tortoise; it is in Tibetan རྩ་རིང་།

(d) The title of the Emperor (see Note 69) is rendered phonetically, not translated, in the Tibetan. The Chinese title of the Tibetan sovereign is unfortunately a blank in the rubbing, and the Tibetan is only partially legible: ལྷ་བཅན་གྱི་

(e) The versions in Chinese books give here 'to the east of T'ao and Min,' the names of two cities in the south of Kansu, which I have omitted in the translation, as there is no mention of them in the Tibetan text.

(f) *Ch'ingshuihsien*, in Tibetan ཅེང་མུ་རུན་ (see Note 49).

(g) This paragraph is interesting as indicating the objects of worship of the Tibetans at this time. The three precious objects of Buddhist faith are Buddha, Dharma (the law), and Saṃgha (the priesthood); the expression is literally rendered in the Tibetan དོན་གསུམ་; འཕགས་པ་ is defined as a title of honour for male saints, and men of genius and learning.

(h) Sovereign and minister; in Chinese, *chün ch'ên*; in Tibetan, རྩ་ལྷན་།

APPENDIX II.

Itinerary from the T'ang History(1).

From Shan-ch'êng-hsien(2), where there is the Ho-yuan-chün (garrison), to Lin-fan-ch'êng	W.	60
From Lin-fan-ch'êng to the Pai-shui-chün in Sui-jung-ch'êng	W.	60
From Sui-jung-ch'êng to Ting-jung-ch'êng	S.W.	60
From Ting-jung-ch'êng, across the bed of a mountain torrent, to the T'ien-wei-chün, which was established in the old city Shih-p'u-ch'êng(3), in the 17th year of K'ai-yuan		

(729), and first called Chên-wu-chün, lost to the T'ufan in 741, re-conquered in the 8th year of T'ien-pao (749), when its name was changed	S.	7
From T'ien-wei-chün to the Ch'ih-ling(4) (Red Range), to the west of which is the T'ufan boundary monument of the period K'ai-yuan	W.	20
From Chên-wu-chün, through the Wei-ch'ih Valley, past the K'u-pa-hai(5), and the wooden palisade of Wang Hiao-chieh(6) to Mo-li-yi(7)		90
From Mo-li-yi, past Kung-chu Fo-t'ang(8), and Ta-fei-ch'uan to Na-lu-yi, the T'ukuhun(9) boundary.....		280
From Na-lu-yi, past Nuanch'uan (Hot springs), and Lieh-mo-hai, to the crossing over the Yellow River.....		440
From the Yellow River to Chung-lung-yi		470
From Chung-lung-yi, across the Hsi-yueh River, to the western boundary of the Tomi(10) country		210
From the Tomi boundary, over the Hsi-niu(11) River, which is crossed by a cane bridge to Lieh-yi.....		100
From Lieh-yi, past Shih-t'ang, T'u-fan-ts'un (Tibetan village), over the Chieh-chih Bridge, where two rocks stand opposite each other on the north and south, then along the Chieh-chih Valley to P'o-yi, where the Ta-yueh River is crossed by a bridge of creepers.....		440
From the Ta-yueh River, past the T'an-ch'ih and Yü-ch'ih (lakes), to Hsi-no-lo-yi.....		530
From Hsi-no-lo-yi, over a bridge across the Ch'i-liang-ning River, and a bridge over the Ta-su River to Hu-mang-yi. To this place the Princess always sends envoys to meet and welcome the Chinese envoys on their way to Tibet.		320
From Hu-mang-yi, through the Hu-mang-hsia(12) (Pass) for over ten li, where two opposite mountain precipices are spanned by a small bridge, and there are three waterfalls, where the water flows as if poured out of large vases, so that below all is smoke and mist, to Yeh-ma-yi.....		100
From Yeh-ma-yi (Wild horse station), through T'ufan cultivated fields, and past Lo-ch'iao-t'ang, to Ho-ch'uan-yi		400
From Ho-ch'uan-yi, past the Shu-ch'ên-hai (lake), to Ka-pu-lan-yi, beside which are the San-lo-ku Mountains, where the snow remains unmelted		130
From Ka-pu-lan-yi to the T'u-lu-chi-yi. When the T'ang		

- mission arrives here, the tsanp'u always sends envoys to
welcome them 60
- From T'u-lu-chi-yi, through the Liu-ku (Willow Valley),
where, at the hamlet of Mang-pu-chih, there is a hot
spring which springs up to a height of twenty feet,
surrounded by clouds of smoke, in which rice can be
boiled; then past the T'ang-lo-yeh-yi Mountains, the
place where the tsanp'u worships the gods, to Nung-
ko-yi 250
- Lo-hsieh (Lhasa) is situated to the south-east, 200 li distant
from Nung-ko-yi. When the T'ang mission arrives here,
the T'ufan ministers of state have always sent envoys to
await them
- From Nung-ko-yi, past Yen-ch'ih (Salt lake), and Nuan-
ch'uan (Warm springs), and the Chiang-pu-ling River
to the crossing over the Chiang-chi River 110
- From the Chiang-chi River, through T'ufan cultivated fields,
to Tsu-ko-yi, where the Tsang River is crossed. 260
- From Tsu-ko-yi, past Fo-t'ang (Buddhist temple), to Pu-
ling-yi, where the mission is lodged in the Hung-lu-
kuan(13) 180
- The Residence of the tsanp'u is reached, to the south-west
of which is the Pa-pu-hai(14).

NOTES TO APPENDIX II.

(1) This itinerary is extracted from the geographical section of the *T'ang History*, where it is given under Shanchou, the modern Hsiningfu. One of the principal routes of the present day to Tibet starts from the same city, and is laid down on the large atlas of the Chinese Empire. It runs S.E. of the Lake Kokonor, crosses the Yellow R. near its source, afterwards the upper stream of the Yangtzi called Murus Ussu, next the Sok R. and the Kara Ussu affluents of the R. Nu or Salwin, then between the Tengri Lake and Lhasa, S.W. to the Sanpu R., and finally across that river to Shikatse (Teshu Lumbo) (cf. Klaproth, *Description du Tibet*, p. 262). This route would appear to be mainly identical with the above, although the names of the places are all changed, but the whole country is almost completely unknown. The route of Abbé Huc to Lhasa, and of Prejevalsky to the Murus Ussu, were both to the W. There is no mention of the date of the itinerary; but, from internal evidence, it must have been between 734, when the Ch'ihling boundary monument was erected, and 741, when the Princess of Chinch'eng died.

(2) Shanch'enghsieu was one of the district cities of Shanchou, situated 120 li to the W. It was founded in 677, and garrisoned with 14,000 troops.

(3) See Note 38.

(4) See Note 39.

(5) The K'upahai was also called Pohai (p. 4), in the *T'ukuhun Record Poliang*, there being a bridge across.

(6) The general who defeated the T'ufan and reconquered the four *chên* in 692.

- (7) Yi means a post-station.
 - (8) Princess' Buddhist temple.
 - (9) See Note 11.
 - (10) Also written Tangmi, bounded W. by the Sup'i, E. by the Pailan (Note 13).
 - (11) Hsiniu means yak. This is the modern Murus Ussu.
 - (12) The western boundary of the Sup'i state (Note 42). From the cane bridge over the Yak R. to this pass, for 1400 li, the road lay through the territory of this people, who were ruled by female sovereigns and ministers up to the year 742. This pass was mistaken by Klaproth for the name of a separate people or state (see *Tableaux Historiques de l'Asie*, Atlas).
 - (13) The Hunglukuan would be analogous to the Chinese Hunglusu, the court of state ceremonial, for the entertainment of foreign missions.
 - (14) Papu hai (sea or lake) might possibly be applied to a river. The Residence of the tsanp'u is said in another place to be in the Papu ch'uan (valley). The river which runs through the valley in which Teshu Lumbo is situated, and joins the Sanpu near Shikatse, is called the Tang R., and one of its affluents Shapu R. A Chinese commentator gets triumphantly over the difficulty by saying that Chashih Lunpu pronounced rapidly would be Papu !
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ART. XIX.—*Notes on some Inedited Coins, from a Collection made in Persia during the Years 1877—1879.* By GUY LE STRANGE, M.R.A.S.

DURING a three years' stay that I made in Persia, while travelling about the country, and living in Tehran, Meshed, Ispahan, and Shiraz, I made a small collection of coins, and passed many pleasant hours in trying to decipher their legends, and reading in Persian histories what I was able to find about the kings and princes whose names occurred thereon. Since I have come home, Mr. Poole, the Keeper of the Coins at the British Museum, has kindly looked over my collection, and, while pointing out what is new, has most courteously given me the benefit of his scholarship in clearing up many difficulties; to his various colleagues in the Medal Room I am also indebted for assistance and instruction.

It is of course useless mentioning coins already well known by the British Museum and other catalogues. I shall therefore confine myself to those few which I believe to be inedited.

Among the coins of the Seleucidæ that are in any way noteworthy, there is a triobolus of Seleucus I., Nicator, on the rev. of which is a drinking or feeding horse, in front of Zeus' feet. A drachm of, I believe, Seleucus III., bears on the exergue of the reverse the letters ΕΦ; but this can hardly refer to Ephesus, for the town was not in Seleucus' hands. On the rev. of a drachm of Antiochus III., Great, are the letters ΜΕΝ above the head of the seated Apollo.

While in Khorasan I obtained three copper coins of Sanabares, a Bactrian king. The name has been read before by Thomas (Num. Chron. 1871, vol. xi. p. 202), as also by M

Sallet (*Zeitschr. von Numism.* vol. vi. p. 364), as forming its genitive in *Σαβαβαρως*. On my specimens there may be read quite clearly

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΚΑΝΑΒΑΡΗΣ

I do not know whether this has been noted before.

Parthian coins were of course very common, especially drachms and the copper pieces, which unfortunately were, as a rule, in too bad a condition to permit of their being read. I never came across any of the large tetradrachms; and though I have some seventy specimens of drachms, I have only one new coin among them; it is apparently of one of Mithradates I.'s satraps; on the obv. is a head to the right (not, as is usual, to the left), bearded, and bound by the tiara; on the rev. is the usual king seated on a stool without a back, and round him is written

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ

The coin resembles one figured in pl. ii. No. 3 of the Parthian Coins, by Mr. Gardner, in the *Numismata Orientalia*, the new edition.

On a drachm of Artabanus II., like pl. ii. No. 13 of the above-mentioned work, the inscription runs in my specimen

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΑΤΡΟΥ
ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ

the usual form being ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ; but both are barbarous Greek.

I hunted through a great many coins of those ascribed to Orodes I. and Pacorus, but could find none on which the ΚΑΙ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΠΑΚΟΥ was clear; for the form of the Greek letters at that time is so barbarous, that almost anything may be read with a little turning and twisting.

Sassanian coins are much rarer in Persia than Parthian; and of those that I was able to get, none turned out to be new. The same remark applies to the Ispehbedi coins of Tabaristan, and to the early Pehlevi-Arabic dirhems of my collection. Dinars and dirhems of the Khalifate were of course common, but I found nothing on them that had not

been already noted by Tiesenhausen in his *Monnaies des Khalifes Orientaux*, except perhaps a much-clipped dinar of Al-Mutawwakel, bearing his name on the reverse area; the date is A.H. 237, and the mint-city is Sana'a—the remarkable point in the coin; for, according to Mr. S. L. Poole, in his *Introduction to the Catalogue of Oriental Coins*, vol. v. p. xxxv, the Beni Ziyad would seem to have held the lordship of Sana'a as early as 204, or thereabouts. Tiesenhausen makes no mention of any coins struck at Sana'a of about this time.

I have also a rare dinar of the Beni Aghlab of the year 296.

The obverse area has لا اله, etc., as usual; on the obverse margin is محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى النخ, with the curious tail to the ي of بالهدى which is characteristic of the coins of this dynasty; the reverse area has :

محمد رسول الله
—Ja'afar. جعفر

and the marginal inscription is :

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدين سنة ست و تسعين و ميتين

with no mint-city, as is usual.

Now as the power of Beni Aghlab fell in Rajab, 296, this must have been one of the last of their dinars—who the Ja'afar is I am unable to find out. I bought this coin in Tehran; and though the obverse is much rubbed, there seems to be no doubt of its genuineness.

The gem, however, of my collection is a dinar of Al Hasan ben Al Kasem the Alide, who in Weil's *Gesch. der Chalifen*, vol. ii. p. 614, is mentioned as having held rule at Amol in Tabaristan. I believe none of his coins have been published before.

The date is A.H. 306; the weight 59·5grs, and size 4 of Mionnet's scale. On the obverse area is :

لا اله, etc.

الداعي الى الحق

Outer margin :

انها يريد الله ليذ هب عنكم الرجس اهل البيت و يطهركم تطهيرا

"For God only desireth to put away filthiness from you¹ as his household, and with cleansing to cleanse you."—Koran, xxxiii. 33.

Inner margin :

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينة امل سنة ست وثلثمائة

Reverse area :

لله محمد رسول الله الحسن بن القسم

Reverse margin :

اذن للذين يقاتلون بانهم ظلموا وان الله على نصرهم لقدير

"A sanction is given to those who—because they have suffered outrages—have taken up arms, and verily God is well able to succour them."—Koran, xxii. 40. Rodwell.

Amol, though not, I believe, unknown as a mint-city, is of exceedingly rare occurrence. The verse from the Koran xxxiii. 33, is found again on the coins of the Hasani Sherifs of Marocco of the tenth century,² but without the last three words, *i.e.* stopping with the word البيت. The verse on the reverse margin I have been able to find on no other coins; it would hardly have been taken by any one not in rebellion against the authority of the Khalifeh. This Al Hasan was surnamed Al Dai al Saghir (see Weil, *loc. cit.* note 3). On his coins, however, he takes the title of his predecessor—Al Da'i ila 'l Hakk.

In the J. R. A. S. 1875, p. 252, Mr. S. L. Poole has described a dinar having the mint-city 'Ani. While in Tehran I bought a dinar which turns out to be a well-executed forgery purporting to be struck at that city. It is extremely well made, but weighs only 42·5grs. It is dated 314 A.H. On its obverse and reverse areas is written :

ابو العباس بن المقتدر بالله امير المؤمنين

¹ The pronoun is here in the pl. masc., whereas the plur. fem. is used in the previous part of the verse. The partisans of Ali quote this passage to prove the intimate union of Ali and his posterity with the Prophet.—Rodwell's Koran.

² See Cat. Or. Coins in Brit. Mus., 1880, vol. v. p. 88.

who afterwards succeeded as Ar-Radi billah. I cannot help thinking that although the coin is a forgery, yet that it presupposes a real coin somewhere from which it was copied. The workmanship is extremely good—so good as to deceive at first sight the experienced judges of the British Museum. May it not be a counterfeit of the time?

Three dinars of Nuh ibn Naṣr, the Samanide Amir, I think deserve mention; they are all from the same mint-city—Nishápur; their dates are 331, 333, 337. The first of A.H. 331 has the usual obverse—viz. the 1st symbol, date on inner margin and the verse from the Koran, cxxx. 3, on outer. The reverse area has:

لله محمد رسول الله المتقي لله نوح بن نصر

the Naṣr being spelt with a س instead of a ص. The reverse margin is the usual IInd symbol. It has every appearance of being genuine.

The second dinar of A. H. 333 has a similar obverse, except for the difference in date; its reverse area has:

لله محمد رسول الله
المستكفي لله
نوح بن نصر

with a very clearly-written ع in the Naṣr. The marginal inscription is the usual IInd symbol divided from the area by a *single* line.

Next we come to the dinar of A.H. 337, with obverse as on the two former coins; the reverse also exactly like the dinar of A.H. 333 bears the Khalifeh Al Mustakfi's name, though he had been deposed in A.H. 334 by the Buyehs. It differs from the dinar of A.H. 333 in this, that its reverse area is separated from its marginal legend (the IInd symbol) by a *double* instead of a single line.

And lastly is a beautiful dinar of Majd ad Dauleh Buyeh of the year A.H. 398. On the obverse and reverse the marginal inscriptions are contained within hexagonal lines; the mint-city is Muhammadiyeh; on the obverse area is the

name of the Khalifeh Alkader billah ; on the reverse area are Majd ad Dauleh's titles after the usual—

لله
محمد رسول الله

thus :

الامير السيد شاهانشاه مجد الدوله وكتف الامه بن فخر الدوله بويه

The dinar is in very fine preservation, and all the letters may be easily made out.

Before closing these notes I may mention that I bought in Shiraz a dirhem of A.H. 131, coined at Ash-Shamiyeh, exactly similar to the one in Poole's Brit. Mus. Cat. of Eastern Khalifehs, vol. i. p. 22. Ash-Shamiyeh would seem to have had a mint for but a single year.

ART. XX.—*Buddhist Nirvāṇa, and the Noble Eightfold Path.*

By OSCAR FRANKFURTER, Ph.D.

THE following three Pāli suttas strictly bear on the much-disputed question of the Buddhist Nirvāṇa, and I trust they will, as far as Southern Buddhism is concerned, help to finally settle the question.

The suttas are taken from the Saṃyutta Nikāya, and form respectively the 4th, 5th, and 9th part of the Saḷāyatana-vaggo, which itself forms the fourth part of the Saṃyutta Nikāya.¹ The suttas are called respectively Jambukhādaka-saṃyuttam, Samaṇḍakasamīyuttam, and Asaṅkhatasaṃyuttam.

The text is chiefly based on the Phayre manuscript of the India Office Library (Ph.). Besides this I used a MS. written in Singhalese characters, belonging to Th. Satchell, Esq., of Hampstead (S.), which breaks up at the end of the first chapter of the Asaṅkhatasaṃyuttam; and a MS. of the Asaṅkhatasaṃyuttam on paper (D.), written in Singhalese characters, copied for T. W. Rhys Davids, Esq., by Deva Aranolis, from an old MS. belonging to Dadalla Vihare, near Galle, now in possession of the British Museum (Or. 2261), to which it came with the other MSS. belonging to the late Professor Childers.

The Jambukhādakasamīyuttam as well as the Samaṇḍakasamīyuttam relate conversations which respectively the paribbājaka Jambukhādaka (one who feeds on rose-apples) and Samaṇḍaka held with Gotama's famous contemporary Sāriputta. The Asaṅkhatasaṃyuttam is a sermon preached by Gotama himself on Nirvāṇa.

¹ See Westergaard, Cat. 276. In the enumeration of the suttas of this part, W. omits the Samaṇḍakasamīyuttam and the Mogallanasamīyuttam, which both immediately follow the Jambukhadakasamīyuttam.

It may be remarked that the usual beginning, "evaṃ me sutaṃ," "thus I have heard," is wanting in all three suttas, —that the *Asaṅkhatasaṃyuttaṃ* has no introduction whatever. The words "evaṃ me sutaṃ" seem to occur, as far as I could see, in the whole of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* only where something more or less fabulous is related.

Thus, for example, in the *Mārasaṃyuttaṃ*, which relates Gotama's encounter with Māra and his daughters, and the final retreat of Māra; in the *Valāhakaṃyuttaṃ*, which treats in a somewhat ironical manner on the changes of the weather; in the *Moggallānaṃyuttaṃ*, which treats on the supernatural powers attained by Moggallāna.

To give a translation of the three suttas is superfluous: the technical difficulties remain the same if rendered into English, so I prefer to give only an abstract of each of the three Suttas, and then conclude with a few notes on the text.

1) JAMBUKHĀDAKASAṂYUTTAM.

Once upon a time the venerable Sāriputta lived in the village of Nālaka, in Magadhi. Then the paribbājaka Jambukhādaka went to the venerable Sāriputta, and having approached him, he greeted friendly the venerable Sāriputta, and having exchanged with him the compliments of friendship and civility, he seated himself near him. And having seated himself near him, the paribbājaka Jambukhādaka thus addressed the venerable Sāriputta (§ 1):

"There is a thing called Nirvāna, Sāriputta. What then is, Sir, Nirvāna?"

"The cessation of lust, anger, and ignorance; this is called Nirvāna. There is further a path—there is a way to the realization of Nirvāna."

"There is indeed, Sir, a path, there is indeed a way to the realization of Nirvāna. Which then is the path, which then is the step to the realization of Nirvāna?"

"That is indeed, Sir, the Noble Eightfold Path for the realization of Nirvāna, viz. right views, right aims, right speech, right conduct, right livelihood, right keeping in

mind, right meditation ; that is indeed the path and the way to the realization of Nirvāna.” ”

“ Good is the path, good is the way for the realization of Nirvāna, adequate for zeal ” (§ 2).

The answer to the question what Arhatship means, and the way and path how to attain it, is the same as that contained in answer to the question about Nirvāna (§ 3).

The next question is, who are the orthodox among the people, who are the righteous among the people, and who are the happy among the people.

Sāriputta answers : Those who having forsaken lust preach the law, who having forsaken anger preach the law, who having forsaken ignorance preach the law, are the orthodox among the people.

Those who walk about, after having forsaken lust and anger and ignorance, are the righteous among the people.

Those by whom lust, anger, and ignorance has been abandoned, has been rooted out, has been destroyed, has been annihilated, so that it will never rise up again, are the happy among the people.

The answer to the question, how to get rid of lust, anger, and ignorance, is, as always, the Noble Eightfold Path (§ 4).

In § 5 we have the question, for what purpose do they lead a religious life under the ascetic Gotama, and he answers, for the sake of acquiring the knowledge of suffering. To perceive this knowledge Sāriputta names again the Noble Eightfold Path.

In § 6, in answer to the question in how many ways can one attain comfort, Sāriputta says that a bhikkhu may attain comfort when he has correctly perceived the origin, the cessation, the feeling, the danger, and untrustworthiness of the organs and objects of sense.

In § 7 Sāriputta says the highest comfort is obtained when, after having perceived the origin, etc., of the organs and objects of sense, the bhikkhu is immediately made free.

From §§ 8 to 16 we have then an enumeration of different things, which by the Buddhist philosophy are considered as

evils, to get rid of which Sāriputta again recommends the Noble Eightfold Path.

These are—§ 8. The Three Sensations.

§ 9. The Three Sins.

§ 10. Ignorance.

§ 11. The Three Cravings.

§ 12. The Four Streams.

§ 13. The Four Attachments.

§ 14. Existence in its Three Forms.

§ 15. Suffering.

§ 16. The Elements of Being.

“How now, Sāriputta! What is difficult in this doctrine and discipline?”

““Giving up the world, indeed, Sir, is difficult in this doctrine and discipline.””

“What is difficult for him who has given up the world?”

““For him who has given up the world, the delighting in that state is difficult.””

“For one who so delights, what, Sir, is difficult?”

““For one who delights, Sir, the performance of greater and lesser laws is difficult.””

“Does it take long, Sir, for him who fulfils the greater and lesser duties, for a bhikkhu to become an Arhat?”

““Not long, Sir”” (§ 17).

2) SAMANDAKASĀMYUTTAM.

Once upon a time the venerable Sāriputta lived in Ukkaveli, on the borders of the Gangā river, among the Vajjians. Then the paribbājaka Samaṇḍaka went to the venerable Sāriputta, and having approached, he friendly greeted the venerable Sāriputta, and having exchanged with him the compliments of friendship and civility, he seated himself near him. And having seated himself near him, the paribbājaka Samaṇḍaka thus addressed the venerable Sāriputta.

Then follow § 2 and § 17 of the Jambukhadakasāmyuttam. Instead of a table of contents, it says: “The contents similar to the preceding.”

3) ASANKHATASAMĪUTTAM.

“Nirvāna I teach you, bhikkhus! and the way which leads to Nirvāna. Listen. What, bhikkhus, is Nirvāna?”

“The cessation of lust, anger, and ignorance; that is called, bhikkhus, Nirvāna (§ 1).

“What is the way which leads to Nirvāna?”

“The meditation on the body; that is called, bhikkhus, the way which leads to Nirvāna (§ 2).

“Thus was preached by me Nirvāna, thus the way which leads to Nirvāna, which ought to be accomplished by the teacher, which has been accomplished by him, who seeks after the good of the disciples, who being pitiful, is full of pity—that to you by me. Rejoice, O bhikkhus, in this forest life, in solitude; give not up, give yourself no cause for repentance—thus is our teaching to you” (§ 3).

The identical answer to what is Nirvāna occurs over and over again in the sutta, and as ways and means he gives the following series of answers:

§ 5. Tranquillity and Spiritual Insight.

§§ 8, 9. The Two Sets of Self-concentration.

§ 10. The Four Earnest Meditations.

§ 11. The Four Right Exertions.

§ 12. The Four Paths to Iddhi.

§ 13. The Five Senses.

§ 14. The Five Powers.

§ 15. The Seven Constituents of Wisdom.

§ 16. The Noble Eightfold Path.

In the second chapter the full text of the way how to attain Nirvāna is given, and the whole concludes with an enumeration of different expressions for Nirvāna.

The answer given by Sāriputta, as well as the sermon preached by Gotama in these suttas on Nirvāna, fully bears out the opinion of Mr. T. W. Rhys Davids, expressed in his valuable little book on Buddhism, viz. that Nirvāna is to be attained in this life.

p. 111: “What, then, is Nirvāna? *It is the extinction of that sinful, grasping condition of mind and heart, which would*

otherwise, according to the great mystery of karma, be the cause of renewed individual existence. That extinction is to be brought about by, and runs parallel with, the growth of the opposite condition of mind and heart; and it is complete when that opposite condition is reached.

"Nirvāna is therefore the same thing as a *sinless, calm state of mind*, and if translated at all, may best, perhaps, be rendered 'holiness'—holiness, that is, in the Buddhist sense—*perfect peace, goodness, and wisdom*."

And further, p. 115: "It follows, I think, that to the mind of the composer of the Buddhavaṃsa, Nirvāna meant not the extinction, the negation of being, but the *extinction, the absence, of the three fires of passion*."¹

That is, as Gotama expresses it, the cessation of lust, anger, and ignorance. Rāgo, doso, and moho are enumerated in the Saṅgītisutta of the Dīgha Nikāya as the three fires (aggi) and the three obstacles (kiñcana). The commentary Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī explains kiñcana by palibodho, that is, obstacle to religious perfection (Childers' Dict., p. 205).

It is interesting to notice that this view of Nirvāna as laid down in these Suttas in the Piṭakas still occurs also in the commentaries written in Ceylon as late as the fifth century.

Thus the Commentator on the Jātakas says (Fausböll, p. 61):

"'By what can every heart attain to lasting happiness and peace?'

"And to him whose heart was estranged from sin the answer came, 'When the fire of lust is gone out, then peace (Nibbata) is gained; when the fires of hatred and ignorance are gone out, then peace is gained; when the troubles of mind arising from pride, credulity, and all other sins have ceased, then peace is gained! Sweet is the lesson this singer makes me hear, for the Nirvāna of Peace (Nibbānaṃ) is that which I have been trying to find out. This very day I will break away from household cares. I will renounce the world! I will follow only after the Nirvāna itself.'"²

¹ These italics are mine.

² The translation is taken from Rhys Davids's 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 80.

NOTES.

As we have to refer frequently to the *Sangītisutta* and to the *Dasuttarasutta*, it may be as well to give here a description of them.

These suttas are the last two of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. After an introduction, which has nothing whatever to do with the main object of the sutta, *Sāriputta* gives, at the request of *Gotama*, a recital (*Sangīti*) of the laws (*dhammā*) preached by the Blessed One, full of wisdom, etc., out of compassion for the world, for the benefit of gods and men.

Atthi kho āvuso tena Bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā sammāsambuddhena (1-10) *dhammā sammadakkhātā tattha sabbeheva saṅgāyitabbam na vivaditatabbam yathayidam brahmacariyam addhaniyam assa ciraṭṭhinikam tadassa bahujanahitāya bahujanasukhāya lokānukampakāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānam*.

The *Dasuttara-sutta* is likewise delivered by *Sāriputta*: for the attainment of *Nirvāna*, for putting an end to suffering, for the release from all bonds.

Dasuttaram pavakkhāmi dhammam nibbāna-pattiya, dukkhass' anta kiriyāya, sabbagandhappamocanam.

He gives ten laws, which he calls respectively—

<i>bahukāro</i>	causing much.
<i>bhāvetabbo</i>	to be increased.
<i>pariññeyyo</i>	to be learnt.
<i>pahātabbo</i>	to be avoided.
<i>hānabhūgiyo</i>	conducive to abandonment.
<i>visesabhūgiyo</i>	conducive to superiority.
<i>duppaṭi vidho</i>	difficult to comprehend.
<i>uppādetabbo</i>	to be accomplished.
<i>abhiññeyyo</i>	to be known.
<i>sacchikatabbo</i>	to be realized.

Of these ten, the commentary gives the following explanations:

<i>bahukāro ti</i>	<i>bahūpakaro</i> .
<i>bhāvetabbo ti</i>	<i>vaḍḍhetabbo</i> .

pariññeyyo ti	tīhi pariññāhi parijānitabbo.
pahātabbo ti	pahānānupassanāya pajahitabbo.
hānabhāgiyo ti	apāyagāmi paribhānāya samvattanako.
visesabhāgiyo ti	visesagāmi visesāya samvattanako.
duppaṭi viddho ti	duppacakkhakaro.
uppādetabbo ti	nippādetabbo.
abhiññeyyo ti	ñātapariññāya abhijānitabbo.
sacchikātabbo ti	paccakkham kātabbo.

Sāriputta's answer to the question, in which way and by what means Arhatship and Nirvāna are to be attained, is, by the Noble Eightfold Path.

In Sangīti Sutta the eight divisions of the Path are enumerated under the heading of the eight good practices (sammattā), in opposition to the eight micchattā (wrong practices); and in the Dasuttara Sutta they are referred to under the heading of the dhammā bhāvetabbā.

In quoting the Sangīti Sutta and the Dasuttara Sutta, I use the abbreviation San. S. for Sangīti Sutta, and Das. S. for Dasuttara Sutta.

In the Mahāsatippaṭṭhānasutta of the Dīgha Nikāya—the Satippaṭṭhānasutta of the Majjhimanikāya (see R. Morris, in his forthcoming book on the "Seven Jewels of the Law," to whom I am indebted for this reference), we find the following explanation of the Noble Eightfold Path:

1) Sammādiṭṭhi, right views. These right views concern suffering, the origin of suffering, the cessation of suffering, and the path to the cessation of suffering.¹ They constitute the four great truths of Buddhism, and are enumerated in the San. S. under the heading of the four *ñāṇas*, and in the Das. S. under the heading of the four dhammā abhiññeyyā.²

2) Sammāsankappo, right aims: the aim of renouncing

¹ Katamāca sammādiṭṭhi bhikkhave?

Dukkhe-ñāṇaṃ, dukkha-samudaye-ñāṇaṃ, dukkha-nirodhe-ñāṇaṃ, dukkha-nirodha-gāminīyā-patipadāya-ñāṇaṃ—ayan kho bhikkhave sammādiṭṭhi vuccati.

² It is perhaps worth attention that in answer to the question, katame cattaro dhammā uppādetabbā, the Das. S. has cattāri ñāṇāni. These are, however, dhamme ñāṇaṃ, anvaye ñāṇaṃ, paricchede ñāṇaṃ, samuttiya ñāṇaṃ. The comm. explains the first as knowledge of the four paths, the second as knowledge of the four truths, the third as knowledge of the nature of the heart of others, the fourth as general knowledge.

the world, aims free from malice, aims free from cruelty.¹ They are enumerated in the San. S. under the heading of the kusala-sankappā.

3) Sammāvācā, right speech : viz. to abstain from lying, slander, harsh language, frivolous language.²

These constitute the ariya vohāra of the San. S.

4) Sammākammanto, right conduct : viz. to abstain from destroying life, from taking what is not given, and adultery.³ I do not find an enumeration of these details either in the San. S. or in the Das. S.

5) Sammā ājivo, right livelihood : who, having forsaken a wrong livelihood, leads a thoroughly good life.⁴

6) Sammā vāyāmo, right exertion. These exertions are (1) to prevent sinful conditions arising, (2) to put away sinful states already existing, (3) to produce meritorious states not yet in existence, and (4) to retain meritorious states already in existence.⁵ In the Sangiti Sutta these exertions are enumerated under the heading of the four sammappadhānā.

7) Sammā sati, right keeping in mind : keeping in mind the impurity of the body, the evils of the sensations, the evanescence of thought, the conditions of existence.⁶

In the San. S. these satis are enumerated under the heading of the four satipaṭṭhānas, and in the Das. S. they are referred to under the heading of the four dhammā bhāvetabbā.

¹ Katamo ca sammāsankappo? nekkhammasāṅkappo, avyāpādasāṅkappo, avihimsāsāṅkappo. ayaṃ bhikkhave sammāsāṅkappo vuccati.

² Katamāca sammāvācā? musāvādā veramaṇi, pisunāvācāya*, pharusāvācāya*, samphappalāpāya*. Ayaṃ bhikkhave sammāvācā vuccati.

³ Katamo ca sammākammanto? Pānātipātā veramaṇi, adinnādānā*, kammesu-micchācārā*. Ayaṃ bhikkhave sammākammanto vuccati.

⁴ Katamo ca sammā ājivo? Idha ariya sāvako bhikkhu micchā ājivam pahāya, sammā ājivena jīvikaṃ kappeti. Ayaṃ bhikkhave sammā ājivo.

⁵ Katamo ca bhikkhave sammā vāyāmo? Idha, bhikkhave, bhikkhu anuppannānaṃ pāpakānaṃ akusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ anuppādāya chandaṃ janeti vāyamaṃ viriyam ārabhati cittaṃ paggaṇhāti padahati, uppannānaṃ pāpakānaṃ akusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ pahānā chandaṃ janeti-pe-padahati, anuppannānaṃ kusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ uppādāya chandaṃ janeti-pe-padahati, kusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ thitīyā asammosāya bhīyyo bhāvāya vepullāya bhāvanāya pāripūriyā chandaṃ janeti pe padahati. Ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave sammā vāyāmo.

⁶ Katamāca bhikkhave sammā sati? Idha, bhikkhave, bhikkhu kāye kāyānupassī viharati ātāpi sampajaṇo satimā vineyya loke abhiññhādomanassam, vedanāsu-vedanānupassī viharati ātāpi pe abhiññhādomanassam, citta cittaṇupassī viharati ātāpi pe abhiññhādomanassam, dhammesudhammānupassī viharati ātāpi pe abhiññhādomanassam. Ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave sammāsati.

Sammāsamādhi, right meditation. According to the *Satipaṭṭhānasutta* they are the four stages of *Jhāna* meditation, through which gradually the believer's mind is purged from all earthly emotions.¹ In the *San. S.* they are referred to under the heading of the four *jhānā* (cf. Rhys Davids' "Buddhism," p. 175).

Thus far the Eightfold Path.

It seems expedient to settle first the question about the means to attain *Nirvāna*. The author of the *Asaṅkhatasaṃyuttaṃ* follows a numerical order in answering the question by what ways and means *Nirvāna* is to be attained. He begins with one law, then two, three, four, five, seven, and eight. Therewith he concludes the first chapter, which in the Burmese copy ends with "*Nibbānasaṃyuttasa paṭhamo vaggo*," whilst the Singhalese copies only have *paṭhamo vaggo*.

In the second chapter we have the full text of the laws referred to in the first chapter.

Kāyagatāsati. This is the *dhammo bhāvetabbo* of the *Das. S.* It has, according to the commentary *Sumangala Vilāsinī*, where a lengthy description is given, the same meaning as *kāyānupassanā*, and is thus the first of the *satipaṭṭhānās*.²

Samatho ca *vipassanā*, and the three *Samādhi*, are respectively the two and three *dhammā bhāvetabbā* of the *Das. S.* They are likewise enumerated in the *San. S.*

In the same way the four *Satipaṭṭhānas*, the seven *bojjhaṅgas*, and the *ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo* are enumerated under the heading of the *dhammā bhāvetabbā*.

The full text of the seven *bojjhaṅgas*, as we have it in the second chapter, agrees with the *bhāvanāpadhānaṃ* of the *San. S.*

¹ *Katamāca bhikkhave sammāsamādhi? Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu vivico' eva kāmehi vivicca akusalehi dhammehi savitakkaṃ savicāraṃ vivekajam pītisukhaṃ pathamajjhānaṃ upasāmpajja viharati; vitakka vicāraṇaṃ vupasamā ajjhataṃ sampasādanaṃ cetaso ekodibhāvaṃ avitakkaṃ avicāraṃ samādhijam pītisukhaṃ duttiyajjhānaṃ upasāmpajja viharati, pītiyā ca virāgā upekkhako ca viharati sato sampajāno sukhaṃ ca kāyena paṭisaṃvedeti yaṃ taṃ ariyā acikkhanti upekkhako satimā sukhavīhārī ti duttiyajjhānaṃ upasāmpajja viharati; sukhassa ca pahānā dukkhassa ca pahānā pubbe ca somanassadomanassānaṃ atthagamā addukkhaṃ asukhaṃ upekkhāsatipārisuddhiṃ catutthajjhānaṃ upasāmpajja viharati.*

² Cf. Childers, 467; also Dhammpadam, 299.

Neither the sammāppadhānas, nor the iddhipādas, nor the pañcendriyānis, nor the pañcabalānis are mentioned in the Das. S.

Of the sammāppadhānas we have the full text in the second chapter, and it will easily be seen that this is the same text as that of the sammāvāyāmo of the Eightfold Path.

The text of the iddhipādas agrees likewise with that given in the San. S.

The *five* indriyas and the *five* balas consist of the same details, and differ only in name.¹

In the enumeration of the Noble Eightfold Path D. omits the sammāvāyāmo and sammāsamādhi. That is most probably a mere blunder of the copyist, though we have the full text of the sammāvāyāmo in the enumeration of the sammāppadhānās.

The end of the Asaṅkhatasaṃyuttaṃ forms an enumeration of different expressions for Nirvāna.

Ph. repeats after every new word the first question with *pe*. D., without repeating the question, puts *pe* after *taṃ* *suñātha*. The meaning of both these '*pe*' seems to be the same, viz. that the series of answers given in the first part ought to be understood after every one of the following.

The words given for Nirvāna occur for the most part in the Abhidhānappadīpikā. I annex a list of those which do not occur in the Abh., as well as those of the Abh. which do not occur in our sutta.

D'Alwis, in his Buddhist Nirvāna, has tried to etymologise these words in favour of his theory of annihilation. With what result every one knows.

Not in the Asaṅkhatasaṃyuttaṃ are: *mokkho*, *nirodho*, *arūpaṃ*, *akataṃ*, *apalokitaṃ*, *akkhamaṃ*, *dukkhakkhaya*, *vivaṭṭaṃ*, *kevalaṃ*, *apavaggo*, *accutaṃ*, *padam*, *yogakkhemo*, *santi*, *visuddhi*, *vimutti*, *asaṅkhatadhātu*, *nibbuti*.

Not in the Abhidhānappadīpikā are: *ajjaraṃ*, *apalokaṃ*, *nippāpaṃ*, *acchariyaṃ*, *abbhutaṃ*, *anītikadhammo*.

¹ Rhys Davids, Book of the Great Decease, 62.

We have now to regard the remaining portions of the Jambhukhādakaśamyuttaṃ. Not having had at my disposal a commentary,¹ it is scarcely possible for me to give another explanation than that furnished by the text.

The first three paragraphs have been amply discussed in the preceding pages.

From §§ 8 to 16 we have an enumeration of different things regarded as evils, to get rid of which Sāriputta recommends the Noble Eightfold Path.

The three vedanas mentioned in § 8 are referred to in the Das. S. as the three dhammā pariññeyyā. They are the same as those of the San. S.

§ 9 enumerates three āsavā, viz. kāma, bhava, avijja. That is in strict accordance with the San. S. The Mahāparinibbānasutta, as well as Hardy (Manual) and Rhys Davids (Buddhism, p. 120), give four, adding diṭṭhi.

§ 10. Avijjā, ignorance as to the four great truths of Buddhism: suffering, the cause of suffering, the cessation of suffering, the path leading to the cessation of suffering.

§ 11. Taṇha, craving. Besides those named in this sutta, San. S. enumerates kāmā°, rūpa°, arūpa°, and rūpa°, arūpa°, nirodha°. Das. S. calls the three taṇhas named in our sutta the three dhammā pahātabbā.

§ 12. Ogho, flood. The same as in the San. S. They are enumerated in the Das. S. under the heading of the four dhammā pahātabbā.

§ 13. Upādānaṃ, attachment. The same as in the San. S.; they are not enumerated in the Das. S. The commentary Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī agrees with the explanation given in Childers, *s.v.*

§ 14. Bhavo. The three bhavas are, according to the Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī, the same as the three dhātus, which are explained by the commentary to signify the existence in one of the sattalokas. In the Das. S. the dhātus are enumerated as the dhammā abhiññeyyā.

¹ I may remark here, that a Turnour MS. in the India Office Library, which bears on the outside the title Saṃyutta Nikāya aṭṭhakathā, contains the commentary on the Aṅguttara Nikāya.

§ 15. Dukkham, suffering. Instead of "samsāra dukkha-ta," San. S. as well as the commentary, read "saṅkhāra-dukkhata"; and so also Netti Pakarana, quoted by Alwis (Introd. 108). In Dh. 203 we read: jighacchā paramā rogā, saṅkhāra paramā dukkha.

If it were not for the agreement of the Sinhalese and Burmese MSS., that would seem sufficient reason to alter the reading of Jamb. S. The reading, however, is quite intelligible.

Sakkāyo, individuality. Under Sakkāyo Sāriputta enumerates the five upadanakkhandha. The explanation Childers gives in his dictionary agrees with that given in the Visuddhi Magga, to which the Sumaṅgala Vilāsini refers. In the Das. S. they are enumerated under the heading of the dhammā pariññeyyā.

1) JAMBUKHĀDAKASĀMĪYUTTAM.

Ekam samayaṃ āyasmā Sāriputto Magadhesu viharati Nālakagāmake.¹ Atha kho Jambukhādako paribbājako yen' āyasmā Sāriputto ten' upasaṅkami upasaṅkamitvā āyasmata Sāriputtena saddhim sammodi sammodaniyaṃ² kathain sārāṇiyaṃ vitisāretvā, ekamantaṃ nisīdi, ekamantaṃ nisinno kho Jambukhādako paribbājako āyasmantaṃ Sāriputtaṃ etad avoca: (1)

"Nibbānaṃ nibbānaṃ ti āvuso Sāriputta vuccati."

"Kataman nu kho āvuso nibbānaṃ ti?"

"Yo kho āvuso rāgakkhaya, dosakkhaya, mohakkhaya—idaṃ vuccati nibbānaṃ ti."

"Atthi pan' āvuso maggo, atthi paṭipadā etassa nibbānassa sacchikriyāyā ti."

"Atthi kho āvuso maggo, atthi paṭipadā etassa nibbānassa sacchikriyāyā ti.—Katamo pan' āvuso maggo, katamā paṭipadā etassa nibbānassa sacchikriyāyā ti?"

"Ayaṃ eva kho āvuso ariyo aṭṭhangiko maggo etassa nibbānassa sacchikriyāyā:³ seyyathīdam: sammādiṭṭhi, sam-

¹ S. Nālakagāmake.

² S. sammodiniyaṃ.

³ S. sacchikriyāyā, and throughout. Ph. reads sometimes saccha² instead of sacchi; but that being only the exception, I have adopted the reading sacchi² throughout.

masañkappo, sammāvācā, sammākammanto, sammā ājivo, sammāvāyāmo, sammā sati, sammā samādhi. — ayañ kho āvuso maggo, ayañ paṭipadā etassa nibbānassa ¹ sacchikriyāyā ti.”

“ Bhaddako, avuso, maggo, bhaddikā paṭipadā ² etassa nibbānassa sacchikriyāyā, alañca pan’ āvuso Sāriputta appamādāyā ti (2).

“ Arahattam pe kataman pe.”

“ ‘Yo kho āvuso rāgakkhayo, dosakkhayo, mohakkhayo. idaṃ pe. Atthi pe.’ ”

“ Atthi kho pe. katamo pan’ āvuso pe.”

“ ‘Ayaṃ eva āvuso ariyo aṭṭhangiko maggo etassa arahattassa sacchikriyāyā: seyyathidaṃ: sammādiṭṭhi pe sammāsamādhi. Ayañ kho pe.’ ”

“ Bhaddako āvuso pe appamādāyā ti.” (3)

“ Ko ³ nu kho, āvuso Sāriputto, lokedhammavadino ? ”

“ Ke lokesuppaṭipannā ? ke lokesukatā ⁴ ti ? ”

“ ‘Ye kho āvuso rāga ⁵ pahānāya, dhammañ desenti, dosa pahānāya, dhammañ desenti, moha pahānāya, dhammañ desenti, ke lohedhammāvadino. Ye kho āvuso rāga pahānāya paṭipannā, dosappahānāya paṭipannā moha pahānāya paṭipannā te lokesuppaṭipannā. Yesaṃ kho āvuso rāgo pahino, ucchinna ⁶ mūlo, tāla-vatthukato, anabhāvañ ⁷ kato āyatiñ ⁸ anuppāda ⁹ dhammo ; doso pahino ucchinna-mūlo, tāla-vatthukato, anabhāvañ kato āyatimanuppāda-dhammo ; moho pahino ucchinna mūlo-tālavatthukato, anabhāva-kato āyati-anuppāda-dhammo te lokesukatāti.¹⁰ — Atthi ¹¹ āvuso maggo, atthi paṭipadā etassa rūgassa dosassa mohassa pahānāyā ti.’ ”

“ Atthi kho pe pahānāyā ti. Katamo pe pahānāyā ti ? ”

“ ‘Ayaṃ eva kho āvuso ariyo aṭṭhangiko maggo pe

¹ S. repeats by mistake paṭipadā etassa.

² S. omits bhaddikā paṭipadā.

³ S. kho.

⁴ S. lokesugatāti.

⁵ S. construes pajahatiti throughout with the genitive thus: dosassa pahānāya, mohassa.

⁶ Ph. acchinna.

⁷ S. anabhāva.

⁸ Ph. never writes the acc. of nouns in i° in.

⁹ Ph., by mistake, anuppāda.

¹⁰ S. lokesugatāti.

¹¹ S. adds pana.

pahānāya seyyathidam : sammāditṭhi pe sammāsamādhi.—
Ayaṃ kho pe pahānāyā ti.' ”

“ Bhaddako pe appamādayā ti ” (4).

“ Kimatthiyaṃ āvuso Sāriputta samane Gotame ¹ brahma-
cariyaṃ vussati ti.”

“ ‘ Dukkhasa kho āvuso pariññattham ² Bhagavati brahma-
cariyaṃ vussati ti.—Atthi paṇ' āvuso maggo, atthi paṭipadā
etassa dukkhasa ³ pariññāyā ti.' ”

“ Atthi kho āvuso maggo, atthi ⁴ paṭipadā etassa dukkhasa
pariññāyā ti. katamo pe pariññāyā ti.”

“ ‘ Ayam eva kho āvuso ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo etassa pe
pariññāya : seyyathidam ⁵ sammāditṭhi pe sammāsamādhi.—
Ayaṃ kho pe pariññāyā ti.' ”—

“ Bhaddako pe appamādayā ti ” (5).

“ Assāsapatto pe vuccati. Kittāvataṃ nu kho āvuso Sāri-
putta ⁶ assāsapatto hoti ti.”

“ ‘ Yato kho āvuso bhikkhu phassāyatanānaṃ samuda-
yaṇca, atthagamaṇca, assādaṇca, ādinavaṇca, nissaraṇaṇca
yathābhutaṃ pajānāti, ettāva kho āvuso assāsapatto hoti ti.
—Atthi pe assāsassa sacchikriyāyā ti.' ”

“ Atthi pe sacchikriyāyā ti. Katamo pe assāsassa sacchi-
kriyāyā ti.”

“ ‘ Ayam eva kho āvuso ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo etassa
assāsassa ⁷ sacchikriyāya. seyyathidam pe sammāsamādhi.
Ayaṃ pe sacchikriyāyā ti.' ”

“ Bhaddako pe appamādayā ⁸ ti ” (6).

“ Paramassāsapatto paramāssasapatto ⁹ ti pe vuccati.
Kittāvattā nu kho pe hoti ti.”

“ ‘ Yato kho āvuso ¹⁰ bhikkhu channaṃ phassāyatanānaṃ
samudayaṇca, atthagamaṇca, assadaṇca, ādinavaṇca, nissa-

¹ S. Samano Gotamo, Ph. samane Gotamo.

² S. pariññātha.

³ S. putikkhasa.

⁴ S. ayaṃ.

⁵ S. repeats from seyyathidam until the end. Instead of seyyathidam it reads assāsapathidam.

⁶ S. omits Sāriputta.

⁷ S. etassa sassa.

⁸ S. appamāyā ti.

⁹ S. paripassāsapatto.

¹⁰ S. omits āvuso.

raṇaṇca, yathābhutam viditvā anupādā vimutto hoti—ettāvata kho avuso paramassāsapatto. Atthi pan' āvuso pe paramassāsassa sacchikriyāyā ti.'"

"Atthi kho āvuso pe sacchikiriyaṇā ti. Katamo¹ pe sacchikriyāyā ti.

"‘Ayaṃ eva pe sacchikriyāya seyyathidaṃ pe sammāsamaḍhi. Ayaṃ kho pe paramassāsassa sacchikriyāyā ti.’"

"Bhaddako pe appamādayā ti" (7).

"Vedanā vedanā ti pe vuccati. Katamā nu kho āvuso vedanā ti?"

"‘Tisso imā avuso vedanā.’"

"Katamā tisso?"²

"‘Sukhāvedanā, dukkhāvedanā, adukhamasukhāvedanā. Imā kho āvuso tisso vedanā, tisso vedanā ti.’³ Atthi panā vuso pe etasam tissannaṃ⁴ vedanānaṃ pariññāyā ti.’"

"Atthi kho pe pariññāyā ti. Katamo pe pariññāyā ti?"

"‘Ayaṃ eva kho āvuso ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo pe pariññāya : seyyathidaṃ pe sammāsamaḍhi. Ayaṃ kho pe pariññāyā ti.’"

"Bhaddako pe appamādayā ti" (8).

"Āsavo pe vuccati. Katamā pe āsavo ti."

"‘Tayo me āvuso āsavā : kamāsavo, bhavāsavo, avijjāsavo. Ime kho āvuso tayo āsavā ti. Atthi pan' āvuso pe etesam āsavānaṃ pahānāyā ti.’"

"Atthi kho pe pahānāyā ti. Katamo pan' āvuso pe pahānāyā ti."

"‘Ayaṃ eva kho āvuso ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo pe pahānāya : seyyathidaṃ pe sammāsamaḍhi. Ayaṃ kho pe pahānāyā ti.’"

"Bhaddako pe appamādayā ti" (9).

"Avijjā pe vuccati. Katamā pe avijjā ti?"

"‘Yaṃ⁵ kho āvuso dukkhe aññānaṃ, dukkhaṃ samudaye aññānaṃ, dukkhanirodhe aññānaṃ, dukkhanirodhagāminiya-

¹ S. kamo.

² S. omits the question.

³ S. omits t. v. ti.

⁴ S. always without the numeral.

⁵ S. ayaṃ.

paṭipadā aññāṇaṃ—ayaṃ vuccat' āvuso avijjā ti.¹ Atthi panā 'vuso pe etissa avijjāya pahānāyā ti.' "

"Atth' āvuso² pe pahānāyā ti. Katamo pan' āvuso pe pahānāyā ti."

"‘Ayaṃ eva kho āvuso ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo pe pahānāya seyyathidaṃ pe sammāsamādhī. Ayaṃ pe pahānāya ti.’ "

"Bhaddako pe appamādayā ti" (10).

"Taṇhā pe vuccati. Katamā pe taṇhā ti?"

"‘Tisso imā āvuso taṇhā: kāmataṇhā, bhavataṇhā, vibhavataṇhā. Imā kho āvuso tisso taṇhā ti. Atthi panā pe taṇhānaṃ pahānāyā ti.’ "

"Atthi kho pe pahānāyā ti. Katamo pe pahānāyā ti?"

"‘Ayaṃ eva kho āvuso ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo pe pahānāyā ti seyyathidaṃ: pe sammāsamādhī. Ayaṃ kho pe pahānāyā ti.’ "

"Bhaddako pe appamādayā ti" (11).

"Ogho pe vuccati. Katamā nu pe ogho ti."

"‘Cattāro 'me āvuso oghā.³ kāmogho, bhavogho, diṭṭhugho, avijjogho. Ime kho āvuso cattāro oghā ti. Atthi panā pe etesaṃ oghānaṃ pahānāyā ti.’ "

"Atthi kho⁴ pe pahānāyā ti. Katamo pe oghānaṃ pahānāyā ti."

"‘Ayaṃ eva kho āvuso ariyo⁵ aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo pe pahānāya seyyathidaṃ pe sammāsamādhī. Ayaṃ kho pe pahānāyā ti.’ "

"Bhaddako pe appamādayā ti" (12).

"Upādānaṃ pe vuccati. Kataman pe upādānaṃ ti."

"‘Cattār' imāni āvuso upādānāni: kāmupādānaṃ, diṭṭhupādānaṃ, silabbatupādānaṃ, attavādupādānaṃ: imāni kho āvuso cattāri upādānāni ti.—Atthi pe upādānaṃ pahānāyā ti.’ "

"Atthi kho pe pahānāyā ti. Katamo pe pahānāyā ti?"

"‘Ayaṃ kho āvuso ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo pe pahānāya seyyathidaṃ pe sammāsamādhī. Ayaṃ kho pe pahānāyā ti.’ "

"Bhaddako pe appamādayā ti" (13).

¹ S. avijjātittha.

⁴ S. omits kho.

² Atthi kho āvuso.

⁵ Ph. omits ariyo.

³ S. ogho ti.

"Bhavo pe vuccati. Katamo pe bhavo ti?"

"Tayo 'me āvuso bhavā :¹ kamabhavo, rūpabhavo, arūpabhavo. Ime kho āvuso tayo bhavā ti.—Atthi panā pe etesaṃ bhavānaṃ pariññāyā ti.'"

"Atthi kho pe pariññāyā ti. Katamo pe pariññāyā ti?"

"Āyam eva kho āvuso ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo etesaṃ bhavānaṃ pariññāyā² seyyathidaṃ pe sammāsamādhī. Ayaṃ kho pariññāyā ti.'"

"Bhaddako pe appamādayā ti" (14).

"Dukkhaṃ pe vuccati. Kataman pe dukkhaṃ ti?"

"Tisso imā āvuso dukkhatā : dukkha dukkhatā, saṃsāra dukkhatā, viparināma dukkhatā : ima kho āvuso tisso³ dukkhatā ti. Atthi panā pe dukkhatānaṃ pariññāyā ti.'"

"Atth' āvuso⁴ maggo pe etesaṃ⁵ dukkhatānaṃ pariññāyā ti. Katamo pe pariññāyā ti."

"Āyam eva kho āvuso ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo pe pariññāyā seyyathidaṃ pe sammāsamādhī.'"

"Bhaddako pe appamādayā ti" (15).

"Sakkāyo pe vuccati. Katamo pe sakkāyo ti?" (15).

Pañc' ime āvuso upādānakkhandāsakkāyo vutto Bhagavatā seyyathidaṃ : rūpupādāna-kkhandho, vedanupādāna-kkhandho, saññupādāna-kkhandho, saṅkhārūpādāna-kkhandho, viññānupādāna-kkhandho : ime kho āvuso pañcupādānakkhandhā sakkāyo vutto Bhagavatā ti. Atthi panā 'pe etassa sakkāyassa pariññāyā ti.'"

"Atthi kho pe pariññāyā ti. Katamo panā pe pariññāyā ti?"

"Āyaṃ eva kho āvuso ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo pe pariññāyā. seyyathidaṃ pe sammāsamādhī. Ayaṃ kho pe pariññāyā ti.'"

"Bhaddako pe appamādayā ti" (16).

"Kin nu kho āvuso Sāriputta imasmiṃ⁶ dhammavinaye dukkaraṃ ti?"

¹ S. writes three times instead of bhavānaṃ bhagavānaṃ : once the writer corrects the form bhagavānaṃ in bhavānaṃ, but afterwards restores the ga.

² S. pariññāyā ti.

³ S. omits tisso.

⁴ S. atthi kho.

⁵ S. etesaṃ.

⁶ S. imasmiṃ, Ph. omits nearly always the ṃ after i.

“‘Pabbajjā kho¹ āvuso imasmiṃ dhammavinaye dukkarā² ti.’”

“Pabbajitena pana āvuso kim dukkaran ti?”

“‘Pabbajitena kho āvuso abhirati dukkarā ti.’”

“Abhiratena pan’ āvuso Sāriputta kiṃ dukkaran ti?”

“‘Abhiratena kho āvuso dhammānudhamma-paṭipatti dukkarāti.’”

“Kiṃ va ciraṃ pan’ āvuso dhammānudhamma-paṭipanno bhikkhu araham assāti.”

“‘Na ciraṃ āvuso ti’” (17).—

Jambukhādakasamyuttam.³

Tass’ uddānam: Nibbānam arahattaṇca sacchikiriya⁴ te ubho, dhammavāḍipahānāya, pariññā⁵ dukkhavattṭhukam;⁶ assāso paramassāso puna sacchikiriya⁷ te ubho vedanā; āsavenā ca⁸ avijjā tanhā oghāca,⁹ upādānam¹⁰ bhavenaca, dukkhaṇca vutto sakkāyo imasmiṃ dhammavinaye dukkaran ti.—

2) SAMANĀKASAMYUTTAM.

Ekam samayam āyasmā Sāriputto Vajjisū viharati, Ukkavelāya¹¹ Gangāya nadiyā¹² tīre. Atha’kho Samāṇako¹³ paribbājakoyen āyasmā Sāriputto ten’ upasāmkami upasāmkamitvā āyasmatā Sāriputtēna saddhim sammodi¹⁴ sammodaniyam katham sārāṇiyam vitisaretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi ekamantaṃ nisinno¹⁵ kho Samāṇako¹⁶ paribbājako āyasmantaṃ Sāriputtam etad avoca (1):

¹ S. pabbakho, Ph. pabajāno. I have corrected the reading of the MS. according to the Samāṇaka samyuttam.

² S. dukkarā ti.

³ Ph. Jambukhātaka.

⁴ S. pariññāya.

⁵ vatthukū.

⁶ sacchikiriya Ph.

⁷ āsavo.

⁸ S. omits ca.

⁹ S. upādāmaṇa pañcamāṇ pahānatthāya kathitā Sāriputtēna jattunā bhavo dukkhaṇca sakkāyo pariññatīti vuccati.

¹⁰ Ukkavelūyam.

¹¹ nadi.

¹² S. Samāṇakānīparibbāko. S. always reads Samāṇico instead of Samāṇako.

¹³ S. Nīno kho.

¹⁴ S. amāṇakāni.

Then follow the 2nd and 17th division of the Jambukhā-daka samyuttam.

Samaṇḍaka samyuttam samattam.

Purimakasadisam¹ uddānam.

3) ASANKHATASAMYUTTAM.

Asaṅkhatañca vo bhikkhave desissāmi.

Asaṅkhatagamiñca maggaṃ—taṃ suṇātha.

Katamañca² bhikkhave asaṅkhataṃ? Yo bhikkhave rūgakkhayo, dosakkhayo mohakkhayo—idaṃ vuccati bhikkhave asaṅkhataṃ (1).

Katamo ca bhikkhave asaṅkhatagāmimaggo? Kāyagatā-sati. Ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave asaṅkhatagāmī maggo (2).

Iti kho bhikkhave desitaṃ vo mayā asaṅkhataṃ desitaṃ asaṅkhatagami maggo yaṃ bhikkhave satthārā³ karaṇīyaṃ sāvakanāṃ hitesinā⁴ anukampakena anukampaṃ upādāya kataṃ vo taṃ mayā. Etāni bhikkhave⁵ rukkhamūlāni etāni suññāgārāni jhāyatha, bhikkhave, māpamādattha mā pacchā vippaṭṭisārino ahuvattha—ayaṃ kho añhakaṃ anusāsani ti (3).

Asaṅkhatañca pe maggaṃ taṃ suṇātha.

Katamañca bhikkhave asaṅkhataṃ? Yo bhikkhave rūgakkhayo, dosa⁶ moha⁷.—Idaṃ vuccati asaṅkhataṃ (4).

Katamo ca bhikkhave asaṅkhatagāmimaggo? Samatho ca vipassanāca. Ayaṃ vuccati asaṅkhatagāmī maggo (5).

Iti kko bhikkhave desitaṃ vo mayā asaṅkhataṃ pe ayaṃ kho⁸ añhakaṃ anusāsani ti (6).

Asaṅkhatañca pe maggaṃ taṃ suṇātha.

Katamañca bhikkhave asaṅkhataṃ? Yo pe (7).

Katamo ca bhikkhave asaṅkhatagāmī maggo?

Savitakka⁹ savicāro samādhi vā¹⁰ avitakka¹¹ avicāramatto¹² samādhi, avitakko avicāro samādhi.—Ayaṃ pe ti (8).

Katamo ca pe maggo?

¹ S. adds eva.

² D. satthārāṃ.

³ S. kaṃ vo taṃ mayāni bhikkhave.

⁴ S. S. °o.

⁵ °o.

⁶ D. katthañca.

⁷ D. hitesināṃ.

⁸ D. vo.

⁹ D. S. omit vā.

¹⁰ vicāra.

Suññato samādhi, animitto samādhi, appaṇihito¹ samādhi.
Ayaṃ pe ti (9).

Katamo ca pe maggo?

Cattāro satipaṭṭhānā. ayaṃ ye ti (10).

Katamo ca pe maggo?

Cattāro sammāppadhānā. ayaṃ pe ti (11).

Katamo ca pe maggo?

Cattāro iddhipādā. ayaṃ pe ti (12).

Katamo ca pe maggo?

Pañcendriyāni. ayaṃ pe ti (13).

Katamo ca pe maggo?

Pañca balāni. ayaṃ pe ti (14).

Katamo ca pe maggo?

Satta bojjhaṅgā. ayaṃ pe ti (15).

Katamo ca pe maggo?

Ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo. ayaṃ pe ti (16).

Iti kho bhikkhave pe anusāsani ti (17).

Nibbānaśāmyuttassa² pathamo vago.

Tass' uddānaṃ : kāyo samatto vitakko suññatā³ sati-
paṭṭhānā sammāppadhānañca iddhipāda indriyabala bojjhaṅgo
maggena etā dasamaṃ.⁴

Asaṅkhatañca vo bhikkhave desissāmi asaṅkhatagāmiṃca
maggam taṃ suñātha.

Katamañca bhikkhave asaṅkhataṃ?

Yo bhikkhave rāgakkhayo, dosakkhayo, mohakkhayo—
Idaṃ vuccati bhikkhave asaṅkhataṃ (18).

Katamo ca bhikkhave asaṅkhatagāmi maggo?

Samatho ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave asaṅkhatagāmi
maggo (19).

Iti kho bhikkhave pe anusāsanīti (20).

Asaṅkhatañca vo pe maggam⁵ taṃ suñātha.

Katamañca bhikkhave asaṅkhataṃ?

Yo bhikkhave rāgakkhayo, dosa°, moha°. Ayaṃ⁶ pe
asaṅkhataṃ (21).

¹ D. S. n°.

² D. S. omits Nibbānaśāmyuttassa.

³ D. S. Kāyasamādhisu savitakko suññato.

⁴ D. S. instead of etādasamaṃ satt' uddānaṃ vuccati.

⁵ D. maṃ taṃ.

⁶ D. idaṃ.

Katamo ca bhikkhave asaṅkhatagāmi maggo ?

Vipassanā ayaṃ pe (22).

Iti kho bhikkhave pe anusāsanīti (23).

Katamo ca pe.

Savitakko savicāro samādhī ayaṃ pe (24).

Katamo ca pe ?

Avitakko avicāramatto samādhī. Ayaṃ pe (25).

Katamo ca pe ?

Avitakko avicāro samādhī. Ayaṃ pe (26).

Katamo ca pe ?

Suññato samādhī. Ayaṃ pe (27).

Katamo ca pe ?

Animitto samādhī. Ayaṃ pe (28).

Katamo ca pe ?

Appaṇihito samādhī. Ayaṃ pe (29).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu kāye kāyānupassī viharatī ātāpi sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhiññhādomanassam. Ayaṃ pe (30).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu vedanāsu vedanānupassī pe abhiññhādomanassam. Ayaṃ pe (31).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu citte cittānupassī pe abhiññhādomanassam. Ayaṃ pe (32).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu dhammesu dhammānupassī pe abhiññhādomanassam. Ayaṃ pe (33).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu anuppannānaṃ pāpakānaṃ akusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ anuppādāya chandaṃ janeti vāyamaṭṭhi viriyam ārabhati cittaṃ paggaṇhāti padahati.¹ Ayaṃ pe (34).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave uppannānaṃ pāpakānaṃ akusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ pahānāya pe padahati.¹ Ayaṃ pe (35).

¹ D. pajahati, and thus always.

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu anuppannānaṃ kusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ uppādāya pe padahati.¹ Ayaṃ pe (36).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu uppannānaṃ kusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ ṭhitiyā asammosāya² bhiyyo bhāvāya vepullāya bhāvanāya puripuriyā³ chandaṃ pe padahati.¹ Ayaṃ pe (37).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu viriya samādhi padhāna saṅkhāra samannāgataṃ iddhipādaṃ bhaveti. Ayaṃ pe (38).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu citta samādhi padhāna saṅkhāra samannāgataṃ iddhipādaṃ bhaveti. Ayaṃ pe (39).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu vimāṃsasamādhi padhāna saṅkhāra samannāgataṃ iddhipādaṃ bhaveti.⁴ Ayaṃ pe (40).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha, bhikkhave, bhikkhu saddhindriyaṃ bhāveti, viveka nissitaṃ virāga nissitaṃ nirodha nissitaṃ vosagga parināmiṃ. Ayaṃ pe (41).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu viriyindriyaṃ bhāveti viveka pe parināmiṃ. Ayaṃ pe (42).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu satindriyaṃ bhāveti viveka pe parināmiṃ. Ayaṃ pe (43).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu samādhindriyaṃ bhāveti viveka pe parināmiṃ. Ayaṃ pe (44).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu paññindriyaṃ bhāveti viveka pe parināmiṃ. Ayaṃ pe (45).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu saddhābalaṃ bhāveti viveka pe parināmiṃ. Ayaṃ pe (46).

Katamo ca pe ?

¹ D. pajahati, and thus always.

² D. adds ti.

³ D. omits puripuriyā.

⁴ P'h. omits chandasamādhi padhāna.

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu viriyabalaṃ bhāveti viveka pe parināmiṃ. Ayaṃ pe (47)

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu sati¹ balaṃ bhāveti viveka nissitaṃ pe parināmiṃ. Ayaṃ pe (48).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu samādhi² balaṃ bhāveti viveka pe parināmiṃ. Ayaṃ pe (49).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu paññābalaṃ bhāveti viveka pe parināmiṃ. Ayaṃ pe (50).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu sati sambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāveti viveka pe parināmiṃ. Ayaṃ pe (51).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu viriya sambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāveti viveka pe parināmiṃ. Ayaṃ pe (52).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu dhammavicaya sambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāveti viveka pe parināmiṃ. Ayaṃ pe.

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu pītisaṃbojjhaṅgaṃ bhāveti viveka pe parināmiṃ. Ayaṃ pe (53).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu passadhi sambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāveti viveka pe parināmiṃ. Ayaṃ pe (54).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu samādhi sambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāveti viveka pe parināmiṃ. Ayaṃ pe (55).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu upekhāsambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāveti viveka pe parināmiṃ. Ayaṃ pe (56).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu sammādiṭṭhiṃ bhāveti viveka pe parināmiṃ. Ayaṃ pe (57).

Katamo ca pe ?

¹ D. samotini.

² D. samādhin.

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu sammāsaṅkappaṃ bhāveti viveka pe parināmiṃ. Ayaṃ pe (58).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu sammāvācaṃ bhāveti viveka pe parināmiṃ. Ayaṃ pe.

Katano ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu sammākammantaṃ bhāveti viveka pe parināmiṃ. Ayaṃ pe (59).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu sammā ājivaṃ bhāveti viveka pe parināmiṃ. Ayaṃ pe (60).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu sammāvāyāmaṃ¹ bhāveti viveka pe parināmiṃ. Ayaṃ pe (61).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu sammāsaṭṭhiṃ bhāveti viveka pe parināmiṃ. Ayaṃ pe (62).

Katamo ca pe ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu sammāsamādhiṃ² bhāveti viveka pe parināmiṃ. Ayaṃ pe (63).

Asaṅkhataṇca vo bhikkhave desissāmi asaṅkhatagamiṇca maggaṃ taṃ suṇātha.

Katamaṇca bhikkhave asaṅkhataṃ ?

Yo bhikkhave rūgakkhayo, dosa°, moha°.—Idaṃ vuccati bhikkhave asaṅkhataṃ (64).

Iti kho bhikkhave desitaṃ vo mayā asaṅkhataṃ pe Anataṇca³ vo bhikkhave desissāmi, anatagamiṇca³ maggaṃ taṃ suṇātha.

Katamaṇca bhikkhave anataṃ ? pe (65).

Yathā asaṅkhataṃ tathā viṭṭhāretabbaṃ.

Anāsavaṇca vo bhikkhave desissāmi anāsavagamiṇca maggaṃ

Saccaṇca

sacca

Pāraṇca

pāra

Nipuṇaṇca

nipuṇa

Sududdasaṇca

sududdasa

¹ D. omits sammāvāyāmaṃ.

² D. omits sammāsamādhiṃ.

³ D. antaṇca pe.

Ajjarañca	ajjara
Dhuvañca	dhuva
Apalokañca	apaloka
Anidassanañca	anidassana
Nippapañcaca	nippapañca
Santañca	santa
Amatañca	amata
Panītañca	panīta
Sivañca	siva
Khemañca	khema
Taṇhakkhayañca	taṇhakkhaya
Acchariyañca	acchariya
Abbhutañca	abbhuta
Anītikañca	anītika
Anītikadhammañca	anītikadhammañ
Nibbānañca	nibbāna
Abyāpajjhañca	abyāpajjha
Virāgañca	virāga
Suddhiñca	suddhi
Muttiñca	mutti
Anālayañca	anālaya
Dīpañca ¹	dīpagamiñca
Leṇañca ²	leṇa ²
Tāṇañca ³	tāṇa ³
Saraṇañca	saraṇa (66).

Parāyanañca vo bhikkhave desissāmi parāyanagamiñca maggaṃ taṃ suṇātha.

Katamañca bhikkhave parāyanam?

Yo bhikkhave rāgakkhayo dosakkhayo mohakkhayo—idaṃ vuccati bhikkhave parāyanam.

Katamo ca bhikkhave parāyanagāmi maggo?

Kāyagatā-sati. Ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave parāyanigami maggo (67).

Iti kho bhikkhave desitaṃ vo mayā parāyanam, desito parāyanagāmi maggo yamhi pe ahuvattha. Ayaṃ vo amhākaṃ anusāsani ti.

¹ D. adds before Dīpañca pe Ayaṃ kho amhākaṃ anusāsani ti.

² D. lenaṇca pe.

³ D. Tanañca.

Yatha asaṅkhatam tathā vitthāretabbam (68).

Tatr' uddānam.

Asaṅkhatam antam anāsavam.¹

Saccam pāram nipuṇam sududdasam.

ajjarantam dhuvam apalokanam.

ani(*da*)ssanam² nippapañca santam.

Amatam paṇitam³ sivañca khemam.

Tanhakkhayo acchariyañca abbhutam.

anītikam anītikadhammo.

nibbānam etam sugatena desitam.

Abyapajjho⁴ virāgo ca.⁵

suddhi mutti anālayo.

dīpaṃ⁶ leṇaṇca tūṇaṇca.

saraṇaṇca parāyanan ti.⁷

Asaṅkhata samyuttam.⁸

¹ D. anāsavo.

² Ph. omits *da*.

³ Ph. paṇitañca.

⁴ D. abyapajjho, Ph. twice abyapajjo.

⁵ D. virāgā ti.

⁶ D. dīpo.

⁷ D. parāyananīcāti.

⁸ D. adds *samattam*.

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